



THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S
TRANSACTIONS.

1880-6.



New shakspeare Societ
" [Publications]
- Series I. Nos 8-1
THE

NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S
TRANSACTIONS.

8-10.

1880-6.

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NOTICE.

Owing to Mr F. D. Matthew's work for the Wyclif Society, he has been unable to make the usual Abstract of the German Shakspeare Society's Year-Books for the present volume. The Committee hope that some less engaged Member of the Society will volunteer to take up the task which Mr Matthew has been compelled to abandon.

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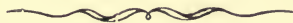
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PART II.

THE
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I. SUDDEN EMOTION :
ITS EFFECT UPON DIFFERENT CHARACTERS,
AS SHOWN BY SHAKSPERE.

BY EDWARD ROSE, ESQ.

(Read at the 52nd Meeting of the Society, Friday, May 9, 1879.)

THOUGH the title of this paper is already too long, it does not express with entire clearness the subject of which I propose to treat, nor show its distinctive feature, nor its limitations. I shall indeed endeavour to sketch the effect upon many different personages of sudden emotion ; but I shall look upon their characters not as many and diverse, but as essentially only two—as modifications (or, more rarely, pure examples) of two great opposing types : the men who are habitually self conscious, given to analyse their own minds and deeds, and the men who are not.

In real life we know too little of people to be able unhesitatingly to classify any but the most striking examples of a type ; we have, it is true, the manners and faces of men, from which to estimate their natures, and we have a few—generally the most casual and unimportant—of their actions ; but this is all. In Shakspeare we have, if not their whole lives, yet (in the case of his greatest characters) almost all that is essential, stripped of much that, while merely accidental, is very puzzling ; and we have the clearest statement of the one great act of each man's life, with all its causes and consequences fully set out. From a collection of such examples as these, made by an observation so vast and a judgment so true, we ought to be able to deduce general rules such as could hardly be obtained from the particulars of real life, multitudinous and confused.

Yet, to make clear what I mean, I should like to mention one or two characters in real life which impress every one, I believe, as almost pure types of the two classes I have named. In the class of simple, direct minds, acting from obvious motives and with a minimum of self-consciousness, must surely come those of John Bright, of Darwin, of the late Duke of Wellington, and of a vast mass of undistinguished people, some dull, some hard, some exquisitely innocent, some marvellously selfish. These people vary as much as angel from devil, yet there is about them all a certain childlikeness, good or bad, a certain self-confidence, useful or dangerous. Even Darwin, while he admits most freely that he may be mistaken, has the self-confidence of utter purity ; he knows that he is merely telling you what he has seen, honestly, fully, and without *arrière-pensée* or reserve. So the Duke of Wellington did simply what seemed to him his duty, never thinking what it might seem to other men : and so many a man quite unconsciously obeys his own pleasure, his own ambition, or the will of some superior nature who without an effort masters him.

Of the opposite kind are many modern poets—Tennyson, Browning, very noticeably the late Arthur Clough : men who constantly look into their own minds, examine their own motives, deliberate, doubt, and change. A student of human nature, in the literary sense—a subjective poet—is, in the nature of things, bound to be of this class. Goethe and Byron, though both men of much practical sense, belonged essentially to it—they made it the business of their lives to think, and to express their thoughts : they were not among the great *doers* of this world. Their fine general powers might have obtained for them a good place among practical men, but nothing like the rank to which some parts of their faculties would seem to have entitled them. That there have also been men of infinite littleness in this class hardly needs to be said : a tiny intellect eagerly scrutinising itself cannot well be of any calculable value.

Shakspere, as a purely dramatic poet, had of necessity a nature prone to self-analysis, though his genius was large enough to analyse also nearly every other mind, while it yet noted all natural objects, and constantly kept all things in due proportion. But he made his one great representative character, Hamlet, perpetually self-conscious,

hardly doing a single thing mechanically: and I think that the valuable criticism that "Hamlet was the only one of Shakspeare's characters who could have written all Shakspeare's plays" points to a true fact—that Hamlet was intended by Shakspeare as a portrayal of himself, though of himself under strange and unfavourable circumstances.

With this prelude, let me state my theory as to the effect of sudden emotion—I mean sudden emotion of the most intense kind—upon characters of these two opposing types, as shown by Shakspeare. A man of simple nature sees a fact and realises it: a man in whom the reflective intellect predominates thinks about it. Therefore, a great sudden emotion stuns the one, makes him helpless for the time: the other does not realise it so intensely—it is more, as I have said, a great deal of new matter to think about, and his intellect is thus stimulated to think twice as fast as usual. Or I might put it thus: our moral nature takes a thing as a whole, our intellect examines, dissects it; therefore a great event awes our moral nature, but sets our intellect hard at work, and therefore men in whom the moral nature predominates are stunned, while men chiefly intellectual are stimulated, by a sudden occurrence of the highest joy or sorrow.

That Shakspeare held this theory was suggested to me by two parallel passages: those in which are shown the effects of the Ghost's revelation upon Hamlet, and of the murder of Duncan upon Macbeth. I will explain my views by the citation of these, and of other scenes in which different, sometimes entirely opposite, characters are subjected to similar tests; only premising that those personages alone can be made useful to our inquiry who are drawn with sufficient fulness to make it perfectly clear to which category, and in what degree, their natures belong.

To take Hamlet first. He may be said to feel sudden and intense emotion of some kind or other four times, at least, during the play: when Horatio tells him of the apparition of his father, when the Ghost comes to him and reveals the guilt of Claudius, after the play scene, and at the news of Ophelia's death. The first of these cases, however, we may dismiss. The emotion is sheer surprise, which cannot have the intensity of great joy or sorrow. He does not see

the Ghost ; perhaps he is hardly sure whether he can fully believe these men ; he is puzzled rather than awed.

The next instance is wholly different, though even here his feeling is by no means one of mere horror at the terrible news. It must be remembered that it is not absolute news. He had long dimly suspected some "foul deed," which, in fact, could only have been this. His intense emotion at the Ghost's story is really a relief after the torturing uncertainty of the last two months : he is in truth *happier* than he has been since his father's death. His brain, thus excited, works so fast that his leading thought is almost hidden by the rush of ideas, the crowded illustrations in which it is conveyed. Here is the scene :—

Ghost. Adieu, adieu, adieu ! Remember me ! [Disappears.]

Ham. O all you host of heaven ! O earth ! What else ?

And shall I couple hell ?—O fy !—Hold, hold, my heart ;

And you, my sinews, grow not instant old,

But bear me stiffly up !—Remember thee ?

Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat

In this distracted globe. Remember thee ?

Yea, from the table of my memory

I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,

All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,

That youth and observation copied there ;

And thy commandment all alone shall live

Within the book and volume of my brain,

Unmix'd with baser matter : yes, by Heaven.

O most pernicious woman !

O villain, villain, smiling, damned villain !

My tables,—meet it is, I set it down,

That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain !

At least, I am sure, it may be so in Denmark :

So, uncle, there you are. Now, to my word ;

It is, *Adieu, adieu ! remember me.*

I have sworn't.

(Writing.)

* * * *

Mar. (*Within.*) Illo, ho, ho, my lord !

Ham. Hillo, ho, ho, boy ! come, bird, come.

Enter HORATIO and MARCELLUS.

Mar. How is't, my noble lord ?

Hor. What news, my lord ?

Ham. O, Wonderful !

Hor. Good my lord, tell it.

Ham. No :

You will reveal it.

Hor. Not I, my lord, by Heaven.

Mar. Nor I, my lord.

Ham. How say you then ; would heart of man once think it ?—
But you'll be secret,—

Hor. & Mar. Ay, by Heaven, my lord.

Ham. There's ne'er a villain, dwelling in all Denmark,
But he's an arrant knave.

* * * * *

Ham. Nay, but swear't.

Ghost. (Beneath.) Swear.

Ham. Ha, ha, boy ! say'st thou so ? art thou there, true-penny ?
Come on,—you hear this fellow in the cellarage,—
Consent to swear.

Hor. O day and night, but this is wondrous strange !

Ham. And therefore as a stranger give it welcome.
There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.
But come :—

Here, as before, never, so help you mercy !

How strange or odd soe'er I bear myself,
As I, perchance, hereafter shall think meet
To put an antic disposition on—

That you, at such times seeing me, never shall,
With arms encumber'd thus, or this head-shake,
Or by pronouncing of some doubtful phrase,

As, *Well, well, we know* :—or, *We could, an if we would*—or, *If we*
list to speak ;—or, *There be, an if they might* ;

Or such ambiguous giving out, to note
That you know aught of me :—this do you swear,
So grace and mercy at your most need help you !

Every line in this scene exemplifies the state of mind I have described ; one curious illustration of it is the fact that Hamlet's very first words after the disappearance of the Ghost are almost a conceit. His objection to the form of his own exclamation (" And shall I couple hell ?—O fy !") is nearly a quibble, and shows an intensely self-conscious nature stimulated to its highest degree. The well-known lines about the tablets are ridiculous unless delivered with this rush of hysterical excitement : nor can we otherwise explain his strange practical joke—for I can call it nothing else—of revealing, with much pretence of secrecy, the fact that " there's ne'er a villain, dwelling in all Denmark, but he's an arrant knave." His mind is so overflowing

that it seeks relief in apparently most unseasonable jests—as, above all, his mocking addresses to the “fellow in the cellarage.”

After the play-scene we have precisely the same effect, accentuated by the fact that he bursts into little snatches of extempore rhyme. His play upon words in the following dialogue with Guildenstern bears this out remarkably.

Lastly, when he hears of Ophelia's death he is silent, after the brief “What! the fair Ophelia!” but this silence is enjoined upon him, almost inevitably, by the surrounding scene; and, whatever his first instinctive emotion may be, in a very few seconds he is collected enough to listen to Laertes and be annoyed with the bombastic expression of his grief. The intellect is instantly at work, criticising the words of others and keenly analysing his own feelings. No doubt angry with himself for being so little moved, he advances theatrically and tries to lash himself into an agony of passion; and, consciously failing, he gives a clever parody of Laertes' rant. His self-analysis is so searching and so unpleasant that it makes him lose his temper, and his very excess of intellect thus blinds him to obvious facts. “Dost thou come here,” he asks, “to outface *me* with leaping in her grave?” as if anybody but himself was thinking, at such a moment, of *him*, of the shallowness of *his* love! His brain is for the time so stimulated that his moral nature—his heart, as we say—is eclipsed: it seems, to others and himself, as if he had none.

Very like and very unlike to Hamlet is Macbeth—a man of a compound, one might say of a *double* nature. There is much of the same intellect, though it is less varied and more direct, far more influenced by keen ambition and far less appreciative of the beauty and power of virtue; while on the other hand the fact that Macbeth is a brilliant general shows that he must have very strong practical sense. Moreover, unlike Hamlet, he is really not morally scrupulous to any notable extent; he is only cautious. He appears to us as a hesitating man, but this is merely because we see him in a very difficult position, when any sensible man *should* hesitate. The reward of the deed he contemplates is a magnificent one, and he is forcibly urged to that deed by the one person in the whole world whom he loves and trusts, who happens to be a person of enormous

strength of will : were it not for this, he sees the dangers of the enterprise so clearly that he would almost certainly abandon it. But for Lady Macbeth, Macbeth would have been sensible enough not to have murdered Duncan at all.

Let me note in passing that we ought not to make too much of Macbeth's tendency to see ghosts and witches : it proves very little with regard to his character. Shakspeare's ghosts and witches were real objective beings, who were actually seen and heard by many people of widely different characters—Hamlet, Horatio, Marcellus, Macbeth, Banquo, Richard the Third, Brutus, and others.

But to Macbeth himself. In the first Act he is surprised by the supernatural intelligence that he is to be thane of Cawdor and king, and the surprise is soon after repeated when he learns that half the news is true. His breath is taken away for a moment—he starts and “seems rapt”—but shortly afterwards he criticises, with intense thought, the position and his own mind. There is not, it is true, the rush of ideas which with Hamlet follows the ghostly revelation : but then the cause for emotion is not nearly so strong, he is not alone, and his intellectual nature, though like Hamlet's, is more practical and more concentrated.

But in the second Act he has a cause for emotion far stronger than any of Hamlet's, and the result is most remarkable. He, a brave and famous soldier, has just foully murdered a man—an old man, his guest, his trusting and generous master. His is not the unmixed intellectual character—he does feel his position, and not merely *see* it : and his moral nature is so deeply moved that he loses all self-control and nearly ruins all. The moment he has killed Duncan he shouts, “Who's there? What ho!”—the very worst thing he could possibly do. But *then*—we have immediately a marvellous psychological study : Macbeth's moral nature stunned and helpless, while his intellect—after, as usual, a momentary shock and pause—is working at a tremendous pace. Here is the scene.

He comes in. Lady Macbeth greets him—

My husband !

Macb. I have done the deed :—Didst thou not hear a noise ?

Lady M. I heard the owl scream, and the crickets cry.

Did not you speak ?

Macb. When ?

Lady M. Now.

Macb. As I descended ?

Lady M. Ay.

Macb. Hark !—Who lies i' the second chamber ?

Lady M. Donalbain.

Macb. This is a sorry sight. (*Looking on his hands.*)

Lady M. A foolish thought, to say a sorry sight.

Macb. There's one did laugh in his sleep, and one cried, *Murder !*
That they did wake each other ; I stood and heard them :
But they did say their prayers, and address'd them
Again to sleep.

Lady M. There are two lodged together.

Macb. One cried, *God bless us !* and *Amen*, the other ;
As they had seen me with these hangman's hands,
Listening their fear. I could not say, *Amen*,
When they did say, *God bless us*.

Lady M. Consider it not so deeply.

Macb. But wherefore could not I pronounce, *Amen* ?
I had most need of blessing, and *Amen*
Stuck in my throat.

Lady M. These deeds must not be thought
After these ways ; so, it will make us mad.

Macb. Methought, I heard a voice cry, *Sleep no more !*
Macbeth does murder sleep, the innocent sleep !
Sleep, that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care,
The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,
Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
Chief nourisher in life's feast,—

Lady M. What do you mean ?

Macb. Still it cried, *Sleep no more*, to all the house :
Glamis hath murder'd sleep ; and therefore Cawdor
Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more !

And so forth.

To make a man who has just committed a terrible murder talk in this strained way, playing with words, quibbling on the fact that he has three names, which represent but one person, and giving seven distinct and elaborate metaphors for sleep, seems at first as if it must be the work of a very bad poet, trying to be conventionally poetical in the wrong place. But I think that all critics will acknowledge that it is a most wonderful example of the excited intellect running away, the will being powerless to stop it—and a most exact proof of

Macbeth's double character, half way between the mere man of thought, like Hamlet, and the ideal man of action, like Othello. But, like Hamlet, and not like Othello, Macbeth quickly masters his emotion, though at first (in the scene with Macduff and Lennox) only just sufficiently not to betray himself: he can only force out a few brief sentences—"Good morrow, both"—"Not yet"—and so on, though even among these one is a striking reflection: "The labour we delight in physics pain."

But, as soon as the opportunity for violent action, and the clear perception of one needful thing to be done, awake him, his intellect rises to the fullest height of the trial: the thoughts flow as fast as ever, but now he can control and brilliantly utilise them. Returning from the slaughter of the grooms, he at once begins to declaim—

Had I but died an hour before this chance
I had lived a blessed time; for, from this instant,
There's nothing serious in mortality;
All is but toys; renown and grace is dead;
The wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees
Is left this vault to brag of.

He is asked why he killed the grooms: his excuse is admirable and perfect:—

Who can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious,
Loyal and neutral, in a moment? No man.
The expedition of my violent love
Outran the pauser, reason. Here lay Duncan,
His silver skin laced with his golden blood;
And his gash'd stabs looked like a breach in nature
For ruin's wasteful entrance; there, the murderers,
Steep'd in the colours of their trade, their daggers
Unmannerly breach'd with gore: who could refrain
That had a heart to love, and in that heart
Courage to make's love known?

In the third Act, Macbeth's scene with the Ghost of Banquo does not prove very much—the most noticeable point in it is perhaps the rapidity with which he recovers from his intense emotion, the almost purely intellectual character of his remarks when the Ghost vanishes. Only Shakspeare would have given to a man in such a position such lines as

I' the olden time
 Ere humane statute purged the gentle weal :

though Macbeth, unlike Hamlet, is too much moved to watch his speech, and lets slip the allusion to his crime :—

This is more strange than *such a murder* is.

When, in the last Act, he hears of his wife's death, the news is apparently no great surprise to him : its only evident effect is to stimulate his intellect to reflections even for him unusually fine—"Life's a poor player," and so forth. Finally, Macduff's declaration that he "is not of woman born" only interrupts for a moment the rushing excitement of the battle : this is only the last of a series of terrible surprises, and he is past feeling even it very deeply. His keen mind tells him that to die bravely, fighting against all hope, is the wisest course, and this he does.

I will now take some extreme instances of the opposite type of character—Othello, Desdemona, Macduff—that no intermediate gradations may make the contrast less striking. But first I must point out that the most intense emotion of these simpler characters is not so easily put into words by the dramatist, for the reason that its typical expression is silence, or inarticulate sounds of grief or joy. The poet must either leave these to the actor, or give a verbal picture, not strictly dramatic, of a mind which in reality would be stunned and speechless. The former alternative is a dangerous one, which Shakspeare has rarely adopted—perhaps the example most nearly perfect is that of Helena, in the second Act of *All's Well that Ends Well*, who makes only one speech of a dozen words after Bertram has refused to marry her. In the alternative which he generally chose, of giving to intense emotion words more coherent than those of nature would be, there is, I think a rule by which we can distinguish these utterances from such perfectly dramatic speeches as those of Hamlet and Macbeth : the latter are rich in intellect, filled with varied thoughts variously expressed ; the former are little more than repetitions of the one crushing conception, in words often curiously monotonous. Thus Macduff's

*All my pretty ones ?
Did you say all ? O hell-kite ! All ?
What, all my pretty chickens and their dam
At one fell swoop ?*

We see so little of Macduff that it is scarcely possible to fully sum up his character ; but all his one chief scene—with Malcolm first, and then with Ross—indicates a man of strong and simple feelings. The words he forces out are only spoken at the urging of his companion, who, indeed, expresses in one phrase Shakspeare's theory as to the crushing effect of emotion on those characters who allow themselves to realise it completely and immediately :—

*The grief that does not speak
Whispers the o'erfraught heart and bids it break.*

Desdemona, the most lovable, I think, of Shakspeare's women, is perhaps the strongest example of the rule I have proposed. Othello's attack at once stuns her ; she is brave, and denies his accusation as soon as he speaks it clearly, but the effort is almost too much for her. When, a moment later, Emilia asks her how she does, she can answer only—

Faith, half asleep.

(Then Emilia)

Good madam, what's the matter with my lord ?

Des. With who ?

Emil. Why, with my lord, madam.

Des. Who is thy lord ?

Emil. He that is yours, sweet lady.

Des. I have none : Do not talk to me, Emilia ;
I cannot weep ; nor answer I have none,
But what should go by water. Pr'ythee to-night,
Lay on my bed my wedding sheets,—remember ;—
And call thy husband hither.

Emil. Here is a change, indeed !

[Exit.

Des. 'Tis meet I should be used so, very meet.
How have I been behaved, that he might stick
The small'st opinion on my great'st abuse ?

Re-enter EMILIA, with IAGO.

Iago. What is your pleasure, madam ? How is it with you ?

Des. I cannot tell. Those, that do teach young babes,
Do it with gentle means, and easy tasks :

He might have chid me so ; for, in good faith,
I am a child to chiding.

And, after she has roused herself to one great protest against her lord's suspicion, her mind relapses into bewildered helplessness for the short remainder of her life. She goes over again and again the one thought that she can take in—the enormous, utterly impossible crime of which she is accused. She realises only the accusation ; she cannot even *think* the existence of the sin. An exquisitely subtle touch shows how she tries, with her perfect innocence, to imagine what guilt is. She sees Lodovico, a young and handsome man, and wonders if it could be possible for her, another's wife, to love him. She resolves that she “ could not do such a deed for the whole world.” In the last scene of all there is no spring, no elasticity about her mind ; no reflection, one might say no thought. In almost all other cases Shakspeare shows how strangely the brain does its work in moments of great emotion. Here, by exception, he shows a perfectly simple nature beaten down by terrible reality. At the end her words have the directness and the oneness of a child's begging helplessly for delay of punishment :—

O banish me, my lord, but kill me not !
—Kill me to-morrow : let me live to-night !
—But half an hour !
—But while I say one prayer !

Hero, by the way, in *Much Ado About Nothing*, is but an early sketch of Desdemona : when she is similarly accused, after a few sentences of simple answers and ejaculations, she falls in a swoon.

The great character of Othello undoubtedly belongs to this class. He has a strong and healthy mind, and a vivid imagination, but they deal entirely with first impressions, with obvious facts. If he trusts a man he trusts him without the faintest shadow of reserve. Iago's suggestion that Desdemona is false comes upon him like a thunderbolt. He *knows* this man to be honest, his every word the absolute truth. He is stunned, and his mind accepts specious reasonings passively and without examination. Yet his love is so intense that he struggles against his own nature, and for a time *compels* himself to think, though not upon the great question whether she is false. He cannot bring

his intellect to attack Iago's conclusions, and only argues the minor point: *Why* is she false? But even this effort is too much for him. It is, I have said, against nature; and nature, after the struggle has been carried on unceasingly for hours, revenges herself—he falls into a fit. That this is the legitimate climax of overpowering emotion on an intensely real and single character is plain. This obstruction and chaos of the faculties is the absolute opposite of the brilliant life into which Hamlet's intellect leaps on its contact with tremendous realities.

The soliloquy at the end of Othello's first scene with Iago may appear to make rather against my theory; it does not merely repeat one thought, it goes from point to point:—"If I do prove her haggard I'll whistle her off. Haply that I am black—or, for I am declined into the vale of years—yet that's not much. My relief must be to loathe her. 'Tis the plague of great ones." But this contradiction, I fancy, is only apparent. He is trying to force his mind to work, as I have said, and it flutters helplessly from one minor point to another; moreover, jealousy is a mean and worrying passion, attaching itself to details, not grand and broad like the greatest love, hate, or ambition. My theory, by the way, may help to account for what has always troubled critics—the extraordinary quickness with which Othello's faith in Desdemona yields to Iago's insinuations. Sudden and intense emotion stuns his nature, and makes it incapable of resistance.

A strangely unlike character to Othello's confirms this, when put to a test equally sharp, though entirely different in form. Shylock, with his immense power and fierce passions, was of a strength far too single and direct to waste itself in self-analysis. After his first great shock we do not see him, but we are told that he yields wholly to his passion, he rushes about shouting incoherently, "My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!"—his great intellect quite helpless. And this confirms the great scene in which we do see him, so stunned by the unjust decision of the judge that he does not attempt the arguments that must occur to every onlooker. His keen Jewish intellect does not set itself to destroy the contemptible quibble of Portia—indeed, the play would come to an end if it did—he yields, wholly and unreservedly, with barely an attempt to make terms.

This is one of the few instances in which Shakspeare has chosen the alternative I have before mentioned, of entire realism. Shylock says only just what in real life he would say, and we therefore cannot be certain what he *thought*. He is crushed, and he goes ; and there an end.

This is my main case ; but before concluding with a few examples, typical and exceptional, I must pay some attention to a question sure to be asked nowadays. This is, Did Shakspeare's treatment of the effects of sudden emotion vary as his mind developed ; and, if so, how—in what direction, and to what extent ?

With regard to his very early plays—up to *Romeo and Juliet*, at all events—this question is easily answered. In the strongest situations of these Shakspeare has expressed himself almost entirely in conventional forms, thus, in reality, shirking the psychological questions they raised. To begin with, of course, he has generally dealt with the lighter class of subjects—at all events, with subjects less tremendous than those of his greatest period ; but, when strong emotion is requisite, the purely rhetorical form of its expression is often very striking. As an example of his simply declining the strongest situation of a play, take Valentine's reception of the news that his trusted friend Proteus has been false to him (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act V. sc. iv.).

Val. Thou common friend, that's without faith or love,
(For such is a friend now,) treacherous man !
Thou hast beguiled my hopes ; nought but mine eye
Could have persuaded me : Now I dare not say,
I have one friend alive ; thou would'st disprove me.
Who should be trusted now, when one's right hand
Is perjured to the bosom ? Proteus.
I am sorry I must never trust thee more,
But count the world a stranger for thy sake.
The private wound is deep'st : O time most curst !
'Mongst all foes, that a friend should be the worst !

Pro. My shame and guilt confound me.
Forgive me, Valentine ; if hearty sorrow
Be a sufficient ransom for offence,
I tender it here ; I do as truly suffer,
As e'er I did commit.

Val. Then I am paid ; .

And once again I do receive thee honest :
 Who by repentance is not satisfied,
 Is nor of heaven, nor earth ; for these are pleas'd ;
 By penitence the Eternal's wrath's appeas'd :
 And, that my love may appear plain and free,
 All that was mine in Silvia I give thee.

This is the whole scene !

A very characteristic example of the rhetorical treatment of emotion is Juliet's speech on the sudden news of Tybalt's death and Romeo's banishment :—

O serpent heart, hid with a flowering face !
 Did ever dragon keep so fair a cave ?
 Beautiful tyrant ! fiend angelical !
 Dove-feather'd raven ! wolvisish-ravening lamb !

and so forth ; while the very difficult scene in which four different commonplace characters—the Nurse, Capulet, Lady Capulet, and Paris—learn the death of a girl they love, is turned into such a mere exaggeration of rhetoric that many have thought it intentional comic caricature.

The ordinary conventionality of the stage is that people describe their own feelings in poetical language, very much as an eloquent bystander might naturally do in relating the matter. To make great grief or joy almost silent is a rather early advance in realism, and I fancy that this will most usually be found in plays somewhere about the middle of Shakspeare's career, as in the scenes here quoted of Helena, Hero, Shylock. But this is nothing more than a suggestion.

It would, however, be evidently a much more subtle analysis which should take note of the fact that the strongest emotion finds in some natures an intellectual vent, may be said to overflow in thought ; but in working out this principle there is one great difficulty. We may, I think, assume that Shakspeare's was a mind of the introspective order, and it is unquestionably an early tendency of the dramatic genius to draw its characters from what it knows best—itself. It would not, then, be safe to assume that *Troilus and Cressida* is a late play because its hero's intellect, after a sudden shock, works wildly thus, pulls to pieces the straightforward evidence of the senses ; because he says he will stay—

To make a recordation to my soul
 Of every syllable that here was spoke.
 But, if I tell how these two did co-act,
 Shall I not lie in publishing a truth ?
 Sith yet there is a credence in my heart,
 An esperance so obstinately strong,
 That doth invert the attest of eyes and ears ;
 As if those organs had deceptious functions,
 Created only to calumniate.

Was Cressid here ?

Ulyss. I cannot conjure, Trojan.

Tro. She was not, sure.

Ulyss. Most sure she was.

Tro. Why, my negation hath no taste of madness.

Ulyss. Nor mine, my lord : Cressid was here but now.

Tro. Let it not be believed for womanhood !

Think, we had mothers ; do not give advantage

To stubborn critics,—apt, without a theme,

For depravation,—to square the general sex

By Cressid's rule : rather think this not Cressid.

It is, indeed, evident from many examples that Shakspeare, though he naturally analysed at great length the more complex nature, never came to devote himself exclusively to the study of either one of these two types. In his very latest plays, the *Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline*, he has companion studies of two contrasting characters, under circumstances to a considerable extent the same. Both Hermione and Imogen are accused by their husbands of infidelity, though it is true that the former is impeached in the presence of many people, while the latter is quite alone, except for the faithful servant who bears the news. But Hermione's is evidently a simple and grand nature of unusual strength, which, though fully realising its position, has force enough to bear with the amplest dignity a terrible trial. For this great soul no personal attack is too heavy to be endured ; it is only at the death of her son—following upon a joy so great that she could utter but one word—that, like Hero, and not unlike Othello, she falls into a deadly swoon.

It is not thus that Imogen's curious, imaginative character is affected by such an accusation. She *thinks* ; thinks fast and hard, and talks as fast—she makes what is an almost continuous speech of sixty lines. She does not even casually mention Cloten without an

elaborate definition of his character — “that harsh, noble, simple nothing.” These are her first words, after that silence so often to be noticed in parallel cases in Shakspeare :—

False to his bed ! What is it, to be false ?
To lie in watch there, and to think on him ?
To weep 'twixt clock and clock ? if sleep charge nature,
To break it with a fearful dream of him,
And cry myself awake ? that's false to his bed,
Is it ?

Pis. Alas, good lady !

Imo. I false ? Thy conscience witness.—Iachimo,
Thou didst accuse him of incontinency ;
Thou then look'dst like a villain ; now, methinks,
Thy favour's good enough.—Some jay of Italy,
Whose mother was her painting, hath betrayed him :
Poor I am stale, a garment out of fashion ;
And, for I am richer than to hang by the walls,
I must be ripp'd :—to pieces with me !—O,
Men's vows are women's traitors ! All good seeming,
By thy revolt, O husband, shall be thought
Put on for villainy ; not born where't grows,
But worn, a bait for ladies.

Pis. Good madam, hear me.

Imo. True honest men being heard, like false Æneas
Were, in his time, thought false ; and Simon's weeping
Did scandal many a holy tear, took pity
From most true wretchedness : So thou, Posthumus,
Wilt lay the leaven on all proper men ;
Goodly and gallant shall be false and perjured,
From thy great fail. Come, fellow, be thou honest ;
Do thou thy master's bidding. When thou see'st him,
A little witness my obedience : Look !
I draw the sword myself : take it, and hit
The innocent mansion of my love, my heart :
Fear not ; 'tis empty of all things, but grief :
Thy master is not there ; who was, indeed,
The richest of it : Do his bidding ; strike.
Thou may'st be valiant in a better cause ;
But now thou seem'st a coward.

* * * *

Pis. O gracious lady,
Since I received command to do this business,
I have not slept one wink.

Imo. Do't, and to bed then.

Pis. I'll wake mine eye-balls blind first.

Imo. Wherefore then
 Didst undertake it? Why hast thou abused
 So many miles with a pretence? this place?
 Mine action, and thine own? our horses' labour?
 The time inviting thee? the perturb'd court,
 For my being absent; whereunto I never
 Purpose return? Why hast thou gone so far,
 To be unbent, when thou hast ta'en thy stand,
 The elected deer before thee?

Two facts I have not yet noticed which are of considerable importance. The immediate necessity for obvious action—even the opportunity of action—often greatly modifies the result of sudden emotion, acts as a vent for it; and the sharing of emotion with others has also a great effect, not quite easy to define. A good example of both these facts is the behaviour, so strangely alike, of Brutus and Cassius (two most unlike men) immediately after the murder of Cæsar.

An early play and a late one—*King John* and *King Lear*—give curious studies of the effect of sudden emotion on exceptional characters. One is apt to take Constance as a passionate, single-minded woman; and much of the expression of her grief might be held to be merely conventional—such lines as

O amiable lovely death!
 Thou odoriferous stench! sound rottenness!

of course remind one at once of Juliet's rhetoric. But if we continue the scene, and examine particularly the famous lines

Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
 Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me,

we shall find that Constance's intellect is keenly analysing her self: that, intense as her sorrow is, she thinks about it quite as much as she feels it: and that there is little danger of its breaking the o'er-fraught heart, as does the speechless grief of more massive characters.

Lear would need an essay to himself, so I will leave him alone, with this criticism only—that the mad old king, with his intellect, his will, and his animal nature, all strong and all violently wayward, are curiously paralleled in a famous modern man of letters; and that those who would understand the deeds and the emotions of King

Lear cannot find a better clue to them than the Life of Walter Savage Landor.

One must not quit any examination of Shakspeare without some notice of the humorous side of his genius, and it is easy to find among his comic personages many who confirm my theory as to the stimulating effect upon certain natures of even the greatest shocks. Take Falstaff: that immense intellect of a lazy, self-indulgent man, in the very first moment of disaster—when the King suddenly turns upon him—does the very best thing. Who but Shakspeare would have made Falstaff's first words "Master Shallow, I owe you a thousand pounds"—would have made his intellect, at such a hopeless time, so swiftly think out the only possible way of turning off so public a disgrace?

Love's Labour Lost is an extremely early play, but its example is so borne out by a later and more famous one that it is worth quoting. Biron's position, when, after taunting and reproaching his companions, he is himself found out, merely excites his generally mocking and prosaic wit to utterances of high-pitched poetry impossible to its ordinary moods. He out-talks Hamlet himself, and in such a style as this:

Who sees the heavenly Rosaline,
That, like a rude and savage man of Inde,
At the first opening of the gorgeous East
Bows not his vassal head, and stricken blind
Kisses the base ground with obedient breast?
What peremptory eagle-sighted eye
Dares look upon the heaven of her brow,
That is not blinded by her majesty?

In *Much Ado About Nothing* Benedick and Beatrice, the later Biron and Rosaline, are moved similarly by the supposed discovery of each other's love: Benedick not in so poetical a form, but Beatrice in exactly the same way—she too, in this much later play, quits her customary prose for ringing poetry expressed in alternate rhyme.

What fire is in mine ears? Can this be true?
Stand I condemned for pride and scorn so much?
Contempt, farewell! and maiden pride, adieu!
No glory lives behind the back of such.

And, Benedick, love on : I will requite thee,
 Taming my wild heart to thy loving hand :
 If thou dost love, my kindness shall incite thee
 To bind our loves up in a holy band.
 For others say thou dost deserve, and I
 Believe it better than reportingly !

Last of all let me give an example of those whom I have mentioned as tiny intellects eagerly scrutinising themselves. These are the very subjects of comedy : and among them surely stands Dogberry, one utterly and ceaselessly absorbed in the admiring contemplation of his own mind. The greatest shock such a nature could possibly feel would be that of a rude attempt to dethrone its idol, to prove its wonderful Self a poor and common thing, unworthy of this devoted and lifelong study. Such an attempt is Conrade's irreverent "Off, coxcomb !" with its astounding sequel, "You are an ass !" After, we may imagine, one gasp of utter wonder—which has been safely left to the actor—Dogberry bursts into a flood of words, of accumulated, consecutive, and appropriate thoughts of which we should have judged his intellect, as we had seen it in calmer moments, utterly incapable :—

"Dost thou not suspect my place ? Dost thou not suspect my years ?—O that he were here to write me down—an ass ! But, masters, remember, that I am an ass ; though it be not written down, yet forget not that I am an ass.—No, thou villain, thou art full of piety, as shall be proved upon thee by good witness. I am a wise fellow ; and, which is more, an officer ; and, which is more, a householder ; and, which is more, as pretty a piece of flesh as any is in Messina ; and one that knows the law, go to ; and a rich fellow enough, go to ; and a fellow that hath had losses ; and one that hath two gowns, and every thing handsome about him.—Bring him away—O, that I had been writ down an ass !"

II. HAMLET'S CURSED HEBENON.

BY DR B. NICHOLSON, M.D.

(Read at the 55th Meeting of the Society, Nov. 14, 1879.)

No attempt to explain Hebenon has, I believe, as yet been made, except by Dr Grey. And it was only when it was endeavoured at the close of last session to revive his theory, that I awoke to the knowledge that I had read and re-read the passage, and had never asked myself the question, What poison is this?

Omitting further notice of his other idea, that it may have been a transcriber's error, for all the quartos and folios agree in reading either Hebona or Hebenon, I pass on to his theory that He-be-non is a transliteration or anagram of Hen- or He-ne-bane. This is a mere conjecture devoid of any proof, rather contrary to all known facts.

1. No one has met with another instance of this so-called transliteration. 2. It is not a transliteration, for *o* is not *a*, and in the case of Hebona, the first form, neither is *a*, *e*, and there is the loss of the second *n*. It is well known that the anagrammatisers of that time were tied to strict rules, even if we admit that some in desperate circumstances found it necessary to transgress them. 3. Again, when such desperate circumstances happened to people of inferior ingenuity it was because they aimed at transposing a word or words into another word or other words that gave a known sense, generally an appropriate or flattering sense. But what could Shakspeare have proposed to himself by changing Henbane, the name of a known poison, into an unmeaning jumble of syllables? And why should he have thought it necessary in such a case to change *a* into *o*, &c.? In fact, I might with equal or better proof say that the transliteration of the old

spelling "balme" shows that it is etymologically connected with "blame."

But it is urged that Shakspeare made similar transliterations—for, as I have said, this cannot be called a true anagram—in other instances. First, I reply that in these supposed instances the resulting words are proper names which do not require to have a meaning. No one supposes that "William" forms "Will I am," except by an accidental coincidence. Secondly, I deny the fact that Shakspeare can be shown in any one of his writings to have used, not anagrams, but any such anagrammatic changes. Take Caliban, said by some to be an anagram of Canibal. Sycorax was the only human being with him from his infancy for an unknown number of years. He never seems to have attempted to gratify what must have been an innate propensity, and kill, and cook—I beg Shakspeare's pardon—and eat her. Nor is a hint given us that he made his belly her tomb, when she died a natural death. Neither, though he thought Miranda a dainty bit after a different fashion, did he, so far either as we learn or can by probability judge, attempt to kill and devour her or Prospero. Neither, when he incites Stephano to his murder, have we any gloatings of his own as to the savouriness of the pie he'll make, nor of the toothsomeness of his bones. Caliban is gluttonous enough, but his ideas of tit-bits are very different.

"I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries;
I'll fish for thee,

* * * * *

I pr'ythee, let me bring thee where crabs grow;
And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts;
Show thee a jay's-nest, and instruct thee how
To snare the nimble marmoset; I'll bring thee
To clust'ring filberts, and sometimes I'll get thee
Young scamels from the rock."¹

In fine, Caliban is supposed by these ingenious theorists to have

¹ Mr Dyce indeed asks, "Did Caliban mean that his new friend should eat 'the nimble marmoset'?" To this I first ask, what other item of this catalogue was not meant to be eaten? Secondly, I affirm that had Mr Dyce been a sensual brutish animal, only partially human in birth and shape, and were he debarred from all other wingless flesh, he would, like Caliban, have answered Prospero with, "I must eat my dinner," even had dinner only consisted of roast marmoset.

derived his name from a practice of which he neither could have had the slightest experience, nor towards which he by his words and actions evinces the faintest tendency. It only remains for them to assert, that Shakspeare, by transliterating Canibal into Caliban, meant to show us that he differed from a Canibal !

A second Shaksperian transliteration has lately been discovered. Sycorax, it has been found, was formed from "Sorcerer." But as this gives Sy—, or rather Secorer, the masculine ending "er" was changed into the feminine "ax." Passing by these little discrepancies, and the fact that the most acute hearer of riddles could not have discovered this unless it were first explained by its author, I will accept it when it is agreed that this nineteenth century after Christ has discovered, what was undiscovered by the subtle Ulysses, that Ajax was, as shown by his name, a bouncing Amazon ; also, when it is allowed that Hector in Astyanax deceived the Greeks and all ancients, mediævals and moderns, and that he was in reality a girl, a discovery made through the fact that the father, when he changed her clothes, omitted, like the dull-pated Ajax, to change her name ; also that Astyanissa is but a variant form. Lastly, when it is established that all crows (as evidenced by the name *corax*) were supposed in Rome, before Pliny's 'Natural History,' to be females, and bred in a manner peculiar to themselves.

But enough of these things. It only remains to add, 4, that the effects of Henbane, either as ascertained now or as believed in in Shakspeare's days, are as perfectly distinct from those assigned to Hebenon as the effects of one poison can be from those of another. I would add, that the effects of Henbane, the *Insana radix*, were so well known that had Shakspeare attempted to describe them as those of his Hebenon he would have been mercilessly laughed at by any audiences who had the slightest pretensions to learning, and by the critical Jonson, who about that time was sneering at and ridiculing Ophelia for having, even at her maddest, so much as thought of a coach.

Before concluding our criticisms on this theory it may be as well to say a few words on a point on which much unnecessary stress has been laid ; not, however, that it was unnecessary to those in dire

want of a plausible argument to support their imaginings. It has been said that Shakspeare here copied Pliny's statement as to Henbane dropped into the ear. Now, first, it being a mediæval notion, as evidenced by Shakspeare himself, that the ear-opening led directly to the brain, what necessity is there that only Henbane, and no other poison juice, should be so used? Secondly, Pliny speaks not of the juice, but of an oil from the seeds, and it is not Shakspeare's usage to alter thus unnecessarily the words he borrows. Thirdly, Pliny does not say that it kills—much less that it kills after the fashion of Hebenon—but merely that it "is enough to trouble the brain," a phrase readily understood by those who from Latin times to Shakspeare's called it "the insane root." Fourthly, whatever Pliny may have thought, it was well-known in Elizabethan days that Henbane juice dropped into the ear was useful against ear-ache.

The supposition, therefore, perforce, reduces itself to this—that Hebenon is (almost) formed of the same, but the anagrammatised letters of Henbane, while at the same time the known properties of Henbane were in accordance therewith, anagrammatised or changed into the new and unknown properties of Hebenon. I therefore conclude by saying, and it is saying a good deal, that a more baseless conjecture, and one more contrary to known facts, has never been propounded on a Shakspeare passage.

It then became necessary to seek some other Hebenon or Hebena. The words at once suggested the Latin *Hebenum*, they being, at first sight, like our English "Hebene," merely its Anglicised forms. Secondly, both suggest a connection with the German *Eiben*, the Dutch *Ipen*, *Iben*, or *Hennen*, the Swedish *Eben*, the Norwegian and the Danish *Heben*—the *Yew*. The facts, that the *Ebony* is an innocuous nutriment-giving tree, and that, despite its blackness, no trace can be found in either ancient or modern times of its being in any way noxious to health, or other than useful medicinally, at once cast aside the supposition that *Ebony* was meant. But the *Yew* was accounted, from ancient times, the most deadly of poisons. With the omission of a phrase, afterwards to be more particularly referred to, I quote from Holland's Pliny, l. 16, c. x. p. 463—"The *Yugh* . . . it is to see to like the rest, but that it is not so green [of course he means

that it is of a sadder or less bright green], more slender also and smaller, unpleasant and fearefull to looke upon * * * without any liquid substance at all: . . . the fruit of the male is hurtful: for the berries, in Spain especially, have in them a deadly poison. And found it hath been by experience, that in France, the wine bottles made thereof for wayfaring men and travellers, have poisoned and killed those that drunke out of them. *Sestius* saith . . . that in Arcadia it is so venomous that whosoever take either repose or repast under it, are sure to die presently [*i. e.* immediately]. And hereupon it cometh that those poisons wherewith arrow heads be invenomed, after some were called in times past *Taxica* which we now name *Toxica*." Cæsar tells us that a Gaulish king in his time poisoned himself with yew juice; and Virgil recommends that it be not planted near bees. Bartholome and Batman report similar things to Pliny, and in the "addition" Batman says, "Yew is altogether venomous and against man's nature." Baulin (died 1624), giving a contemporary practice, says of impostors, "*Qui morbos simulant pulvere Taxi adeo cutim ulcerant, ut miserabiles ac fere deplorati homines appareant.*" And Dioscorides de *lethalibus*, quoted by Bauhin, says, "[*Taxus*] *frigiditytatem totius corporis inducit suffocationemque ac celerem mortem.*" Others of those times follow them, merely occasionally admixing a little more to the same effect, and occasionally a suggestion of the innocency of the berries, either always or at certain times. Other herb-eating animals were also supposed to escape the deadly effects produced on the Ruminants by the leaves and juice.

Thus the Yew was universally considered a most deadly poison. It remains to show that the Yew was considered an Hebenus or Hebenon. And first, it may be as well to show that Hebenum or Ebenus was applied in mediæval times to various trees. In the *Prompt. Parv.* the Awbell or ebelle tre [generally supposed to be the aspen] is Ebonus, or, according to another reading, Ebenus. The myrtillus of Crete was also called an Ebenus, and so was the West Indian Guaiacum. Littré also gives the *Bignonia Leucoxylon* as one, and under the designation *Fausse Ebene*, the *Cytise Laburnum*, and the *Cytise des Alpes*. If now we look to the forms Eiben, Heben, &c., in the German, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish, these

names for the Yew seem also to have been derived from Ebenus. But whether this be the case or not, the mediævals confounded the two, partly, it may be, from this similarity of name, partly from the statement of Theophrastus: "Taxum . . . eam quidem quem in Arcadia nasci nigro et puniceo, quæ in Monte Ida flavo atque cedro simili." Thus Val. Cordus, in his annotations on Dioscorides, 1551, says under Taxus, "venenum est Est autem Taxus arbor sine dubio ea quam nos ein Eiben vocamus, e cujus ligno adhuc arcus et scorpiones fiunt, quos optimos ex Taxo fieri autores tradunt. Hi autem maximè errant qui Eiben Ebenum esse credunt, sola nominis similitudine decepti." And again under Ebenus, "Porro illi maximè errant qui Ebenum putant eam esse arborem, quæ a Germanis ein Eibe vocatur." So also Bauhin, referring to these passages, "Meritò eos notat Cordus, qui Ebenum putant eam esse arborem, quæ Germanis Ein Eyben (Taxus) vocatur." And in the margin he, speaking of the Taxus, has, "Ebenus non est."

From these passages it is clear that the two trees had been, and apparently had been not uncommonly, confounded. Let us now inquire whether this confusion extended to England. In Marlowe's 'Jew of Malta' we have, in Act III., Hebon named with the direst poisons. Barabas, venting imprecations on his daughter whom he is about to poison, cries

"In few, the blood of Hydra, Lerna's bane,
The juice of hebon, and Cocytus breath,
And all the poisons of the Stygian pool,
Break from the fiery kingdom, and in this
[the poisoned broth]
Vomit your venom and envenom her."

Here hemlock, a much more potent poison than henbane, and opium are apparently omitted as too weak.

Spenser again has "heben" three times. The Introduction to the 'Faerie Queen' has

"Faire Venus sonne
Lay now thy deadly Heben bow apart
And with thy mother mylde come to mine ayde ;"

and here I would remark that *deadly* must be an epithet of "Heben"

and not of the "bow," for neither was Cupid's bow "deadly," nor is there any thing in this Introduction to show that Spenser either thought or feigned to think it "deadly." Again, in B. IV. c. vii. st. 52, describing Mammon's garden as

"Of direfull deadly black, both leaf and bloom
Fitt to adorne the dead, and deck the drery toombe,"

he continues,

"There mournfull Cypresse grew in greatest store,
And trees of bitter gall, and Heben sad,"

where the epithet *sad* again almost identifies it with the Yew, this having been so-called since Pliny's time, both from its dismal hue, and from its appropriation (perhaps from its hue and appearance) to churchyards. Thirdly, in B. II. c. viii. st. 17, Arthur is thus described :

"Till that they spyde where towards them did pace
An armed knight, of bold and beauteous grace,
Whose squire bore after him an heben launce
And coverd shield."

Not to speak of the absurdity of supposing that an English poet of classical education armed a Greek god and a British Prince with a bow and spear of Indian or Ethiopian wood, I would note that none could have been chosen by a soldier poet more unfit for a bow than Ebony from its brittleness and want of pliability, and none, from these qualities and its weight, more unfit for a lance. And, by the way, as to Heben being Henbane, think of Spenser making Cupid's bow and Arthur's spear of Henbane stalks. But what wood have we just heard is, and have always known to be, most fit for bows and other weapons, and what wood would necessarily at once recur to an Elizabethan Englishman, himself a man of war, but the yew? Each passage contains its own distinct proofs, and it is right to add that Aldis Wright had long ago, and I believe quite irrespective of this Hamlet argument, placed "yew" opposite "heben" in his copy of Spenser.

I now quote from a third Englishman who appears to give the same form to the yew, though perhaps a little corrupted by the

printer. In Dolarny's [J. Raynold's] 'Primerose,' 1606, p. 118 (Dr Grosart's reprint), he, speaking of the ancient Britons, says,

"Their weapons were of Ibeame, witch, and thorne,
Some had a skeane," &c.

Will the supporter of Hebenon as the equivalent of Ebony suppose that this author was so devoid of sense as to introduce an Indian wood, in his own time but little known in England, and depict the savages of these isles as making their rude weapons of witch and thorn, but firstly and mainly of Ebony? Do we not arrive almost by a train of exclusion or of exclusive reasoning that this can only be the yew, bearing in mind that for this yew neighbouring people used the same and similar words, and that the yew had been from that time to then the English weapon-making tree?

I now pass on to two rather curious coincidences. The 1603 quarto of Hamlet, that which, as I believe, Shakspeare wrote in 1600, has "Ebona" simply. Holland's 'Pliny' was not published till that year, being entered in the Stat. Regs. on the 20th May, 1600. Shakspeare, then a stroller in the country on account both of the inhibition and the success of the young eyasses, could hardly have seen so high-priced and bulky a volume. But by 1602, the date I take it of the version published in 1604, Shakspeare was back in London, and had enlarged the play "to almost as much againe as it was." Now Holland had translated Pliny's *Taxus*, . . . *tristis et dira*, by "unpleasant and fearefull to looke upon, a *curst* tree," he evidently remembering that it was not only sad in hue and deadly venomous, but, as it were, dedicated to death, and a tree of which, according to Statius, the torches of the Furies were made. Shakspeare, then, in his 1602 version, used the phrase "*curst* Hebenon." A second coincidence lies, I think, in the phrase, "it is against man's nature"—a sort of stock phrase found in Batman, and attributed by the dictionary writers, though, so far as I know, wrongly, to Pliny; so stock a phrase that we find in l'Ecluse "*venemeux et contraire à la nature humaine*." But we find in Shakspeare this *curst* Hebenon as one,

"whose effect
Holds such an enmity with blood of man
That," &c.

Let us now consider the effects of the two poisons, though on this, knowing so little of the reputed effects of the yew, one can speak less definitely than could be wished. The effect of the juice chosen by Shakspeare was intended to be such as should be speedy and quiet, and such as should simulate those supposed to be produced by a serpent's bite. Death from this latter cause was held to be often preceded by patches on the skin. Hence Shakspeare had to choose and describe a poison which should, in its reputed effects, produce some show of resemblance to this, or at least choose one whose effects were so unknown that he could ascribe such effects to it. Now of yew very little was reported except that it was most deadly. But the following may have given him the thought. Suetonius on Claudius, c. 16, says, that he set forth 20 edicts in one day, one being "nihil æque facere, ad viperæ morsum quam Taxi arboris succum;"¹ and he would have this further reason that it is a tree which affects cold and northern climates, and one therefore suitable to the scene, besides being more readily obtainable than a poison obtained from an apothecary or mountebank, and without danger of betrayal. There was some difference of opinion as to the action of yew. Besides producing fever, some said it produced also diarrhœa, and in Bauhin we find, "Nos vero nullum fide dignum autorem legimus, qui scripserit Taxum vim adstrictoriam vehementer habere." Here we not improbably have the curdling, &c., spoken of by Shakspeare, a corrupting of the blood which, according to the science of that day, produced leprous diseases. Also in J. Sylvester ('The Furies,' l. 180) we have "blood-boiling Yew," a phrase which may refer to its fever-producing effects, but may also refer to its blood-curdling properties, since the effect of boiling is to solidify or, as we might say, to curdle the blood. More particularly as to the skin disease Barth. and Batman say, "The substance thereof [of the Yew] keepeth [Barth. servat] the evill that is called *Ignis Græcus* that it shall not quench as Dioscorides affirmeth and sayth." I have not yet found the passage in Dioscorides, nor am I able to say what the Greek fire specifically

¹ I am aware that the "Farmers" will laugh at Shakspeare consulting Suetonius, but if I have any knowledge of his character, he was not above asking questions of those better informed.

was ; but it was a skin disease, and that was sufficient for Shakspeare's purpose.

It remains to answer a question which must occur to every one in this nineteenth century : Why did Shakspeare use "Hebenon" instead of the more common "yew"? First, Hebon and Heben were used by Marlowe and Spenser, his predecessors, while its use by Raynolds after 1602 shows that it was a not uncommon name, at least in poetry. Secondly, he not improbably used it because some doubts had been expressed as to the poisonous quality of the yew berry, which made it less expedient to use that word. Thirdly, I think that Shakspeare was well acquainted with that old proverb and its advantages, "Omne ignotum pro miraculo—all that is unknown is wonderful."

In conclusion, I admit that I have not been able to give any one single and direct proof of the assertion that Hebenon is yew ; but I would say that it has been shown that the only other hypotheses that have yet been advanced, 1. that it is henbane ; 2. that it is Ebony, have neither of them a leg, not even a wooden one, to stand upon. And secondly, that my proposition is so far proved by the concurrence of probabilities, amounting at times to almost perfect proofs, that it can stand till more decisive proofs of some other Hebenon be found ; and I would thus summarize my lines of argument :

(a) That, anciently and mediævally, the yew was considered the most deadly poison known.

(b) That the term Ebenus was mediævally applied to different trees, including the yew.

(c) That the names of the yew in five languages still bear witness to the fact, that if it was not derived from Ebenus it led to its confusion with it.

(d) That in English, Marlowe, Spenser, and Raynolds, used Heben in senses which can only be predicated of yew.

(e) That in the epithets "cursed" and "at enmity with blood of man," Shakspeare has but copied phrases contemporaneously applied to the Yew, and, so far as can be found, to no other tree.

(f) That the effects of Hebenon do not at all tally with the

effects known or supposed of any other poison. But that to the Yew some similar effects were attributed, notably that of causing a skin disease, and that the real effects of yew were so little known that Shakspeare could with impunity indulge in such latitude of description as suited his purpose.¹

¹ I would add, that Shakspeare's noting of the curdling of the blood may have been due, not to the "vis adstrictoria" attributed by some to the yew, but to some of the medical theories then prevalent as to the mode of production of skin diseases generally, or of some in particular.

It might also be worth observing, that the effects of yew are as little known now as then. It is generally believed that yew berries are innocuous, yet persons who come from yew-growing districts maintain the reverse, and cases are still reported, one in 1879, and I think in a 'Medical Journal,' where a child is reported to have died, after having eaten yew berries the day before. The question of their poisonous quality, as well as that of yew leaves, &c., &c., deserves investigation. [I have eaten the viscous flesh of some hundreds of ripe yew-berries in different autumns, and so have my wife and boy. We always have a feed on em when we see em.—F. J. F.]

avoid, vb. get rid of. *Troilus & Cress.*, II. ii. 65, "viii. sad and discreet persons . . . shall haue power and authority by vertue of this act, to appoint and assigne by their discretions the owners of the said fishgarths, stakes, piles, and other engins, to **auoid** and pull vp, or cause to be **auoided**, and pulled vp . . . such and as much of the said fishgarthes, piles, stakes, heckes, and other engines, which then by their discretions shall be thought expedient, meet, and conuenient to be **auoyded** and pulled vp." 1532. (Stat. 23 Hen. VIII., cap. 18, ed. Pulton, 1636, p. 526.)

habiliments of war, Richard II., I. iii. 28. *Pioner*, Hamlet, I. v. 163. "Be it enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, That if any person or persons, hauing at any time hereafter the charge or custody of any Armour, Ordnance, Munition, Shot, Powder, or **habillements of warre**, of the Queens Maiesties, her heires or successors, or of any victuals prouided for the victualling of any Souldiers, Gunners, Mariners, or **Pioners**, shall, for any lucre or gaine, or wittingly, aduisedly, and of purpose, to hinder or impeach her Maiesties seruice, imbesill, purloyne, or conuey away any the same Armour, Ordnance, Munition, Shot, or Powder, **habillements of warre** or victualls, to the value of twenty shillings at one or seuerall times: that then euery such offence shall be iudged felony, and the offender and offenders therein to be tryed, proceeded on, and suffer as in case of felony." 1589. A° 31 Eliz. cap. iv. Pulton's *Statutes*, 1636, p. 1173.

"*My foote my Tutor?*" (The Tempest, I. iv. 469). In *Notes and Queries* (5 Ser. xi. 363) was given an example of this expression from Homily 33, whence Shakspeare may not improbably have drawn Prospero's phrase. I now give a second example from J. Day's *Ile of Guls*, 1606. Demetas says to his attendant—

"But gods me, *Manasses*, goe tell the Duke I must speake with him.

Manas. Presently Sir, [*—Aside*] Ile go fetch the head to giue the foote a posset:" Sig. B 2.

From these two examples, we may, I think, infer that this attacked phraseology was both understood and known.—*B. N.*

Purchase, v.t. obtain, get. *L. L. Lost*, III. 27. "That an oyle may be drawne or gotten out of any woodde: take the small chypes of eyther the *Guiacum*, the Pyne tree, the Ashe, or Iuniper tree, which ordered by two pottes, distyll after by discention [descent] (as afore was taught) or happily¹ as you know, and you shall **purchase** without doubte oyle abundantly"—*The newe Iewell of Health* . . . by that excellent Doctor *Gesnerus* . . . Faithfully corrected, and published in Englishe, by George Baker, Chirurgian . . . 1576. f. 167 vers.

Here it equals 'obtain.' It seems to me also the best example I know that the thieves' cant 'purchase' is not a jocular modification of meaning, but a known usage applied to a particular use. A transitional use—of the noun 'purchase'—is to be found in *Rich. III.*, III. vii. 187, for both the speaker and subject forbid the supposition that it is there through thieves' slang.—*B. N.*

Purchase, sb. getting, pursuit and acquisition. *Oth.*, II. iii. 9. The king's daughters go in charge of Dametas to the king's stag-hunt:—

"*Dame.* Sweet, Ladies, to saue you the expence of much breath which must be laid out in the **purchase** of the game, I haue provided you this stand, from whence your eyes may be commaunders of the sporte." J. Day. *The Ile of Guls*, 1606. Sig. C 2, v.—*B. N.*

Putter out of 5 for 1. The Tempest, III. iii. 48. (See Schmidt, *Shaksp. Lexicon.*)

"*Gon[zalo]*. Each **putter out of five for one**, will bring us good warrant of." *Temp.*, III. iii. 48. Since Malone, most editors have adoptèd—"one for five." Doubtless this latter is the correct and present mode of expressing Gonzalo's meaning. But that the Folio form was the phraseology of Elizabethan times, seems shown by the following. Dametas, a king's favourite, and covetous upstart in J. Day's *Ile of Guls* (1606), counting his unhatched chickens, says—"Ile put out one million to use after the rate of seuen score to the hundreth²:" Sig. G 3. That is, he, the "putter out," would in reality put out one hundred to be repaid at the rate of one hundred and forty.—*B. N.*

¹ This shows that the 'happily' of the Ff noted and changed by some editors to 'haply,' when disyllabic (see *Schmidt*, i. 511, col. 2), is but a variant spelling, not an error.

² Just our 'at the rate of 140 per cent.' The only difficulty is in the old use of *of* (five for one) for '*for*, at the rate of:' Each putter out [of money] for, at the rate of, 5 returnd for 1 lent. See Abbott's instances of *of* = *for*, *Sh. Gram.* p. 115.—F.

III. THE INCONSISTENCY OF THE TIME IN SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

BY EDWARD ROSE, ESQ.

(Read at the 57th Meeting of the Society, Friday, Jan. 23, 1880.)

THIRTY years ago, Professor Wilson announced in 'Blackwood's Magazine'¹ an "astounding discovery" which he had made with regard to Shakspeare's treatment of the element of time in *Macbeth*, and, more particularly, in *Othello*. A Mr Halpin, about the same time, made the same discovery as to the *Merchant of Venice*, and published an essay on the subject which, though whimsical and inaccurate to a degree, yet pointed out important facts which before its publication had been overlooked.

Strangely enough, these contributions to Shakspeare-criticism seem to have attracted but little attention, and until last year had borne, I believe, no fruit. At length, however, the method of examination applied by Wilson and Halpin to these three plays has been extended to all their fellows, both by Mr P. A. Daniel, in the *Transactions* of the New Shakspeare Society, and by the Cowden Clarkes in their 'Shakspeare Key.' Mr Daniel's work is one of the highest value, as it gives accurately, and in a most clear and compact way, the time supposed to elapse from beginning to end, and from scene to scene, of every one of Shakspeare's plays; while the Cowden Clarkes—though less complete, and far less ingenious in their arrangement—have the advantage given by their scientific boldness in at once accepting a theory which converts a mass of disconnected and puzzling details into so many corroborative proofs of one brilliant and comprehensive scheme.

What this scheme was, and what proof we have that Shakspeare followed it, I will presently show; but first a word or two upon the

¹ *Dies Boreales*, V, VI, VII (1849—50). *N. Sh.'s Trans.* 1875-6-7-9, *Appx.*

importance of this element of time in plays—generally much underrated by literary critics, who have little knowledge of the actual stage.

Johnson says that he cannot tell whether Shakspeare had ever heard of the famous “unities” of the theatre, so rigorously observed by the classical French dramatists; but adds, with his usual sturdy sense, that at all events our poet did very well without them. He easily shows the absurdity of confining the action of every play to four-and-twenty hours, its scene to one place; but I think he overlooks the genuine foundation in nature of the rules which had been narrowed into a conventional formality. If you can so carry on your action that, after the first demand upon the imagination of an audience—after they have agreed to suppose themselves, say, in Athens, two thousand years ago—they shall be no further reminded that what they are seeing is an artificial thing, this is well: every such interruption as a request to imagine that since the last scene a year has passed is sure to break for a while their flow of feeling. Take an extreme example: for the first three acts of the *Winter's Tale*, the whole play centres in Leontes—after the sixteen years' interval, who cares two pins about him?

Yet a story which should develope many incidents, and show the whole range of many characters, in one brief day, must almost always seem unlikeliest and wanting in dignity. Years are needed to show the full nature of a *Macbeth*; months, at the least, the strength and weakness of a *Lear*. Nature will not be hurried to suit Corneille and Racine, will hardly dance in fetters even at the bidding of Molière. Both the classical and realistic systems, if rigorously interpreted, are defective: art is necessary, but its concealment is necessary also. Some middle course, if such could be found, would be a blessing to dramatists.

Shakspeare found such a course, says Wilson: by accident, or otherwise. Impossible as it may seem, he used both systems at once, in the same play—though his unity of time had the sensible limit of a few days, not of the formal twenty-four hours. In *Othello*, Mr Daniel clearly shows us, the whole action is begun and ended in three days, with a brief interval for the voyage between Venice and Cyprus; and yet, Professor Wilson as clearly proves, there are a

hundred touches, allusions, and direct statements quite at variance with this, which show that the married life of Othello and Desdemona lasted for weeks, if not for months. And in *Macbeth* the case is almost stronger; the scenes are so connected that they can fill only nine days, with perhaps a brief day or so of marching between—and yet the whole of Macbeth's dreary reign of bloodshed is passed in review. Above all in the plays founded on English history is this noticeable: but of these hereafter.

This, then, was the discovery which Professor Wilson, not without reason, pronounced astounding: that in two of Shakspeare's plays—and, we may now add, in practically all the rest—the notes of passing time are so conflicting, so absolutely irreconcilable, that it is easy to prove that a given tragedy covers only two or three days, while at the same time it contains passages which indicate unmistakably the lapse of months or years between its first scene and its last. This double-time system, as Wilson calls it, is so bold a cutting of the Gordian knot, a solution of the opposing difficulties of the classical and realistic rules, that one cannot wonder at his hesitation in accepting it as intentional on Shakspeare's part—*when there were but two plays for him to argue from*. When, however, one finds the same plan carried out, more or less fully as there was more or less need for it, in every tragedy, comedy, and history written by Shakspeare—with the natural and logical exception of the five hours' farce, the *Comedy of Errors*—the case is altered.

And thus carried out it is, as the details collected by Mr Daniel have proved to us. In the comedies, almost every scene is connected with that which follows, either by immediate consecution of time, or by some such statement in the former scene as "*To-morrow* we will meet," or, in the latter, as "*The business we talked on yesterday*"—such indications of time forming what Halpin calls the "accelerating series," Wilson the "short time" notes. Yet there are also always some signs of a "protractive series," some notes of "long time;" though these—as is natural in the slight framework of comedy—are only sufficient to give some lifelikeness, some reality, to the story. Still, in the *Merchant of Venice*, we are carried on as if by magic from end to end, with no conscious pause or lapse of time, and never-

theless in our day or two at Belmont three months have glided by. It is like the old fairy legend of the man who spent a day in an enchanted island, and came back to find his children grandfathers.

And this illustration, as I implied, is fulfilled even better by the tragedies. There the hurry of passion is needed to sweep us along—one must not have days and weeks for purposes to cool in—and yet one needs the historic breadth of time, and months and years for the growth and change of character. Murder must eat into the nature of the murderer, ingratitude break down a powerful mind: and this is true above all in Shakspeare, who seems to set before us a whole man, and his whole life, rather than the few “sensational” scenes of his career pulled together by main force. We are conscious of no gaps, we do not seem to have missed anything: yet the scenes have rushed by on the swift wings of hours, not with the tardy pace of years.

But for the histories—how is it with them? When I took up this subject, as undecided about it as Wilson left his hearers, I must confess that I looked for proofs almost entirely to the tragedies. Comedy-plots, as I have said, seldom need any breadth of time; and in histories it would seem that all one could ask of the dramatist must be a series of striking scenes, connected chiefly by the presence of some principal character in most of them, and by our knowledge of the events narrated or implied.

To my astonishment, it was in Shakspeare's histories that I found the proof, which appears to me irrefutable, of his consistent employment of a system of double time. The one element which gives coherency to the unparalleled series of plays in which he has dramatised his country's history is a rough unity of time—a connection which carries us on, with hardly a break, from scene to scene, and act to act, not merely through entire plays, but through a body of consecutive and united histories, which in effect form but one vast drama in forty acts.

From *Richard II.* to the end of *Richard III.* eighty-seven years pass away—nearly a century of our country's life is set bodily before us, with a completeness approaching that of Holinshed or Hall: a feat absolutely without precedent upon the stage—never before or since attempted—almost, one would have thought, an impossibility.

The eight plays—*Richard II.*, Parts 1 and 2 of *Henry IV.*, *Henry V.*, Parts 1, 2, and 3 of *Henry VI.*, and *Richard III.*—form a series, too uninterrupted to be an accidental one. I do not mean that when the first of them, whichever it was, was written, all the others were foreseen; but that the later ones were fitted on to the earlier, so that they carried on the story without intermission—in each play it is either taken up exactly where it left off, or the brief intervening period is accounted for in the first lines of the first scene. *Richard II.* ends with Henry's announcement of his intention to go to the Holy Land; as the curtain rises on *Henry IV.* he repeats it, with the acknowledgment that he has been delayed a twelvemonth in carrying it out. This play ends with Henry V.'s coronation and first gracious deeds: the next begins with a recapitulation of them, and then shows the young king promptly acting on his father's dying advice, to distract the nation from home troubles by wars abroad. The chorus which concludes *Henry V.* announces that at his death he left his son imperial lord of France; the first scene of *Henry VI.* shows us his funeral. The three parts of this play over, we proceed without the briefest intermission to *Richard III.*: and the connection between the two pieces is so curious, and the whole of the last-named play so striking an example of the double-time system, that I cannot better illustrate my theory than by citing them, and giving all the notes of long and short time throughout *Richard III.*—very often in Mr Daniel's words.

"The connection of this with the preceding play," he says, "in point of time is singularly elastic: not a single day intervenes, yet years must be supposed to have elapsed. The murder of Henry VI. is but two days old—his unburied corse bleeds afresh in the presence of the murderer; yet the battle of Tewkesbury took place three months ago"—(let me point out that Shakspeare made Henry's murder take place on the night after this battle)—"and, stranger still, King Edward's eldest son and only child, an infant in the nurse's arms in the last scene of the former play, is now a promising youth, with a forward younger brother, and a marriageable sister older than them both. Time, however, has stood still with the chief *dramatis personæ*, and they now step forward on the new scene in

much the same relative positions to each other as when in the last play the curtain fell between them and their audience."

This sounds exceedingly absurd, thus stated in a dozen lines: as Shakspeare has presented it, the inconsistencies artfully creeping in, separated by many scenes and much action, the effect is very different. Inconsistency No I. does not make its appearance till the play is two long scenes old: when Richard, after winning the Lady Anne beside Henry's coffin, says that he stabbed her husband three months ago at Tewkesbury. Supposing even that the audience had seen *Henry VI.* played only the day before: who among them could so turn back his memory as to recollect that, three scenes before the end of that play, Richard had left the field of Tewkesbury, his brother had guessed that he would reach London in time "to make a bloody supper in the Tower," that he had actually done so, and this same night (it would seem) had killed King Henry, that Edward's coronation and disposal of his enemies and friends at the end of the war had followed at once upon this—all being shown bodily to the audience—that Richard's plots and Clarence's arrest apparently had place the next day, and were followed without more than a few hours' pause by Henry's burial and Richard's long and successful pleading with Lady Anne? It is true that we readers, examining the play line by line, find how event has followed event with the intermission only of a day or two: but what spectator would not feel that all these incidents must needs have taken time—would not instinctively allot them, at the least, the interval mentioned by Richard: though the brilliant scene just ended would doubtless have so carried him away as to prevent his giving the slightest scrutiny to a passing chronological statement?

The rapid growth in years and number of King Edward's family—"stranger still" though it seem to the analyst of dramatic time—is still less noticeable to the ordinary theatre-goer. It is not till the very end of two exceedingly long acts, crammed with such incidents as the murder of Clarence and the death of the king himself, that the youngest of the children, the little Duke of York, is introduced: and even his coming is preluded, some scenes before, by the introduction of two children of Clarence, so that the audience is used to

seeing this generation of the house of York upon the stage. At the beginning of the next Act appears the young Prince of Wales, who has not been seen at all during this play, and is only recollected by spectators of the former play as a child in arms at the beginning of the reign of Edward IV., which reign is now ended. As for the marriageable daughter, she does not appear at all, and her hand is only asked of her mother by Richard in the fourth scene of the fourth Act—when so many of her family have died that she really might be any age.

Thus these facts, whose occurrence yet makes the audience feel that some long time is elapsing, produce their effect imperceptibly: nothing is lost, while so much is gained by the unceasing rapidity of the action. How great this is I have partly shown. Henry, murdered before the end of the play which bears his name, is not buried till scene ii. of *Richard III.* finishes. In the first scene, Gloucester says that "Clarence has not another day to live," and his murder ends the Act, whose five scenes are thus inferentially compressed into four-and-twenty hours; while scene iii. is still more directly connected with its predecessors by the entrance of the queen lamenting her husband's illness, already dwelt upon. This scene iii. is ended by the queen and her friends going to the king, while Richard despatches the murderers to dispose of Clarence: as, in scene iv., they do, and end the Act. There is no break, however, for Act II. begins with the interview between the king, the queen, and her partisans, already spoken of: as the curtain rises Edward has just effected a reconciliation between Rivers and Hastings—and this by no means easy task (he calls it "a good day's work") has just given reasonable time for the murder we have witnessed, the news of which is brought during the scene by Gloucester. The king goes, very ill; and in the next scene—the second of Act II.—we are informed of his death; and it is decided that the young Prince of Wales shall be immediately fetched from Ludlow to be crowned king. "It would be possible," says Mr Daniel, "to assign a separate day to this scene, and suppose it the morrow of the three preceding scenes: later than the morrow it can hardly be"—but it seems more likely that it was the same day; and scene iii. is evidently the next morning—it shows

us some citizens discussing the news of the king's death, which is so recent that it is not even known to be certain.

And then Mr Daniel allows an interval for the journey to Ludlow, as in the next scene (which is laid in Westminster) we are told that the Prince of Wales has been fetched and is coming to London; but here let me point out that, though of course a journey always implies an interval—and often, in these pre-railway days, a pretty long one—Shakspeare, so careful to connect his scenes, never holds a journey to be an interval in the sense of a break or interruption to the story. More, instead of *dividing* scenes by a journey, he may be said to *join* them by it; and this quite logically. If in scene i. we are in London, and a merchant says he must go to York on business, and in scene ii. we are at a hostelry in York, and, after a little talk between grooms and tapsters, our merchant comes in and asks for a room, we say, “Ah! he said he was coming”—and a feeling of continuity is established, not severed. The rapid progression of Shakspeare's plays is thus aided by the movements of his people, although in exactly analysing their time we are obliged apparently to lengthen it by allowing every now and then an “interval for journey.”

To resume: the Prince of Wales is coming to London, and probably next day, possibly the day after, he arrives: and this begins Act III. During scene i. it is announced that Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan are to be executed at Pomfret Castle *to-morrow*—thus giving us the date of scene iii., wherein the execution takes place. Shakspeare is always talking about *to-morrow*, or *in three days*, or *on Thursday*, or *the next Sabbath*: thus connecting his scenes, and giving them a great air of reality and definiteness. I think it might be proved that he mentions the days of the week more than all other dramatists together, who let time slip by in some vague stagey manner, and always make events happen on no particular day of the week, and arrange future meetings between their characters at such shadowy dates as “anon” or “another time.” It is thus that Shakspeare's times are often impossible, but improbable, scarcely ever; and audiences which might be annoyed by improbabilities do not suspect impossibilities.

To-morrow, then, is the date of scene iii., and *a fortiori* of scene

ii., in which we are shown Buckingham and Hastings on their way to a council at the Tower; which council occupies scene iv., and results in the condemnation of Hastings to instant death—death before the Duke of Gloucester's dinner! Skipping to scene vi., we find that in it Hastings has been dead not five hours: which of course establishes the time of the intervening scene v., and this is in its turn connected with scene vii. by an appointment for a meeting at Baynard's Castle (where the latter scene passes) to take place on the current day. And "to-morrow," as usual, is here appointed for the next important event, the coronation of Richard.

The next Act begins, then, on what we find to be the seventh day which we have accounted for since the beginning of the play: Richard is crowned, not a week—could but the audience keep count of it—after Henry's burial! Yet history says that Edward had reigned twelve years; and I dare say most spectators would readily believe that these had elapsed in the troublous time since the end of the last play. With regard to the actual scene now before us—the first of Act IV.—a difficulty has been raised which was perhaps hardly worth raising. Anne of Gloucester leads in Margaret Plantagenet, her niece and Clarence's young daughter: whom in the next scene Richard proposes to get rid of by marrying her to some mean-born gentleman, a match which he makes up by scene iii. Considering that the "young daughter" might have been twelve or thirteen, and that for state reasons marriages were often made at such an age, I think that this is scarcely a point worth dwelling upon.

In this first scene of Act IV. Dorset flees to join the Earl of Richmond in Brittany, and in the second the news of this flight is brought to Richard; they are thus immediately connected. In the former is the earliest intimation we have of the marriage of Anne with Richard, though she speaks of it with the weariness and horror of a some time wedded wife; in the latter he spreads a rumour of her illness, and in the very next scene announces that "Anne, my wife, hath bid the world good-night." This is short time with a vengeance! In scenes ii. and iii. also is plotted and carried out without a day's delay the murder of the princes in the Tower; though a touch of longer time is given by the pretty incident of Dighton and Forrest finding the children in bed.

And long time with a vengeance we have also in these same scenes : for at the end of scene ii. Buckingham determines to flee from London, and by the end of the consecutive scene iii. we find that he has got to Wales, has raised an army, "is in the field, and still his power increaseth !" With "fiery expedition" Richard rushes out to get his men together, and in the next scene appears before the Tower with them

And here—in Act IV., scene iv.—is repeated an indication of long time which I might have noticed on its first appearance, were it not difficult to say when that is. Queen Margaret, widow of Henry VI., appears : a "foul, wrinkled witch," we are told, a "withered hag," even in the early part of the play (Act I., scene iii.). Yet, as I have said, the Second and Third Parts of *Henry VI.* and *Richard III.* are all immediately consecutive ; and the very longest time which Mr. Daniel can make out for the Second Part of *Henry VI.* is, "at the outside, a couple of years"—for the Third Part, "say a twelvemonth"—and for Act I. of *Richard* a day, or three months, whichever you prefer : in all, but little over three years. Yet at the beginning of that Second Part she was Henry's young and lovely bride ; and the audience, looking upon her now, quite feels that thirty years have passed since then, and is blissfully ignorant of their compression.

The important events of this fourth scene of Act IV. are Richard's cajoling the queen into the promise of her daughter's hand, and the rapid arrival of a succession of messengers with the news that Richmond's fleet is on the western coast, that the Courtneys are in arms, that Buckingham's army is dispersed by sudden floods, that there is a rising in Yorkshire, that Richmond's fleet is dispersed by tempest, and himself *en route* for Brittany, that Buckingham is taken, and, lastly, that Richmond has landed at Milford. Richard starts without a moment's delay for Salisbury. Then comes a brief scene of twenty lines, which appears to be on the same day ; and the next, and last, Act opens at Salisbury, whither Richard has gone, as he said. These scenes are therefore connected by the journey ; and the next scene is joined to them, though more loosely, by the statement that Richard has now reached Leicester. Thither Richmond starts

with his army, announcing that it is but one day's march; and as the next scene is laid about half-way—that is to say, at Bosworth Field—we may presume that it takes place on the same day. Thenceforward we are carried almost hour by hour through the night, to that morrow on which the Battle of Bosworth Field ends Richard's reign and life.

We have thus seen how the whole play is linked together, generally by definite statements of time, and brought into the compass of a few days: a small number of the scenes contain no precise note of time, but it is made quite clear that the intervals between them are extremely short, or they are, as I have pointed out, connected by journeys. This is the "short-time" of the play; the "long-time" is indicated in every scene. We pass through two reigns, those of Edward and Richard, and each lasts sufficiently long for the monarch's character to become familiar to his subjects. Buckingham speaks to the citizens of their late king as one who had become notorious for his idle and luxurious habits; Gloucester, he says—

"Is not an Edward.
He is not lolling on a lewd day-bed,
But on his knees at meditation;
Not dallying with a brace of courtesans," &c.

And while Gloucester points out Edward's continual vices yet more clearly in the last Act Richmond speaks of Richard as notoriously a hated tyrant, as indeed is proved by the facility with which risings against him are got up all over the country. Indeed, as in *Macbeth*, history is given, if not ample, yet reasonable time to pass along with dignity, despite the way in which dinners and suppers, rising and going to bed, the ordinary landmarks of common life, link together the days and nights of the workers of history.

Having analysed the time of this one play in great detail, I will pass at once to that of the series which it concludes: the eight histories covering the period from 1398 to 1485. Of these eighty-seven years, the intervals between the plays, as accounted for in the opening lines of *Henry IV.*, Part 1, of *Henry V.*, and of *Henry VI.*, Part 1, amount to about four. Thus eighty-three years are actually dramatised; and, taking into account all the indications of long-time

—of the passing of reigns, the rise and fall of rival parties—the spectator is made to feel that this great period does pass before him : that he does not see a few bits of it, but the whole. Yet so continuously are the scenes throughout interwoven that, taking all the indications of short time, every connecting link of day and hour, the most careful reader will find these half-a-dozen reigns compressed in some marvellous way into some four years and two months :¹ while if an intelligent spectator were asked, as the series of plays went along, his estimate of the length of each inter-scene (to coin a term), and these estimates were added together, they could not allow that the eighty-three years of History had occupied more than seventeen stage-months !

Surely we may quote Wilson again, and call this an astounding discovery ; and surely we may look upon one doubt of his as solved. This double treatment of time is so constant, it is a means to so evident an end, that, be it true art or illegitimate trickery, it is at all events not accident. Had we, like Wilson, but a couple of plays to argue from, we could pronounce no opinion ; but when an audience at the Globe playhouse is carried with an admirable lightness and dexterity from end to end of all but a century, and only twice or thrice, between plays, is allowed to see a year pass by ; when like a series of dissolving views days melt into days, and a magician makes us unconsciously believe them to be years, or groups of years, we may

¹ *Vide* Mr Daniel. He gives as the “outside dramatic time” of

Part 1 *Henry IV.*, 3 months.

Part 2 *Henry IV.*, 2 months.

Part 2 *Henry VI.*, 2 years (quite a year too much, I think).

Part 3 *Henry VI.*, 1 year.

Richard III., 1 month.

(Of *Richard II.*, *Henry V.*, and Part 1 *Henry VI.*, he says that he cannot attempt to determine the length of some of the intervals ; but this is because he cannot reconcile himself to the fact that inconsistencies will be inconsistent. When—as in the brief Welsh campaign in *Richard II.*—scenes obviously follow each other closely, one may safely set down a rough estimate of the “short time” of the few indeterminate intervals. Working thus, we get—)

Richard II., 40 days.

Henry V., 5½ months (4½ between Acts IV. and V.).

Part 1 *Henry VI.*, 6 weeks.

Total in eight plays, about 4 years and 2 months.

safely swear that the trick implies a trickster—that accident could never account for such extraordinary, and, dramatically speaking, such admirable results. And, for carelessness—what man was ever, throughout a long series of works of art, a gainer by his own want of care ?¹

And it is very noticeable—to descend again from the whole to its parts—how if we take any single play it carries out our view. If it has a close and simple story, readily lending itself to stage purposes, there is little call for the employment of double-time; and accordingly we find little of it. But when a scarcely dramatic plot has been used, we find the playwright's resources strained to the utmost to fit it for the stage. Take the most difficult problem ever set to Shakspeare: it is solved by the most extraordinary employment of double-time. He had to dramatise *Henry IV.*: a reign containing nothing but a series of unsuccessful and unremarkable rebellions. True, the real object of the play is to show the youth of Prince Hal; but as it is named *Henry IV.*, and is fitted in exactly to its place in the series, Shakspeare had to treat it as a history of the reign. To bind together its straggling scenes of risings and of battles, of Hotspur and Glendower, he has set them in a comedy: but this comedy has no elaborate (and necessarily fictitious) plot, is itself merely a succession of scenes illustrating the youth of Henry V., bound together almost solely by the closest continuity of time—we follow Falstaff and Hal from morning till night, almost from hour to hour.

Here is contradiction indeed. These connected scenes are alternated with—or say rather they frame, or brace together—historical scenes parted by weeks at the least. Thus, in the First Part of *Henry IV.*, between scene iii. of the first Act and scene iii. of the third, the affairs of Hotspur, Worcester, and the rest demand at least three or four weeks of interval; but the two scenes are in a Falstaffian framework, and from his Act I. scene ii., which precedes, to his Act II. scene iv., which follows them, the details of the Gadshill robbery prove

¹ It may be as well to mention that it has been suggested that the inconsistencies of *Othello*—and, I suppose, of some thirty other plays—are not due to the author, but are owing to their “corruption and mutilation for stage-purposes.” (New Shakspeare Society's *Transactions*, 1877-9, p. 231.) I think this theory may quite safely be left unrefuted.

beyond question that not more than a day and a half elapsed. Thus three or four weeks are surrounded, are embraced, by thirty-six hours; and if Shakspeare did not see the impossibility of this his powers of accurate observation must have been much over-rated—especially as the system is carried through the whole play (except where now and then Falstaff merges into the main action), and its result is the dramatisation of an utterly undramatic reign.

But, if an expert dramatist can thus overcome difficulties, he also sees them where to the uninstructed none appear. Shakspeare dreaded a gap of time: he had not a printed playbill and elaborate scenery to help him to tell his story, and he strongly objected to making his characters enter and say to each other, "What, friend! It is just two years since last we met. As you are well aware, King Edward has died in that period, and, as you also know, Richard has come to the throne"—and so forth. Thus it is not merely in the *Winter's Tale*, with a gap of sixteen years, that he feels obliged to drop the dramatic form and come forward to apologise personally for the break in his story: even in such a case as *Henry V.* he saw the constant breaks between the really dramatic parts, and brought in a chorus to account for the pauses. Professor Delius has pointed out the art with which Shakspeare uses the narrative method when it is preferable to the dramatic; and from this employment of its extreme form we may deduce his exceeding dislike to obvious intervals.

Before leaving the Histories, let me point out how curiously a double-time test would confirm the others which have been applied to *Henry VIII.* This play is cut up—not to say ruined—by three indeterminate intervals in its action: after Act III. scenes i. and ii., and Act IV. scene ii.; and all these are due to Fletcher, taking the customary division of work between him and Shakspeare; the moment we get the latter back—in the first scene of Act V.—he is at his usual links of time: "to-morrow morning," he tells us, the next scene—Cranmer's appearance before the Council—is to be.

Through the Tragedies I will not go; each shows the system, as a reference to Mr Daniel's facts—or, still better, to their grouping by the Cowden Clarkes—will prove; but no examples could be stronger than those chosen by Wilson (*Othello* and *Macbeth*), and these it

would be presumption to touch after him. Especially fine is the way in which he proves, in his last paper on the subject, the impossibility of making *Othello* consistent in point of time, without entirely reconstructing, rewriting, and—may we not say?—ruining it.

In the Comedies, as brevity is the soul of wit, long-time is far less necessary than short; accordingly we find that in nearly all of them—I do not count romantic dramas, comedies only in name, such as the *Winter's Tale*—the action hardly pauses from end to end. Yet it is by double-time that elaborate stories like the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* are made to conform to this rapid flow: that, as has been said, Shylock's bond does not keep Portia's love a-waiting: that a touch of dignity is given, a feeling of hurry removed, in the wooing of Ferdinand and Miranda (*Tempest*, Act III. sc. i. l. 33): and that, while we are made to feel that all the story of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* is indeed but a vision of a single night—for Act V. is mere epilogue and not story—yet a sort of restfulness, a dreamy stateliness, is in those lines of Hippolyta—

“ Four days will quickly steep themselves in night ;
 Four nights will quickly dream away the time ;
 And then the moon, like to a silver bow
 New-bent in heaven, shall behold the night
 Of our solemnities.”

The Amazon maiden could not have spoken thus of *one* day.¹

In the *Comedy of Errors*, and, naturally enough, in a few other plays, there are real undeniable mistakes, which serve no possible purpose, and can be nothing in the world but slips of memory. The Abbess, in the play just named, says that her twin-sons are thirty-two years old: they are demonstrably only twenty-five. But these things, I think, prove little or nothing. Like all other writers, Shakspeare made mistakes sometimes—but probably not oftener than most others, if we disallow as mistakes those inconsistencies which cannot be remedied without loss.

Indeed, I may go further than this. I will venture to say that

¹ In *As You Like It*, as once or twice elsewhere, Shakspeare has availed himself—Mr Daniel points out—of the novelist's privilege of actually going back in time, to knit up some thread left loose by the progress of the main story. The expedient seems allowable enough, once in a way, if delicately done.

Shakspeare was remarkably and exceptionally careful in the construction of his plays—more careful even than the great “stage poet,” Massinger—although he doubtless acted on Shenstone’s golden rule of “Deliberate conception : rapid execution.” How the opposite opinion ever got about it is difficult to say : the foolish statement that he “never blotted a line” is flatly contradicted by, for example, the two versions we possess of the Player King’s speech in *Hamlet*—the second deliberately made stilted and turgid to give a stagey effect to the play within a play.

For the thing is evident. Shakspeare was no prodigy, no *lusus naturæ*, no commonplace man with an abnormal gift of writing plays. Leaving out their stage-qualities, his works prove him to have been a man of immense intellectual power, an unrivalled observer who remembered everything—except, according to some critics, the scenes he was for the moment writing—and who had a considerable knowledge of almost every trade and profession. His position was soon a free one : for, whether or no the story be true that Southampton gave him once a thousand pounds—equal to ten thousand of our money—he plainly had a patron who could have procured him, while yet a young man, a fair start in any line of life. Yet this great man thought it worth his while to give his very best work to the drama : and are we to assume that this very best work consisted in every now and then sitting down for a few hours and dashing off a play, without preliminary thought or after-revision ? It is not thus *King Lear* are written.

For the drama is absolutely *the* most difficult form of art—though most people think it the easiest. A great poet and a great stage-mechanician combined are of all things the rarest : so there are fewer good plays than good pictures, good pieces of music, or even good cathedrals. Yet how the masters of other arts have worked—feeling that though hard work is not genius, it is a necessary part of it : look at Beethoven’s enormous knowledge of counterpoint, Raffaele’s ceaseless study of anatomy. Those men only achieve great results who accept the primitive curse, who labour with the sweat of their brow ; and I protest against thrusting Shakspeare from the noble army of workers.

His very imagination made careful prevision all the more necessary to him : for he saw his characters so vividly, they were such real men and women, that had he not planned out their course most strictly beforehand he would have shown too much of their lives—not merely those incidents necessary to his play. Yet nothing is more remarkable in Shakspeare than this conciseness and completeness of construction : every succeeding scene is a distinct step onwards in the plot.

And, if we want to be sure of Shakspeare's method of work, we cannot do better than look at him actually in the workshop : not creating beings of his own, but improving, dovetailing together, planing down, or filling out other men's faulty work : adapting old plays, that is, and putting any amount of honest toil into the business. Take *King John* or the *Taming of the Shrew* : it is a constant delight to compare them, scene by scene, with their originals—to note the unceasing thoughtfulness, ingenuity, and technical skill of the alterations. Shakspeare was not above his business, and he felt—if I may parody George Herbert—that God might be served in arranging the exit of a super. Take a very small example. In reading the old *Troublesome Raigne of King John* it struck me that after the first scene, when all the English characters had gone off and the French came on, the audience must be puzzled, for the first dozen lines or so, to know where they were and whom they had before them. It was a small enough matter, and the uncertainty would not last very long ; yet I thought I would see whether Shakspeare was more or less careful in such things. I found that in his *King John* the very first line spoken on the entry of the French was this :

“Before Angiers well met, brave Austria !”

In six words the place and person were set before the audience !

Again, look at not only Shakspeare's merits, but his faults—and they are plenty. Produce me one unquestionable blemish that is the result of carelessness, and I will bring you a hundred that come from over-care. The painful piling-up of rhetorical effects in his earlier tragedy (as the cursing scenes in *Richard III.*), the laboured and ponderous lines of his last period (as Leontes' manifestly slowly-written speeches)—these are not the flow of a natural and unforced

genius, the rush of inspiration: we could heartily wish that they were, but that their very badness proves Shakspeare's humanity, shows us the man at work behind the fictitious creatures of his imagination.

And Shakspeare was like other men—very like them—only better. Others had to some extent used this double-time system,¹ but not so systematically: not so constantly, that is, and above all not so boldly. In the old play of *King John* just spoken of the scenes follow pretty closely, and months slip away behind days in defiance of logic and the calendar; but it is much more difficult to bring the author to book—he shirks Shakspeare's bold “to-morrows” and “next Thursdays,” and prefers little slippery intervals of time. For example, at the end of the scenes in France John hints to Hubert—in a couple of lines—that he would like Arthur got rid of: and this hint carries on the story to the subsequent scenes of Hubert and Arthur in England. But Shakspeare is not satisfied with this; he expands the hint into a long scene, so explicit that we feel that its connection with the attempted murder must be one of day and day. And between Marlowe's *Edward II.* and Shakspeare's Histories a like difference is to be found.

Now, in the abstract, does not the non-Shakspearean plan sound the better? It combines the classical and realistic systems; it gives us long-time and short; and it hardly shocks even the most careful reader. If we are to cheat, why not cheat in this delicate and gentlemanly manner?

For this reason. If inconsistency be not art, this is not art. It is cheating, like the other; and the gain is incomparably less. Shakspeare's bold and familiar use of time is wonderfully strong, life-like, and unstagey: more easily detected by readers it is, but then—he wrote for hearers.²

¹ For example, it is now generally held that Part 1 *Henry VI.*, in which it is freely used, is not Shakspeare's.

² How unsatisfactory in practice is the system of leaving the intervals between scenes or acts quite indeterminate, is well shown in Mr Wills's tragedy of *Charles I.* The characters are firmly drawn, the dialogue is excellent, each Act is interesting in itself: but there are no links of time between the scenes, and the result is that you feel you have had four detached scenes of considerable merit, but not a play, nor anything like a play.

Yet in one other dramatist I have found an example of double-time as strong as any quoted here : Lope de Vega uses it so glaringly that the audience must, I think, have detected it—and this of course is bad art. In *El Anzuelo de Fenisa* the second Act ends with a Spaniard leaving Palermo for his home at Valencia ; the first scene of Act III. carries on, still at Palermo, the underplot of the play, with no break of time ; yet as it ends the arrival of foreigners in the port is announced, and the next scene shows us among them our Spaniard returned after what he describes as a long voyage back from Valencia—which of course implies an equally long one there—and a stay at home of some duration : in all some two or three months of interval, compressed by the underplot into a day.

Thus, as Emerson pointed out, Shakspeare originated little ; but he collected and improved the ideas of others—he had the selective faculty (an eminently conscious one) in a very high degree. This is, above all, a characteristic of the artist-nature ; and the artist has a right to claim—as the man of science may not—that he be judged from his own point of view, under his own conditions. Examine an immense altarpiece microscopically, as you would a Meissonier, and it is a chaos of daubs and splashes ; put your ear to the big drum, and the Pastoral Symphony will appear considerably out of proportion. Even Beethoven only saw that there was *something* in the Hunter's Chorus of *Der Freischutz*—not hearing it, he could not say what : an ordinary deaf reader of music would probably have denied the something. So Shakspeare chose to be heard and not read, wrote his works to that end solely, and, as I have said, never published a play—possibly not wishing his devices to be found out. In what he did publish, his Poems, we find the reader fully consulted ; and, had he condescended to those hybrid monstrosities, plays for the study, he would doubtless have made them as perfect as such things can of their nature be. Do let us, then, I repeat, treat him neither as a demigod nor an inspired idiot, but as an intelligent artist who claims to be judged from a given point of view, and whose claim we have no right to disallow.

And of this point of view one final word. Inconsistency, perhaps not without a place in other arts, is the very life and soul of

the drama. Take the beginning : take the end. In the nursery, as Professor Wilson says, papa pretends to be a lion : growls horribly : goes on four paws. The child is frightened—so genuinely, that prolong the deception but a few minutes, and he howls and will not be appeased—and yet this fright is an intense enjoyment to him. He knows that papa at once is and is not a terrible beast. And in the noblest tragedy we are moved to real sorrow, we weep real tears : yet our feeling is of the keenest pleasure, and we go again with delight to see this actor who has made us so unhappy.

Thus with the art of stage-construction : it suggests reality, but above all things avoids it. Events, conversation, must appear probable and life-like : but the prolixity, the repetitions, of real life, would make them unendurable. All stage-management depends on this principle : an eminent comic actor said to me the other day, “ In a dark scene I always have the lights nearly up : the author says, ‘ Oh, but it’s supposed to be dark ’—I say, ‘ If it *is* dark they can’t see my face.’ ”

He was perfectly right. Lower your lights for a moment, then gradually raise them. The audience have imagination : they will see that, as the author said, it is supposed to be dark—and they *will* suppose it : and meanwhile what is important is that the actor has not lost the use of his chief means of expression. Just the same with a stage “aside ;” it is so spoken that the other personages on the stage must hear it, or the audience could not—yet the audience perfectly accept it as heard only by themselves.

And, last of all, to put aside the stage, is not this disregard of logical correctness in favour of strong working qualities another instance of Shakspeare’s eminently English nature ? How it horrified Voltaire : how impossible it was to Corneille : yet how inartistic and improbable are the plays of both beside Shakspeare’s. His drama is like our English laws—contradictory, if closely examined chaotic, full of faults—yet resulting in the fairest administration of justice yet known : like our revolutions, illogical, not formulated demands for equality and fraternity, yet achieving an ever-increasing liberty : like the vast body of our poetry, heterogeneous, unbound by academic laws, ranging from sturdy common sense to a noble wildness, but as a whole unparalleled and unequalled in the world’s literature.

IV. SHAKSPERE AND SEA-GLASSES.

BY BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

(Read at the 59th Meeting of the Society, Friday, March 12, 1880.)

At a meeting last session I ventured to dissent from the view that the seaman's glass in the *Tempest* was of an hour's duration. This dissent was founded on three considerations :—that the customs of the sea are unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians ; that the seaman's glasses of the present day, like the bells that betoken them, mark half-hours ; and that Shakspeare, as shown especially by the first scene of the *Tempest*, seems to have been unusually conversant with nautical matters. After referring, however, to the well-known passage in *All's Well*, Act II. sc. i. ll. 159—164, the latter part of which runs—

Or four and twenty times the pilot's glass
Hath told the thievish minutes how they pass,

I retracted my opinion, saying that either the sea custom had altered, or Shakspeare was wrong in a technology, in which one is, according to my experience, more apt to make a mistake than in any other.

As it seemed worth while to pursue the subject, I consulted 'The Seaman's Grammar,' by Capt. John Smith, Governor of Virginia, which he published in 1627, within about three years of his death. In ch. ix. p. 38 are these words—"or each squadron [*i. e.* party or half the crew] for eight Glasses or foure houres which is a watch." I quote from the first edition, and also from the second and third. These latter were published in 1653 and 1692, and though the last is stated to be "Now much Amplified and Enlarged . . by . . several experienced Navigators and Gunners," the three are identical and run page for page up to the end of ch. xiii. p. 63. It is, of course,

true that 1627 is after Shakspeare's date; but Smith went to sea in 1603 or earlier, and, not to speak of the improbability and almost impossibility of such a change in those non-changing times in a profession least of all given to it, it is a certainty that if so important an alteration had occurred during Smith's sea-life he could not but have explicitly noticed it.

It follows, therefore, that Shakspeare was wrong in *All's Well*. Whether he were wrong also in the *Tempest* is not so immediately evident, and there is, of course, an *à priori* possibility that he might by that time have learnt his error. Without, however, entering into the question in detail, I would say that, having carefully considered both sides of the question, I have been compelled, though once of the contrary opinion, to come to the conclusion that here also he was wrong, and took the seaman's glass to be a full hour glass instead of one of half an hour.¹

This conclusion is of interest in two points of view. 1. It is the first instance in which Shakspeare, in his use of technicals, has been found wrong. 2. I hold it a sure proof that *Shakspeare never was at sea*. I fully admit that wherever else he has used a sea technical he used it rightly, and that he has made an allusion in Sonnet cxvi. which, being misunderstood, or rather not understood, by landmen, has been pronounced a crux, though it requires no emendation at all. I admit also that the handling of his ship in the *Tempest* is intelligent and seamanlike, and has gained the approbation of naval officers. Admitting, I say, these things, as appearing to be contrary to my supposition, and, on that supposition, only to be explained with difficulty, I cannot lose sight of the fact that, he being wrong in this point, the conclusion that he never could have been at sea inevitably follows.

If he had been, we must suppose that, quick, inquiring, and sagacious as he was, ever ready to pick up even crumbs of information, he failed to pick up what every boy picks up at once, and what every one, sailor or passenger, *must* have picked up. Shakspeare could

¹ As noticed by Mr P. A. Daniel in his 'Time-Analysis of the Comedies,' p. 119:—"Alonzo's 'three hours' followed shortly by the Boatswain's 'three glasses' must decide this measure of time for the *Tempest* to be a *one hour glass*." As he also notes, the pilot's glass in *All's Well* is a two-hour glass.

not have been "in the cabin," unless in a mere coasting craft, and the steerage passenger is even more bound than he "in the cabin" to learn ships' hours if he would live. A cabin passenger of that day was also more bound to attend to them than he is at present, when passenger ships have become floating hotels. Take, first, the mere novelty and consequent curiosity. At 8 A.M. he hears eight bells; at half-past eight, one bell; at nine, two bells, and so on. Then at noon, when lunch is laid, and every one sharp set, some curious doings evidently cause delay. At last, the chief officer, touching his cap, says, "Eight bells, sir." "Make it so," replies the captain. *Eight* bells are sounded, the watch below "tumbles up" and relieves the other, and lunch is begun in the cabin. But half-past twelve is again one bell, and one o'clock is sounded as two, &c. Then, again, there is ore cause of curiosity. At every eight bells or four hours, and during the dog-watches every two hours, the watches change, a noticeable time now; the boatswain whistles and calls loudly, and there is unusual bustle. But at that date it was the more noticeable, for every watch was commenced with prayer and the singing of a psalm. Besides, the curious landsman, transported to a wholly new world, and with, therefore, his curiosity and intelligence both awakened, if abaft the binnacle, or, in other words, a cabin passenger, could see and see handled the running or out-run glass, and hear the consequent cry of two (or so many) bells.

But there was more than mere curiosity. Those essential times of life, and especially of life at sea, the meal-times, and the time of "lights out," are all regulated by the glasses and their bells. If one would live, he must learn and obey them. Are we to suppose that Shakspeare never asked for and never received the simple explanation—We reckon by periods of four hours, a watch, and every half-hour is noted?

Hence my conviction that Shakspeare, having on two occasions, and on the second persistently, and late in his life, made the mistake that the seaman's hour-glass, like the landsman's hour-glass, marked an hour's length, never could have been at sea.

Union, sb. pearl. *Hamlet*, V. ii. 283. Though Bartholome, who wrote in 1360, calls all pearls *Margarites* (The orient perle), he elsewhere speaks of "Unions and Margarites." N. Sh. Soc. *Trans.* 1877-9, p. 106. The word originated with the Romans, apparently after the Empire. Pliny says of **Uniones** or pearls:—"Their chief reputation consisteth in these five properties, namely, if they be orient white, great, round, smooth, and weightie. Qualities I may tell you, not easily to be found all in one; . . . And hereupon it is that our dainties and delicates here at Rome, haue deuised this name for them, and call them **Vnions**; as a man would say, Singular, and by themselues alone (*Nat. Hist.* l. 9, c. 35. Holland, transl. 1600).—*B. N.*

Yare, a. *The Tempest*. This word is used 4 times by Shakspeare as a nautical term, and four times as a land one. "Another rule you must learne in a comedie well acted, and conuaied for the devil: that the demoniacks be so neerely placed (yet in general roomes) each to other, that one may heare without benefit of Midas long eares, what is said vnto, or by the other; and so the second may be **yare and ready** to take his cue." S. Harsnet's *Popish Impostures*, 1603, p. 143. Neither here nor elsewhere does Harsnet use any nautical expression or phrase.—*B. N.*

The devil's dam. *T. of Shrew*, I. i. 106; *C. of Errors*, IV. iii. 51; *Othello*, IV. i. 153, &c., &c. Dam is doubtless frequently used by Shakspeare for mother, and possibly he and others may, without thought, have used this familiar phrase in the same sense. But in no theology, popular or otherwise, is it to be found that *the devil* came into existence through a female devil. 'Dam' here means simply his dame or wife (*Proserpina*), or if this be too respectable, his leman. Harsnet's *Pop. Impostures*, 1603, p. 151, illustrates this. The passage also gives the cant term, *case*, for a Fidler's wife or strumpet. "It is the fashion of vagabond players, that coast from Towne to Towne with a trusse and a cast of fiddles, to carry in theyr consort, broken queanes, and *Ganimedes* as well for their night pleasaunce, as their days pastime: our deuil-holy consort at their breaking vp house at *Denham*, departed euery priest suted with his wench after the same good custome. *Edmunds* the Jesuit (saith one of their covey) had for his darling Mistris *Cressy*, *Anne Smith* was at the disposition of Ma: *Dryland* * * * * And was not this a very seemely Catholicke complement trow you, to see a Fidler, and his case,¹ a Tinker and his bitch, a Priest and his Lemman, a devil and his damme."—*B. N.*

mankind, adj.: *Winter's Tule*, II. iii. 67. "*Brifalda* a bould, shamelesse, **mankinde**, virago woman." 1598. J. Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes*.

¹ A somewhat like sense is seen in *The Merry Wives*, IV. i. 64 as Dame Quickly's comment shows: "Vengeance of Jenny's case! fie on her! never name her, child, if she be a whore."—F.

V. KEMP AND THE PLAY OF *HAMLET*—
 YORICK AND TARLTON—A SHORT CHAPTER IN
 DRAMATIC HISTORY.

BY BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

(*Read at the 55th Meeting of the Society, Friday, March 12, 1880.*)

LONG ago the question forced itself upon me,—Why is there no Fool or Court-jester in *Hamlet*? One seemed to be asked for—by the habits and taste of Shakspeare's audiences accustomed to and relishing the jestings and vagaries of Tarlton and his successor Kemp, —by the time and personages represented,—and thirdly, by the tone and character of the play. That is, the tone and temper of Shakspeare's mind when composing it seems to have required such an outlet. Under the assumed folly of a jester he could, *more suo*, have emphasised and clinched the moralities and immoralities set forth. Who forgets the biting sarcasms of poor Lear's fool, and their aptness?

The Gravedigger scene relieves the gloom of the plot, and by contrast heightens it. Our pity for the dead Ophelia is at her burial renewed and increased, and Hamlet's love, now frenzied and despairing, is brought out to himself, and brought out in greater relief before us. So again, Osric's folly and affectations, by releasing our pity for a time, render Shakspeare able to intensify it anew in the tragedies that follow. But these contrasts are confined to two scenes. Had there been a jester this might have been done more frequently and before the close, and the jester have had play for his satire besides. Both the Gravedigger and Osric seem to me like devices to make up for this want.

Polonius, I am aware, has on the stage been made a third fool, but omitting much that might be urged against this view, it will be sufficient to say that the experienced but latterly somewhat senile old man, is not to be judged according to Hamlet's prejudiced judgment. The ambitious Prince had felt from the first that Polonius and Gertrude had been gained over, and were main agents in the plotting which dispossessed him, and his glimpse of the over-hearers of his interview with Ophelia had told him that she was acting and had acted under the influence of his enemies and of her father.

If, however, the reader be unable to agree with me in these views, he cannot but allow, that had Kemp been of the company, Shakspeare, a practical playwright—one who knew, so to speak, the points of the actors he wrote for, their capabilities and their excellencies—could not have failed to frame a part for so popular and influential a comedian. The question therefore resolved itself into this—Was Kemp a member of the company when *Hamlet* was produced? I say this, because we may hold it certain that there would be no one to replace him. No names have come down to us but those of Tarlton and Kemp. Each in his day was *facile princeps* in his line, and their very excellencies prevented attempts and intrusions. Burbadge or Garrick might have had walking substitutes, but no replacers for some time. What, then, is the answer? Not only was Kemp absent, but Shakspeare and he were at daggers drawn. First, as to Kemp's absence. What has been said gives it an *à priori* probability. A second probability lies in the fact, first noticed by Mr Collier, that Kemp played in *Every Man in his Humour* in 1598, but not in *Every Man out of his Humour* in 1599. A third is that Kemp performed his morris to Norwich (taking nine days to go thither) in 1599. And this not merely because of the time he was absent, but because when he published the narrative, entered in the Stationers' Registers, 22nd April, 1600, he speaks of reports of his going abroad. It is improbable that these would have arisen had he been still playing and likely to play with his company. Fourthly, as has just been said, under guise of warning the public not to believe reports of his going to Venice, Rome, and Jerusalem, he announces his intention of going as he did to both Venice and Rome.

"Kemp's humble request to the . . . generation of Ballad-makers [end of Nine days' Wonder]."

"These are by these presentes to certifie vnto your block-headships, that I, William Kemp, whom you had neer rent in sunder with your vnreasonable rimes, am shortly, God willing, to set forward as merrily as I may; whether I myselfe know not. Wherefore, by the way, I would wish ye, imploy not your little wits in certifying the world that I am gone to Rome, Jerusalem, Venice, or any other place at your idle appoint." [Speaking afterwards of his supposed discovery of the ballad-monger, he says]—"Let any man looke on his face; if there be not so redde a colour that all the sope in the towne will not washe white, let me be turned to a whiting as I passe betweene Douer and Callis."

But I have only noted these probabilities to show how they confirm the facts stated in the MS. memorandum quoted by Halliwell-Phillipps. In this, under date 2nd Sept. 1601, we have—"Kemp, mimus quidam, qui peregrinationem quandam in Germaniam et Italiam, instituerat * * * multe refert de Anthonio Shirley * * * quem Romæ [? Venetiæ] (legatum Persicum agentem) convenerat." So also in 'The Travels of the Three English Brothers,' first published in 1607, there is a scene between Shirley and Kemp at Venice. A medley ballad also, quoted by Mr. Collier—though it might be unsafe to lay great stress on this—is said to contain the line—

"When Kemp returnes from Rome."

Lastly, in *The Return from Parnassus*, played in 1602, and the time of action of which was in that year, as shown by the Dominical letter C (Act III. scene i.) he is addressed—What M[aster] Kemp, how doth the Emperour of Germany?—and again—Welcome, M. Kempe from dancing the morrice over the Alpes (IV. v.). Not that he did so dance in days when there were neither diligences nor roads for them, but he is so addressed in jocular remembrance of his Norwich feat, and because he doubtless did perform occasionally, during his continental tour, to amuse himself and gratify his vanity by being the most nimble and graceful at the village sports, to please those whom he met and lodged with, and to in part defray his expenses.

Secondly, as to Kemp's quarrel with Shakspeare and his fellow-comedians. These reasons go, I think, to prove that his travel was

not a mere freak : (a) The success of his Norwich trip, during which he was *fêted* and made much of by all, including the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich. (b) The then low estate and fortunes of the company. Under the successful rivalry of the young eyases, and probably also through the "inhibition," Shakespeare and his company were reduced to stroll in the provinces. It is true that the "inhibition" is not mentioned in the 1603 *Hamlet*, but we know from the after editions that this was set forth as one cause of their strolling, and its omission in the 1603 play may be explained by two politic reasons. One that they might not mis-succeed in the provinces, through the stigma of having been silenced at her Majesty's command ; the other that it was held safer under the circumstances not to re-arouse the sleeping lion by any allusion to so personal and recent a state matter. To return, Kemp was just such an influential and well-to-do rat as would not care to remain in a tumble-top-pieces bark, especially when he saw prospective advantage and pleasure in quitting it for pastures new. (c) A third reason would be a quarrel—not merely with his fellow-comedians on these accounts—but a bitter quarrel with Shakspeare, due to his extemporising and non-attention to and interference with the proper business of the scene. We find evidence of this in Hamlet's advice to the players, namely, in the personal and caustic remarks on the Clown, singled out as he is from the other players—remarks uncalled for by the play of *Hamlet*, or by its sub-play, 'The Mousetrap,' where no fool appears—and those on his extemporising, a noted characteristic of Kemp. These two facts have led others before me to the belief that Kemp was here hit at, and like the rest of the advice, the words were evidently introduced by Shakspeare with an intention and with intent. But in the 1603 quarto there is much stronger proof of personality, and of his bitterness against the Clown, though curiously enough, it has been omitted from the text of *Hamlet* in all the editions, and in most from the notes ; even the Cambridge editors have not given it. Hamlet's speech continues thus—

"And then you have some agen, that keepes one sute of
Apparel, and gentlemen quotes his ieasts downe
In their tables, before they come to the play, as thus :
Cannot you stay till I eat my porridge ? and, you owe me

A quarter's wages : and, my coate wants a cullison :
 And, your beere is sowre : and, blabbering with his lips,¹
 And thus keeping in his cinkapase of ieasts,
 When, God knows, the warme Clowne cannot make a iest,
 Vnlesse by chance, as the blinde man catcheth a hare :
 Maisters tell him of it."

Staunton remarks that these lines have been supposed to allude to Kemp. I had been convinced independently that they did. It is clear by the particular jests quoted that some particular clown was aimed at, one well-known by these sayings. Who could this have been but the notorious jester Kemp, one who, as has just been shown, had left them, and thus still further reduced their efforts to please either town or country audiences.

It has indeed been said that these lines were taken by Shakspeare from the older *Hamlet*. This is merely an unsupported—and as I think a worse than unsupported, a ludicrous—attempt at explaining their after absence. There is not the slightest authority, proof, or probability for this view. We know of but two or three phrases of the old *Hamlet*. If we exclude these lines as not Shakspeare's, we ought to exclude the whole scene, and suppose that such a scene, universally and without contest given to him, was pirated by him from a rival play. Further, we must suppose that two dramatists led by the same warm thoughts and motives, chose similar plays in which to expound in identical and identifying words their opinions on a matter or rather matters wholly foreign to the plot and personages of these plays. And lastly, we have to believe that the latter of these dramatists was—William Shakspeare ! It is true that the passage is not in his best manner, but so far as my poor knowledge of style goes they are Shakspeare's. And it is good enough, considering whose the sayings were which form a great portion of it, and considering what our author was aiming at, and that he was angry, and more than angry. Their absence from the later versions, which

¹ That this "blabbering" was another and the fifth quoted jest I think is shown by the after phrase, "cinque-a-pace of jests," though this of course was otherwise applicable.

Shakspeare's anger appears in the last three lines to have led him into injustice, for it is well known that Kemp had a ready and jocular vein. Witness his remark after Prince Hal's buffet, as also his extempore replies to his audiences.

has led to the conjectural explanation that they were not Shakspeare's, will presently be satisfactorily explained.

Having lately re-looked into these conclusions that I might state them to a friend, it occurred to me that Kemp having been thus quarrelled with and hit at, the praise of the dead jester Yorick might be praise of the dead Tarlton, Kemp's predecessor. There was no necessity for Shakspeare's choice of a jester as the owner of the skull, an old nurse or attached attendant might have served his turn, and would certainly have been as natural, and have given rise to equally affectionate remembrances. But had Shakspeare known Tarlton, and had his remembrance of him been vivified by a quarrel with Kemp, he would naturally have increased the virulence of his attack on the one, by the implied contrast with the other. It was, however, necessary to put this supposition to the test. Now the dates in the 1603 quarto differ from those of after editions. In it the Gravedigger says—

“Here's a skull hath been here this dozen yeare.

* * * * *

This was one Yorickes skull.”

The opinions as to the production of *Hamlet* vary between 1599 and 1601. On grounds other than the present, I had previously adopted 1600. Take a dozen years from 1600, and we get 1588. Tarlton was buried 3rd Sept., 1588.

A casual coincidence of dates an objector may say. Rather, I would reply, an agreement to which I was led, and one which is supported by the various probabilities before noticed, and which requires for its confutation proof that *Hamlet* was not composed in 1600. But there is yet another proof. Kemp returned, according to the MS. quoted by H. Phillipps—“post multos errores et infortunia sua”—about the 2nd Sept., 1601. From the 10th March, 1602, to the 4th Sept., 1602, we find him, by the entries in Henslowe's diary of those dates, and by that of 22nd August, in the employ of this manager. No mention of him occurring before or after, we are almost justified in concluding from this alone, that these dates give us nearly the period of this engagement. We are unable to say where he was between 2nd Sept., 1601, and 10th March,

1602, though it is hardly probable that having so quarrelled with Shakspeare and his company, he would have rejoined them immediately on his return to England, only to leave them within six months for their rivals, and then, as we shall presently see, return to them again in about another seven months. But the question does not much matter. What is wanted to be known is—What became of him after Henslowe's last entry of Sept., 1602. Now in *The Return from Parnassus*, played at Cambridge at Christmastide, 1602, Kemp and Burbadge are represented as business touring thither in conjunction for recruits (Act IV. scene iii.), a thing almost impossible if they belonged to rival companies, and wholly impossible if we read the scene. It also appears by this same scene that it was intended to represent Kemp's first visit to Cambridge after his continental trip, otherwise the salutations already quoted would have been ridiculously out of date and place.

But to use the mildest term, it would have been unpleasant both to Kemp and Shakspeare, that the direct Shakspeare-Hamletian jibes should be still spoken against the former on his own boards. So also considering that these jibings had induced the publicly-expressed regrets for and admiration of Tarlton, would be the retention of these latter. What, then, do we find in the 1604 and subsequent versions? First, that while this 1604 version was "enlarged to almost as much again as it was," and while the more general remarks on the Clown are retained, the individualising lines before quoted are excised. Secondly, that the identification of Yorick with Tarlton is destroyed by placing Yorick in his grave not *twelve* but *twenty-three* years before. And it may be remarked by the way that this improves the play, for it makes *Hamlet* at the very least close upon thirty, if not beyond it, an age which leaves no possible excuse in the minds of the spectators for the resolutions of his uncle, his mother, and Polonius to exclude him from the throne—shows his love for Ophelia to be no boyish fancy—and, above all, brings out more strongly his tendency to meditate instead of acting, as well as his innate irresolution of mind. At thirty he is still one who broods over his wrongs till he thinks the world out of joint. He forms elaborate mental schemes, wherein he provides against all accidents,

and is for the time satisfied, and there ends, only to brood anew over his troubles, and again go over his old schemes or begin a new one.

In conclusion I would make these six remarks. First, that I have been informed by the Rev. Mr Fleay that he had already, at some antecedent time, come to the conclusion that Yorick was Tarlton, though I know not his arguments. Secondly, that this identification, without reasoning in a circle, lends another probability to those who think that *Hamlet* was produced in 1600. Thirdly, that the 1604 version can hardly be earlier than 10th Sept. or 1st October, 1602. Fourthly, that this allusion to Kemp adds a second instance to the Lucy episode where Shakspeare has chosen the stage for the expression of his anger, if not of his malice. Fifthly, that it adds to the personal allusions in a play seemingly unusually full of them. We have—1. The inhibition.—2. The success and conduct of the little eyases.—3. The consequent reduction of Shakspeare and his fellows to strolling vagabonds.—4. His particular desire to hit at and note his opinion of the acting of certain actors (probably among the rival company or companies), a desire not unnatural in one of his then frame of mind, and reduced position.—5. His quarrel with Kemp.—6. His remembrance of Tarlton. Sixthly, I would remark that this last gives greater probability to the belief that he had personally known Tarlton, and had probably joined the players on or just after one of their visits to Stratford, say in 1585.

NOTE.—Chalmers thought that Kemp died during the pestilence of 1603, because among the deaths in the register of St Saviour's, Southwark, he found, "1603 November 2. William Kempe, a man," and this has been supposed to be confirmed by the omission of Kemp's name in the license granted by K. James to his players 17 May, 1603. But as Mr Collier well remarks, "a William Kemp, a common name, is noted by Chalmers as married at St Bartholomew the Less, not far from the Blackfriar's Theatre in 1606." Then again, a William Kemp, noted in various token-books, is noted in that of 1605 as living "near the playhouse." The reader may take these three Kemps as one, or two, or more as he pleases, but they do not prove that Kemp the Comedian died in 1603, nor that he was married in 1606. Mr Collier also gives from the "civic archives—1605, Whereas Kempe, Armyne, and others, plaiers at"

The difficulty, that he is not mentioned in the Royal License of May 1603, is not got over by supposing that he died in November

1603. The true explanation I conceive is this—Kemp having sold or lost his shares when he left the Lord Chamberlain's Company, circa 1600, he could not regain them when their holders were in good view of prosperity in 1603, and he was therefore in the position of "a hired man."

Nor does either supposition affect my argument. 1. The Ret. from Parnassus proves that about Christmas, 1602, Burbage and Kemp were co-mates. 2. If Kemp had died, Shakspeare—if we understand his character rightly—would have expunged his personalities, just as though he had joined the Company.

B. NICHOLSON.

DISCUSSION.

MR FURNIVALL :—While I think it most probable that the Clown-sneers of Q1 were aimed at some special clown, who would naturally be Kemp, and while I agree with Dr Nicholson that the 'cinkapase' and 'warne clowne' passage in Q1 represents lines of Shakspeare's own, and not the old-*Hamlet* writer's,¹ I have no sympathy with his view that a Fool or Court-Jester is wanted in *Hamlet*. Hamlet himself does the main work of Lear's fool. To adopt Dr N.'s words: "Who forgets the biting sarcasms of [Hamlet], and their aptness?" If there had been a fool in *Hamlet*, his chief occupation would have been to jeer at Hamlet's way of "sweeping to his revenge" through the long four last acts of the play. One can fancy what short work "the bitter fool" who showed Lear what he was, would have made of Hamlet's excuses and delays, flesh-melting, play-teaching, and 'may be a devil,' &c.² If Shakspeare had had 18 Kemps at hand, he'd not have put one into *Hamlet*,—or *Othello* or *Macbeth*;—he knew his business too well for that.

Why not be content with Kemp's habit of gagging and grimacing, and his absence from the company in 1601 and the early part of 1602?³ That is all that is wanted. The 'bitter quarrel' and Yorick-Tarlton are surely but ingenious may-bes.

¹ The Doctor's strong words on p. 61 about this old-*Hamlet* borrowing are not one whit too strong. See my Forewords to *Hamlet* Q2.

² *Hamlet* is admirably characterized by Dr N. on p. 64.

³ Mr Collier, wrongly quoting Mr Halliwell (*Convent Myst.* p. 410), has in his *Memoirs of Actors*, p. 115, printed *per for post*, in his extract from the Sloane MS. 414, leaf 56, mistakingly called by Mr H. 'MS. Sloan. 392, fol. 401,' because MS. 392 happens to be the first of several MSS. bound together. The true reading of the MS.—The Diary of William Smith of Abingdon, Aug. 4, 1598, to Apr. 25, 1604—is as follows:—

1601. "Sep. 2. Kemp, mimus quidam, qui peregrinationem quandam in Germaniam et Italiam, instituerat, post multos errores, et infortunia sua, reversus: multa refert de Anthonio Sherly, equite aurato, quem Romæ (legatum Persicum agentem) conuenerat." This passage is (like a few others) in a corrector's or adder's hand, and different ink from that of the main text of the

I agree with Dr Nicholson that the 'blabbering with his lips' was the 5th jest. And that it specially suited Kemp may be judged by Chalmers' words about him (*Variorum*, 1821, iii. 489).

"He usually represented the *clowns*, who are always *very rogues*; and, like Tarleton,¹ gained celebrity by his *extemporal wit*; whilst, like other clowns, Kempe raised many a *roar by making faces, and mouths, of all sorts.*"²

DR NICHOLSON:—As *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth* are placed in one category, and *Lear* in another, are we to suppose that the Gravedigger and Osric were interpolations by the players? They are two fools already in *Hamlet*,³ nor am I so confident that I can pronounce on Shakspeare's rules of art.

Mr Furnivall I believe admits, as I think all must admit, that the retained passage on the clown, and especially the excised bit, only found in Q1, were levelled at Kemp; but he drops all remembrance of these when he thinks the evidence of a bitter quarrel an ingenious may-be. Surely they are as certain proofs of a quarrel as the jokes on the Lucys are proof that Shakspeare ventured to vent his bitterness against them publicly on the stage. The secession of Kemp, and his departure for the continent, is another concurrent argument. A third and very strong one is the excision of the markedly personal portion of these allusions when Kemp made his peace and rejoined the company.

I cannot now enter into my reasons for assigning the first version of *Hamlet* to 1600. But with our present knowledge we can neither positively assign six other plays to 1599—1601, and cannot because of those six exclude *Hamlet* from those dates. And I would again remark that the extraordinary coincidence of dates which occurs in Q1 when Kemp was violently hit at, and which was destroyed when the hit at Kemp was removed, affords a strong argument in favour of my view.

diary. But this corrector is not the Victorian Mr Perkins, his additions are not forgeries, so far as I can judge.—F. J. F.

¹ So a sneer at Kempe for gag would hit Tarleton's memory too.

² "In the Cambridge comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus*, Kempe is introduced personally, and made to say: 'I was once at a Comedy in Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite *make faces and mouths of all sorts, ON THIS FASHION.*' When Burbadge has instructed a student how to act properly, and tells him: 'You will do well after a while;' Kempe takes up the student thus: 'Now for you; methinks you should belong to *my tuition*; and *your face*, methinks, would be good for a foolish mayor, or a *foolish justice of peace: mark me.*' And then Kempe goes on to represent a *foolish mayor making faces*, for the instruction of the student."

I don't believe in *Hamlet* being written in 1600. For 1599-1601 we have *Henry V*, *Much Ado*, *As you like it*, *Twelfth Night*, *All's Well*, *Julius Cæsar*: surely enough for even Shakspeare, without adding, in 1600, *Hamlet*, which I am persuaded followed *Julius Cæsar*.

³ Dr N.'s own answer to the question with which he started his Paper, p. 57.—F.

VI. THE SEASONS OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

BY THE REV. H. N. ELLACOMBE, M.A.

(Read at the 62nd Meeting of the Society, Friday, June 11, 1880.)

IN this paper I do not propose to make any exhaustive inquiry into the seasons of Shakspeare's Plays, but (at Mr Furnivall's suggestion) I have tried to find out whether in any case the season that was in the poet's mind can be discovered by the flowers or fruits, or whether, where the season is otherwise indicated, the flowers and fruits are in accordance. In other words, my inquiry is simply confined to the argument, if any, that may be derived from the flowers and fruits, leaving out of the question all other indications of the seasons.

The first part of the inquiry is, what plants or flowers are mentioned in each play. They are as follows :—

COMEDIES.

Tempest. Apple, crab, wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, peas, briar, furze, gorse, thorns, broom, cedar, corn, cowslip, nettle, docks, mallow, filbert, heath, ling, grass, nut, ivy, lily¹, pœony¹, lime, mushrooms, oak, acorn, pignuts, pine, reed, saffron, sedges, stover, vine.

Two Gentlemen of Verona. Lily, roses, sedges.

Merry Wives. Pippins, buttons (?), balm, bilberry, cabbage, carrot, elder, eryngo, figs, flax, hawthorn, oak, pear, plums, prunes, potatoes, pumpkin, roses, turnips, walnut.

Twelfth Night. Apple, box, ebony, flax, nettle¹, olive, squash, peascod, codling, roses, violet, willow, yew.

Measure for Measure. Birch, burs, corn, garlic, medlar, oak, myrtle, peach, prunes, grapes, vine, violet.

¹ This is a modern conjecture or emendation.—F

Much Ado. Carduus benedictus, honeysuckle, woodbine, oak, orange, rose, sedges, willow.

Midsummer Night's Dream. Crab, apricots, beans, briar, red rose, broom, bur, cherry, corn, cowslip, dewberries, oxlip, violet, woodbine, eglantine, figs, mulberries, garlick, onions, grass, hawthorn, nuts, hemp, honeysuckle, knotgrass, leek, lily, peas-blossom, oak, acorn, oats, orange, love-in-idleness, primrose, musk-rosebuds, musk roses, thistle, thorns, thyme, grapes, violet, wheat.

Love's Labour Lost. Apple, pomewater, crab, cedar, lemon, cockle, mint, columbine, corn, daisies, ladysmocks, cuckoobuds, ebony, elder, grass, lily, nutmeg, oak, osier, oats, peas, plantain, rose, sycamore, thorns, wormwood.

Merchant of Venice. Apple, grass, pines, reed, wheat, willow.

As You Like It. Acorns, hawthorn, brambles, briar, bur, chestnut, cork, nuts, holly, medlar, moss, oak, olive, palm, peascod, rose, rush, rye, sugar, grape, osier.

All's Well. Briar, date, grass, nut, marjoram, herb of grace, onions, pear, pomegranate, roses, rush, saffron, grapes.

Taming of Shrew. Apple, crab, chestnut, cypress, hazel, oats, onion, love-in-idleness, parsley, roses, rush, sedges, walnut.

Winter's Tale. Briars, carnations, gilly-flower, cork, oxlips, Crown Imperial, currants, daffodils, saffron, flax, lilies, flower-de-luce, garlick, ivy, lavender, mints, savory, marjoram, marigold, nettle, oak, warden, squash, pines, prunes, primrose, damask roses, rosemary, rue, thorns, violets.

Comedy of Errors. Balsam, ivy, briar, moss, rush, nut, cherry-stone, elm, vine, grass, saffron.

HISTORIES.

King John. Plum, cherry, fig, lily, rose, violet, rush, thorns.

Richard II. Apricots, balm, bay, corn, grass, nettles, pines, rose, rue, thorns, violets, yew.

Henry IV., pt. I. Apple john, pease, beans, blackberries, camomile, fernseed, garlick, ginger, moss, nettle, oats, prunes, pomegranate, radish, reeds, rose, rush, sedges, speargrass.

Henry IV., pt. II. Aconite, apple john, leathercoats, aspen,

balm, carraways, corn, ebony, elm, fennel, fig, gooseberries, hemp, honeysuckle, mandrake, olive, peach, peascod, prunes, radish, rose, rush.

Henry V. Apple, balm, docks, elder, fig, flower-de-luce, grass, hemp, leek, nettle, fumitory, keeksies, burs, cowslips, burnet, clover, darnel, strawberry, thistles, vine, violet, hemlock.

Henry VI., pt. I. Briar, white and red rose, corn, flower-de-luce, vine.

Henry VI., pt. II. Crab, cedar, corn, cypress, fig, flax, flower-de-luce, grass, hemp, laurel, mandrake, pine, plums, damsons, primrose, thorns.

Henry VI., part 3. Balm, cedar, corn, hawthorn, oaks, olive, laurel, thorns.

Richard III. Balm, cedar, roses, strawberry, vines.

Henry VIII. Apple, crab, bays, palms, broom, cherry, cedar, corn, lily.

TRAGEDIES.

Troilus and Cressida. Almond, balm, blackberry, date, nut, laurels, lily, toadstool, nettle, pine, plantain, potato, wheat.

Timon of Athens. Balm, balsam, oaks, briars, grass, medlar, moss, olive, palm, rose, grape.

Coriolanus. Crab, ash, briars, cedar, cockle, corn, cypress, garlic, mulberry, nettle, oak, orange, palm, rush, grape.

Macbeth. Balm, chestnut, corn, hemlock, insane root, lily, primrose, rhubarb, senna (cyme), yew.

Julius Cæsar. Oak, palm.

Anthony and Cleopatra. Balm, figs, flag, laurel, mandragora, myrtle, olive, onions, pine, reeds, rose, rue, rush, grapes, wheat, vine.

Cymbeline. Cedar, violet, cowslip, primrose, daisies, harebell, eglantine, elder, lily, marybuds, moss, oak, acorn, pine, reed, rushes, vine.

Titus Andronicus. Aspen, briars, cedar, honeystalks, corn, elder, grass, laurel, lily, moss, mistletoe, nettles, yew.

Pericles. Rosemary, bay, roses, cherry, corn, violets, marigolds, rose, thorns.

Romeo and Juliet. Bitter-sweeting, dates, hazel, mandrake, medlar, popering pear, pink, plantain, pomegranate, quince, roses, rosemary, rush, sycamore, thorn, willow, wormwood, yew.

King Lear. Apple, balm, cork, corn, crab, fumiter, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flowers, darnel, flax, hawthorn, lily, marjoram, oats, peascod, rosemary, vines, wheat, samphire.

Hamlet. Fennel, columbine, crow-flower, nettles, daisies, long purples or dead-men's-fingers, flax, grass, hebenon, palm, pansies, plumbtree, primrose, rose, rosemary, rue, herb of grace, thorns, violets, wheat, willow, wormwood.

Othello. Locusts, coloquintida, figs, nettles, lettuce, hyssop, thyme, poppy, mandragora, oak, rue, rush, strawberries, sycamore, grapes, willow.

Two Noble Kinsmen. Apricot, bulrush, cedar, plane, cherry, corn, currant, daffodils, daisies, flax, lark's heels, marigolds, narcissus, nettles, oak, oxlips, plantain, reed, primrose, rose, thyme, rush.

This I believe to be a complete list of the flowers of Shakspeare arranged according to the plays, and they are mentioned in one of three ways—first, adjectively, as ‘flaxen was his pole,’ ‘hawthorn-brake,’ ‘barley-broth,’ ‘thou honeysuckle villain,’ ‘onion-eyed,’ ‘cowslip-cheeks,’ but the instances of this use by Shakspeare are not many; second, proverbially or comparatively, as ‘tremble like aspen,’ ‘we grew together like to a double cherry seemly parted,’ ‘the stinking elder-grief,’ ‘thou art an elm, my husband, I a vine,’ ‘not worth a gooseberry.’ There are numberless instances of this use of the names of flowers, fruits, and trees, but neither of these uses give any indication of the seasons; and in one or other of these ways they are used (and only in these ways) in the following plays:—*Tempest*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Measure for Measure*, *Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *Taming of Shrew*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Macbeth*, *King John*, *Henry IV.*, pt. 1, *Henry VI.*, pt. 2, *Henry VI.*, pt. 3, *Henry VIII.*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Pericles*, *Othello*. These therefore may be dismissed at once. There remain the following plays in which indications of the seasons intended either in the whole play or in the particular act may be traced. In some cases the traces are exceedingly slight (almost none

at all); in others they are so strongly marked that there is little doubt that Shakspeare used them of set purpose and carefully :—*Merry Wives*, *Twelfth Night*, *Much Ado*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour Lost*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well*, *Winter's Tale*, *Richard II.*, *Henry IV.*, pt. 2, *Henry V.*, *Henry VI.*, pt. 1, *Richard III.*, *Timon of Athens*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, and *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

Merry Wives. Herne's oak gives the season intended—

“Herne the hunter,
Sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest,
Doth *all the winter time* at still midnight
Walk round about an oak with ragged horns.”

If Shakspeare really meant to place the scene in mid-winter, there may be a fitness in Mrs Quickly's looking forward to “a posset at night, at the latter end of a sea-coal fire,”¹ to Pistol's

“Take heed, ere summer comes, or cuckoo birds do sing,”²

and to Ford's ‘birding’ and ‘hawking’; but it is not in accordance with the literature of the day to have fairies dancing at midnight in the depth of winter.

Twelfth Night. We know that the whole of this play occupies but a few days, and is chiefly “matter for a May morning.” This gives emphasis to Olivia's oath, “By the roses of the Spring . . . I love thee so” (Act II. sc. iv.).

Much Ado. The season must be summer. There is the sitting out-of-doors in the “still evening, hushed on purpose to grace harmony”; and it is the time of year for the full leafage when Beatrice might

“Steal into the pleached bower,
Where honeysuckles, ripen'd by the sun,
Forbid the sun to enter” (Act III. sc. i.).

Midsummer Night's Dream. The name marks the season, and there is a profusion of flowers to mark it too. It may seem strange to us to have ‘Apricocks’ at the end of June, but in speaking of the

¹ For it was a “raw rheumatick day” (Act III. sc. i.). ² See page 108.

seasons of Shakspeare and others, it should be remembered that their days were twelve days later than ours of the same names ; and if to this is added the variation of a fortnight or three weeks, which may occur in any season in the ripening of a fruit, 'apricocks' might well be sometimes gathered on their Midsummer day. But I do not think even this elasticity will allow for the ripening of mulberries and purple grapes at that time, and scarcely of figs. The scene, however, being laid in Athens and in fairyland, must not be too minutely criticised in this respect. But with the English plants the time is more accurately observed. There is the '*green corn*' ; 'the dewberries,' which in a forward season may be gathered early in July ; the '*lush woodbine*' in the fulness of its lushness at that time ; the pansies, or '*love in idleness*,' which (says Gerard) 'flower not onely in the spring, but for the most part all sommer thorowe, even untill autumne' ; the '*sweet musk roses* and the '*eglantine*,' also in flower then, though the musk roses, being rather late bloomers, would show more of the '*musk rosebuds*' in which Titania bid the elves '*Kill cankers*' than of the full-blown flower ; while the thistle would be exactly in the state for '*Monsieur Cobweb*' to '*kill a good red-hipped humble bee on the top of it*' to '*bring the honey-bag*' to Bottom. Besides these there are the flowers on the '*bank whereon the wild thyme blows* ; where oxlips and the nodding violet grows,' and I think the distinction worth noting between the '*blowing*' of the wild thyme, which would then be at its fullest, and the '*growing*' of the oxlips and the violet, which had passed their time of blowing, but the living plants continued '*growing*.'¹

Love's Labour Lost. The general tone of the play points to the full summer, the very time when we should expect to find Boyet thinking 'to close his eyes some half an hour under the cool shade of a sycamore' (Act V. sc. ii.).

All's Well that Ends Well. There is a pleasant note of the season in—

¹ If 'the rite of May' (Act IV. sc. i.) is to be strictly limited to May-Day, the title of a '*Midsummer Night's Dream*' does not apply. The difficulty can only be met by supposing the scene to be laid at any night in May, even in the last night, which would coincide with our 12th of June.

"The time will bring on summer,
When briars will have leaves as well as thorns,
And be as sweet as sharp" (Act IV. sc. iv.);

but probably that is only a proverbial expression of hopefulness, and cannot be pushed further.

Winter's Tale. There seems some little confusion in the season of the fourth Act—the feast for the sheep-shearing, which is in the very beginning of summer—yet Perdita dates the season as 'the year growing ancient'—

"Nor yet on summer's death, nor on the birth
Of trembling winter"—

and gives Camillo the 'flowers of middle summer.' The flowers named are all summer flowers; carnations or gilliflowers, lavender, mints, savory, marjoram, and marigold.

Richard II. There are several marked and well-known dates in this play, but they are not much marked by the flowers. The intended combat was on St. Lambert's day (17th Sept.), but there is no allusion to autumn flowers. In Act III. sc. iii., which we know must be placed in August, there is, besides the mention of the summer dust, King Richard's sad strain :

"Our sighs, and they (tears), shall lodge the summer corn,"

and in the same Act we have the gardener's orders to trim the rank summer growth of the 'dangling apricocks,' while in the last Act, which must be some months later, we have the Duke of York speaking of 'this new spring of time' and the Duchess asking—

"Who are the violets now
That strew the green lap of the new-come spring?"

and though in both cases the words may be used proverbially, yet it seems also probable that they may have been suggested by the time of year.

Henry IV., pt. 2. There is one flower-note in Act II. sc. iv., where the Hostess says to Falstaff, "Fare thee well! I have known thee these twenty-five years come peascod time," of which it can only be said that it must have been spoken at some other time than the summer.

Henry V. The exact season of Act V. sc. i. is fixed by St. David's Day (March 1) and the leek.

Henry VI., pt. 1. The scene in the Temple gardens (Act II. sc. iv.), where all turned on the colour of the roses, must have been at the season when the roses were in full bloom, say June.

Richard III. Here too the season of Act II. sc. iv. is fixed by the ripe strawberries brought by the Bp. of Ely to Richard. The exact date is known to be June 13, 1483.

Timon of Athens. An approximate season for Act IV. sc. iii. might be guessed from the medlar offered by Apemantus to Timon. Our medlars are ripe in November.

Anthony and Cleopatra. The figs and fig-leaves brought to Cleopatra give a slight indication of the season of Act V.¹

Cymbeline. Here there is a more distinct plant-note of the season of Act I. sc. iii. The queen and her ladies, 'while yet the dew's on ground, gather flowers,' which at the end of the scene we are told are violets, cowslips, and primroses, the flowers of the spring. In the fourth Act Lucius gives orders to 'find out the prettiest daisied plot we can,' to make a grave for Cloten; but daisies are too long in flower to let us attempt to fix a date by them.

Hamlet. In this play the season intended is very distinctly marked by the flowers. The first Act must certainly be some time in the winter, though it may be the end of winter or early spring—'The air bites shrewdly, it is very cold.' Then comes an interval of two months or more, and Ophelia's madness must be placed in the early summer, *i. e.* in the end of May or the beginning of June; no other time will all the flowers mentioned fit, but for that time they are exact. The violets were 'all withered;' but she could pick fennel and columbines, daisies and pansies in abundance, while the ever-green rosemary and rue ('which we may call Herb of Grace on Sundays') would be always ready. It was the time of year when

¹ "The Alexandrine figs are of the black kind having a white rift or Chamfre, and are surnamed Delicate. . . . Certain figs there be, which are both early and also lateward . . . they are ripe first in harvest, and afterwards in time of vintage . . . also some there be which beare thrice a yeare" (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, b. xv., c. 18, P. Holland's translation, 1601).

trees were in their full leafage, and so the 'willow growing ascaunt the brook would show its hoar leaves in the glassy stream,' while its 'slivers,' would help her in making 'fantastic garlands' 'of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and long purples,' or 'dead men's fingers,' all of which she would then be able to pick in abundance in the meadows, but which in a few weeks would be all gone. Perhaps the time of year may have suggested to Laertes that pretty but sad address to his sister,

"O Rose of May!

Dear maid, kind sister, sweet Ophelia!"

Titus Andronicus. There is a plant-note in Act II. sc. ii:—

"The trees, though summer, yet forlorn and lean,
O'ercome with moss and baleful mistletoe."

Romeo and Juliet. A slight plant-note of the season may be detected in the nightly singing of the nightingale in the pomegranate tree in the third Act.

King Lear. The plants named point to one season only, the spring. At no other time could the poor mad king have gone singing aloud,

"Crowned with rank fumiter and furrow weeds,
With harlock, hemlocks, nettles, cuckoo flowers,
And darnel."

I think this would also be the time for gathering the fresh shoots of the samphire; but I do not know this for certain.¹

Two Noble Kinsmen. Here the season is distinctly stated for us by the poet. The scene is laid in May, and the flowers named are all in accordance — daffodils, daisies, marigolds, oxlips, primrose, roses, and thyme.

I cannot claim any great literary results from this inquiry into the seasons of Shakspeare as indicated by the flowers named; on the contrary, I must confess that the results are exceeding small—I might almost say, none at all—still I do not regret the time and trouble that the inquiry has demanded of me. In every literary inquiry the

¹ The objection to fixing the date of the play in spring is that Cordelia bids search to be made for Lear 'in every acre of the high-grown field.' If this can only refer to a field of corn at its full growth, there is a confusion of seasons. But if the larger meaning is given to 'field,' which it bears in 'flowers of the field,' 'beasts of the field,' the confusion is avoided. The words would then refer to the wild overgrowth of an open country.

value of the research is not to be measured by the visible results. It is something even to find out that there are no results, and so save trouble to future inquirers. But in this case the research has not been altogether in vain. Every addition, however small, to the critical study of our great Poet has its value; and to myself, as a student of the Natural History of Shakspeare, the inquiry has been a very pleasant one, because it has confirmed my previous opinion, that even in such common matters as the names of the most familiar every-day plants he does not write in a careless hap-hazard way, naming just the plant that comes uppermost in his thoughts, but that they are all named in the most careful and correct manner, exactly fitting into the scenes in which they are placed, and so giving to each passage a brightness and a reality which would be entirely wanting if the plants were set down in the ignorance of guess-work. Shakspeare knew the plants well; and though his knowledge is never paraded, by its very thoroughness it cannot be hid.

bench holes. *Ant. and Cl.*, IV. vii. 9. The context favours the gloss—‘holes of privies,’¹ they beraying themselves through fear; whence diarrhoea was in old English parlance—‘having the Danes.’ Harsnet, *Pop. Impostures*, 1603, p. 18, says, that some, to avoid detection—“did put their heads in a **bench hole** for twelve months” [in jocular reference to the belief that the ostrich with the same view hid her head in the sand].

She never could away with me. *2 Henry IV*, III. ii. 213. Abide, endure or like. The supposed devil in Sara was made to say—“She [the Virgin Mary] cannot away with a principall person [Q. Elizabeth] in this Realme.” Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.*, 1603, p. 152. ‘Away’ comes from *A. S. on*, and *weg*, way, road, so that the phrase—“She cannot away with,” means literally—“She cannot go on the road, or in company with.”

bag and baggage. *As Y. Like It*, III. ii. 170—“for they remoued **bagge and baggage** as your wandring Players vse to doe”—Harsnet, *Pop. Impostures*, 1603, p. 11. The author is fond of likening his adversaries to actors, and shows a certain familiarity with their ways and doings, besides drawing illustrations from the old Moralities in this book, though he does not in that of 1599 against the sectarian devil-hunter Darrel. Hence it is allowable to conjecture that the phrase above was a known one among strollers.

¹ Malone gave the gloss long before Schmidt or Schmidt’s father was born.—B.N.

VII. THE RELATION OF THE QUARTO TO THE FOLIO VERSION OF *HENRY V.*

BY BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

Read at the 49th Meeting of the Society, Friday, Feb. 14, 1879.

My friend Mr P. A. Daniel, in his Introduction to the parallel texts has shown beyond a doubt that the Quarto was printed from a copy most ignorantly curtailed for stage representation. I give his examples in my own words. In Q. and F. I. ii. 71 we find, "Hugh Capet also." Why also? Because though omitted in Q. King Pepin had been spoken of as a first example. Pepin's title also, as having been derived from the female, is spoken of again at l. 89 in F. and in the corresponding line of the Q. Again, in F. the third example is "King Lewes," but as he had not been mentioned in the Q. contraction, the adapter substituted "Charles," evidently in the belief that Charles, Duke of Loraine, having been mentioned for another purpose, the clod-pole audience would take "King Charles" to be a reference to this "Duke." Thirdly, though in the Q. this "Charles of Loraine" is not mentioned before F. l. 85, yet while several lines before and after this line are omitted, this is retained, and runs

"Daughter to Charles the *foresaid* Duke of Loraine."

Fourthly, by the excisions just mentioned, the Lady Lingare is made the daughter of Charles of Loraine instead of the daughter of Charlemagne, as she is rightly called in the complete text. Fifthly, Hugh Capet, who murdered this Charles, is made to derive his title through his descent from Lady Lingare, the alleged daughter of this

very Charles. Further on, in III. vii., a night scene in the French camp, this altering genius, in want of a ryming tag, takes that of IV. ii., a morning scene that he omits, and ends his night scene thus—

“Come, come away ;
The sun is hie, and we weare out the day.”

I could add as another argument that in the Q., besides the shortening of the time of representation, the number of actors is lessened. Ten characters are either non-speakers or wanting, including that of the French Queen. The Duke of Britaine is another, and as in II. iv. he is addressed, the words in the Q. are altered and his name omitted. Again, besides these ten, the English Ambassadors, and the Messenger who announces them, resolve themselves in the Q. II. iv. into Exeter, with the change in the text of “them” to “him.” The same appears to have been at first intended when the French Ambassadors were introduced, for in Q. I. ii. the King asks only for “the Messenger from the Dolphin,” but the idea was either abandoned, or by a slip “Ambassadors” was afterwards retained, as also the plurals “us, we, and them.”

Now, can we account for these things? I think so, whether we look on the fewer characters as in part Shakspeare’s first conception, or whether it were in part, as seems likely, a reduction by some other to meet reduced circumstances. We know that in 1600 the company were travelling in the provinces, because, as the 1603 *Hamlet* says, the children were so popular, and as he afterwards ventured to add, by reason of the inhibition. Agreeing with this is the defection of Kemp. Now just as he left a tottering house, so would others even before the company actually left London, and the shareholders would of course be glad to get rid as much as possible of the “hired men.” Hence the Quarto is so curtailed, and so minished in its performers as to suit a poorer and a clod-pole audience, whether in London or in the country.

I. But another point of difference is noticed by Mr Daniel, and I quote his own words: “In the F. version are certain historical errors not found in the Q. edition. We must, therefore, either believe that these errors were the result of the elaboration of the first

sketch (the Q.), or we must conclude that they were corrected in the shortened play (the Q.); the latter hypothesis seems to me the only tenable one."

Now, first, none of the historical errors here spoken of are important, either as bearing on the general accuracy of the account given, or as altering the plot intended to be represented. Then why is Mr. Daniel's second hypothesis the only tenable one? As he has given no reasons, I must adduce the considerations that have occurred to myself. Why should the first sketch, when the author had his Holinshed either before him, or freshly in his memory, why should it be less correct than the later version, not of a primer, but of a work of imagination founded on the broad lines of history, but filled in according to the author's fancy and intents? Who were the objectors? Were they those historical purists, the players? Had they expressed a puritanical dislike to acting anything not strictly founded on facts? Or had his audiences thought that their little go in history or their chances at a competitive examination would be endangered? Or, lastly, was Shakspere's conscience tardily awakened to the enormity of his twistings of history in this his Pinnock's catechism of the sayings and doing of the English under Henry V. If so—omitting any notice of more important matters—why did he retain Pistol and his associates, including the buxom Quickly? Why, too, did he retain 'pax,' when Holinshed distinctly says it was a 'pix'; and neither Holinshed nor any other chronicler give the theft to Bardolph? Mr Daniel himself says in reference to 1 *Henry VI.*, N. Sh. S. Tr. 1877-9, P. II., p. 298 note—"If we are to correct the dramatist at the bidding of history, very little of his work would remain intact."

The other hypothesis seems to me from an *à priori* point of view as easy and likely. Shakspere, looking later at his drama, looked at it, not as at a compendious primer, but as an acting Drama, and considered how its dramatic power might be improved, and the points and morals that he would enforce brought out more clearly without interfering with the main facts of history. This second hypothesis is supported by various previous authorities—Knight, for instance, giving examples in its favour, though, as has been noticed, Mr.

Daniel neither confutes him nor adduces reasons for his new view. Clearly, which of the two hypotheses is the more tenable can only be decided by a somewhat detailed comparison of the Q. and F. But first I will consider three of the more important of the Folio deviations from history.

1. The Dauphin is made present at Agincourt. The answer to the question why Shakspeare thus deviated from history is simple. Henry was evidently a favourite hero, as king, as warrior, and as a religiously-disposed prince, far-seeing, sagacious, merciful, yet uncompromising when compromise was only weakness. The counsel of his astute father approves itself to him—engage in foreign war that the minds of your people may be occupied, and their interests consolidated. Yet he will not undertake a war with France, on which he thinks he has a claim, unless his title be proved. It is proved in a way that would satisfy any warlike spirit, and by his highest Church authority. Then his words are—"God before I'll bring it to my awe"—and he makes his appeal to God in whose name he puts forth his "rightful hand in a well-hallowed cause." In like manner, after Agincourt, we have the following thought expressed no less than four times—

"O God, thy Arm was here ;
Not unto us, but to thy Arm alone,
Ascribe we all."

Without insisting further on the heroic and favourable aspect in which Henry is so constantly set forth, it is sufficient to add that his weighty words occupy, as Mr Daniel has noticed, one-third of the number of lines in the play. Not content with this, Shakspeare enhances his character, and brings it more prominently forth by contrast. Before the present play, Henry in his wild days and his worldly-sagacious father are contrasted. In this play two others are contrasted with him, the weak king of France and his arrogant, weak, and boastful, but do-nothing son. These throw out Henry the more, and also suggest the thought that France would be the better as well as England for a union of rulers. At the very outset the Dauphin's arrogance is shown by his insulting present, as is his father's weakness in allowing his ambassadors to convey such a

present and message. Whether we consider the present, or the message, or the rank of the sender—not a king but merely an heir-apparent—each incident is equally at variance with the customs and courtesies of nations. Passing over two other instances where the Dauphin is shown as self-opinionated and negligent, he on the eve of Agincourt is brought in, vain, boastful, and impatient, arming himself at midnight, and the first at morning-tide to cry, “à cheval.” What is the result? He is sneered at by the Constable, and we hear nothing more of him till the scene of defeat. Then the other princes despairingly rush to make a hopeless rally, and are either taken or slain. He talks, but is neither taken prisoner nor found among the killed—like Nym he had found the humour of it too hot, and skedaddled. On those who cannot see how as an acting play this drama is improved, I need not waste more words. And as to verbal or numerical accuracy there were not 60,000 (IV. iii., 3) but 60,001 men and semi-men.

But stay, say some critics so-called, you forget that Shakspeare here nodded violently, and roused himself in the Quarto, for he had told us by the French king’s own mouth that the son was not to go to Agincourt, and that peremptorily. Did such amiable gentlemen never hear of a weak, doting old father who denied his son’s request, and denied it all the more peremptorily because of his weakness, and then—gives way? Sir Anthony Absolute and hundreds of others may be recommended to such as studies. Had not the play been already long enough, the discussion might have formed a scene in it. As it is, it is left to the intelligence of the auditors’ eyes, who having heard the denial, saw the son there, and saw in this another instance of the father’s weakness. So in *Macbeth*. A bleeding soldier attired as a Captain enters, and Malcolm says, “This is the Serjeant.” The audience at once understand—though some editors do not—that one, a serjeant when he rescued Malcolm, had since been promoted for this very rescue, and understood it as readily as though they had seen him invested.

The view has, I know, been advanced that the Dauphin of these scenes (III. vii., IV. ii.) is the Sir Guichard Dauphin numbered among the slain, but this is so plainly contrary to the words he uses,

and those used to and of him, that in presence of such an audience I do no more than notice its absurdity.

2. Again, why do we have this deviation from history? 'The Constable stays but for his guard, and then determines to go on without them, and take his banner from a trumpet.' Holinshed says that some went without their servants, and that the Duke of Brabant took a banner from a trumpet. Simply that Shakspeare went upon the proverb, "Like master, like man." He gave a more vivid picture of the haste and over-confidence of the French by representing the Constable of France, the commander-in-chief of the army, as doing both; and both could readily occur to one man, since if the guard were wanting, the ensign or banner would be wanting also.

3. A third error is, that whereas Westmoreland was, according to history, the guardian of the marches during Henry's absence, Shakspeare in the F. brings him to France. What has this incorrectness to do with the history narrated in the play, or with its plot? Had Shakspeare said that he was to be guardian of the marches, and then brought him to France, there would have been an inconsistency. But as it stands, the Earls of Denbigh or Salisbury, or any other Earl or Marquis, might have been the keeper of the marches. It is only another instance of the misconception that Shakspeare wrote his *Henry V.* simply as an educational primer. As I have said, in 1599 Shakspeare's company was probably small: without any doubling of parts the Q. contains less characters than the F. by ten or thirteen. When therefore Shakspeare was revising his play in more prosperous times—say, for instance, when they were the King's players—he added amongst others the name of Westmoreland, just as he brought in good old Sir Thomas Erpingham. In confirmation, I would call attention to the fact that all Westmoreland's speeches are short, and but one a little out of the ordinary, and that only intended as a prelude to Henry's magnificent speech—

"Who wishes for more men from England?"

Still further confirmation is to be found in this and in another passage. Harry, further on in this speech, which in the Q. is caused by Warwick's remark, and is at first addressed to him, says in the F. :

“Then shall our names,
Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,
Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,
Be in their flowing cups freshly remembered.”

Could Henry have so markedly omitted his *cousin* Westmoreland whose hasty words he has taken up? Similarly, in V. ii., on the inquiry of the King as to the results of the conference between his Lords and the French King, Westmoreland is the first to reply—

“The King hath granted every article.” (l. 333, &c.)

But earlier, when (l. 84, &c.) Henry appoints his Commissioners, he, omitting Westmoreland, says—

“Goe Uncle Exeter,
And brother Clarence, and you brother Gloucester,
Warwick and Huntingdon go with the king.”

Do not both these omissions go strongly to show that Shakspeare had changed and increased his characters, but had forgotten to alter these texts; and that the Folio is the later version?

I turn now to the more important of the parallel passages of Q. and F. which exhibit a difference, avoiding all evidence from the silence of the Q. except where it is clear from the structure of the phrases that this silence is not due to an omission on the part of the Q., but to an augmentation in the Folio. In all I think it will at once appear that the latter shows signs of improvement and not unfrequently of augmentation, both of the thought and of its expression. The line references are always to the Folio, and when parallel passages are quoted without other reference the first is the Q., the second the F. reading.

I. ii. ll. 11, 15. The King would appeal to his Archbishop as to a learned man whose piety and truthfulness to both his God and king will guide him to “unfold why,” &c. Q. has

“good, my Lord,
* * * * *
And God forbid, my wise and learned Lord.”

The Folio—

“My learned Lord,
* * * * *
And God forbid, my deare and faithfull Lord.”

Nor need I do more than call attention to the great verbal improvement of "unfold," F., over "proceed," Q., as the latter might merely imply that he is to rehearse before the assembly arguments and conclusions as to which he and Henry were already in accord. So in l. 14 no legal impediment need "stop" a wilful man, but it could legally "bar" him. L. 16, "wrest the same"—"bar your reading." The latter gets rid of the tautological "fashion, frame," and of the unintentional rhyme with "clayme" (l. 14); gets rid of the impression given by Q., that the claim was already a foregone conclusion; follows more naturally the words "learned lord" and ll. 11, 12; improves the phrasing, for it is better to speak of wresting your reading than of wresting a claim; and leads the way more naturally to ll. 17—19. Hence the change was an after-change, and probably ll. 17—19 an after-addition. Passing by slight but material verbal changes in ll. 24, 31, 32, and merely saying that the change of "in" to "with" in l. 34 is a great improvement, for sin washed *in* water is still sin, while its being washed *with* water denotes more actively a cleansing power, and at the same time makes the washing or baptism a mere instrument—passing by these and others, including the change of "causes" to "Titles," l. 96—I would call especial attention to l. 101, where we find "son" altered to "man." The latter is the word in the text referred to, Numb. xxvii. 8, and is more general, for the Q. seems merely to speak of the inheritance descending to the daughter when there has been a son—who has died. Again, in l. 138, "arme us against" is less expressive of Henry's attitude with regard to France than "arme to invade;" and so, in l. 139, is "for" instead of "against," in reference to Scotland; so "The Marches will guard your England," is better replaced by "They of those Marches" shall be "a wall to defend our in-land," for, to enlarge only upon one point, it is the people, and not the nature of the Marches, that are to defend them.

While, also, I do not say that "unmaskt his power for France" was very happily altered into "went with his forces," l. 149, yet the latter avoids the imputation that his great ancestor took the precaution and had the cunningness to go suddenly and secretly into France as fearing either it or Scotland, or both. So far it is an

improvement, though perhaps hurriedly carried out, as I shall endeavour to show by and by was probably the case. Then in l. 156, "trembled at the brute hereof," as reflecting too much on the "hardy English," is altered into "trembling at th'ill neighbourhood." In l. 167 can the least poetical not see which word is the better, "shiplesse" or "sum-lesse," especially when the former is but the repetition of "sunken wrack"? In l. 171 "unfurnisht" is a wrong epithet and "unguarded" a right one, for the very reason that draws the weasel is that the nest is *furnisht* with eggs. In l. 174 "spoyle and havocke" is liable to be taken—if spoyle be adopted in one sense in which it can be used—as a mere reiteration, hence Shakspeare changed it to "t— (I believe 'take') and havocke." Nor—looking to the aim of his simile—do I envy the man who cannot see the improvement from "Congrueth with a mutuall consent" to "congreeing in a full and natural close," like musicke. Also "live" changed to "work," l. 189 (noting the previous "obedience"), and l. 199, "maiestie behold" to "maiesties surveyes," and l. 201, "lading" to "kneading," a change which also shows that ll. 202-3 were then added.

I now come to ll. 206-15, on which I dwell a little, partly because Dyce has, I think, mangled his text. Observe the differences: In the Q. the "20 actions" afterwards become "a thousand," and these actions "end in one moment." In the Folio "many" and "a thousand" are not contradictory numbers, while "end in one purpose" is a phrase much more germane to his argument and intent. But there is more: the Folio says that things that seem to work "contrariously" really tend to one purpose, an addition that greatly increases the appositeness of his similes. Dyce saw these things, and so far retained the readings of F. But in ll. 209-11 he followed the Q., introducing in l. 210 Lettsom's conjecture of "streets" for "wayes." Probably he was influenced by the more poetically sounding "flye to one marke" instead of "come to one marke." But as to the repetition of "wayes," he takes no notice of the fact that Shakspeare has used other repetitions in this passage, apparently to mark the better the oneness of his similes. We have "several,—several" in the Q., "meet,—meet" in the Folio. Next, as to

"flye" and "come." One necessity of poetic phraseology, and one that over-bears mere sound, is, that it should express its meaning fully and explicitly. Now "come" does this. It does not follow that because arrows are loosed in several directions that they should all arrive at one mark, but the "come" shows this predetermined purpose, and also tells the audience distinctly that he is speaking of "roving" where marksmen let loose from different parts of the field, or "contrariously" and suddenly, upon one then fixed-upon mark.¹ "Therefore, my Liege, to France" is tamer and much less suited to the more vehement peroration of the speaker than "Therefore to France, my Liege," l. 215. "Beaten," l. 221, is poorer and less suited to his simile than "worried"; so, considering the words that follow—"or make it," "bring"—l. 224 is well supplanted by "bend." In ll. 236-7, in which are Henry's qualities of quick resolve, openness, and courtesy best shown—

"Now are we well prepared to know the Dolphin's pleasure,"

or in

"Now are we well prepared to know the pleasure
Of our faire Cosin Dolphin."—?

Besides, the latter shows more distinctly that neither Henry nor his council had an idea of the insulting nature of the message and gift. So in l. 244 can there be a comparison between

"To whom our spirit is as subject,"

or between any possible emendation of this, and

"Unto whose grace our passion is as subject"?

Nor, if we compare ll. 249-51, can it, I think, be doubted but that the Folio shows additions, not that the Q. lines are a curtailment. "This the Dolphin saith" is less apologetic, and therefore less in character with those who at first hesitated, than "This the Dolphin speakes." Is not also

"Your message and his present we accept"

¹ I would add, that while I formerly accepted the general consensus that Dyce was a most judicious editor, several circumstances have made me loose that opinion. Correct he may have been, but he was not unfrequently injudicious, and was ever over-ready to vary.

a much less felicitous phrase, and one more open to misconstruction, than the slightly hidden irony of l. 264—

“His present and your *paines* we *thanke* you for”?

In l. 284 the change of “I” [Aye] to “Yea” seems trifling; but it shows that the Q. “we” was changed into the F. “I,” not the “I” into “we.” What may have been the cause of this change may be doubtful, but it is clear that the occurrence of—I will rise—I will dazzle in ll. 282 and 3 made the “Aye” of 284 uneuphonious, hence Shakspeare changed it to “Yea.” In l. 287 “sit sore charged” is less appropriate, less legal, and less scriptural than “stand sore charged.” So, l. 288, “from” is less emphatic and menacing than “with,” and “many a wife” less emphatic than “many a thousand widows.” I do not quote l. 298 because the words “in peace” may perhaps have been omitted in the Q. copy. But as the change of “See them hence” to “Fare you well” certainly is, it may have been an improvement meant to set Henry’s character, as always, in a favourable light. Then in l. 308 ambiguity is avoided and the phraseology improved by the change of

“ * let our *collection* for the wars be soon *provided*”

to

“ * let our *proportion* for these warres
Be soone *collected*.”

II. Chorus. Here I agree with Knight’s view, adopted by Dyce and Lettsom, that ll. 31-2, belonging to the Chorus as originally written, were afterwards replaced by the eight following lines, but that both were inadvertently retained. II. i. The “Godmorrrows” of ll. 1, 2 do not express so well the relative ranks of Bardolph and Nym as “Well met” and “Good morrow.” Nym’s speech, ll. 4—9, shows, I think, not omissions in Q., but additions in F. Compare l. 42 with l. 19 F., and this also shows there are alterations in the sequences of the dialogue, where, as in ll. 19—24, Nym’s murderously-expressed intentions come as a climax, or rather as an anti-climax, and prepare us for the ensuing ludicrous scene when Pistol and his spouse appear. In ll. 31-2 “bed and board” are changed to “lodge and

board," because the too virtuous Quickly would not in "such a concatination" think of using the prurient word "bed." Her "Good Corporal Nym" is very properly made a separate speech in l. 41. The "wilful murder and adultery" stands out better by itself at l. 36, and the appeal is also better by itself, and comes better after Pistol's braggadocio. So, by the way, "by gads lugges" is not so ludicrous in the mouth of a braggart as "by this hand I swear," ll. 28-9; while the latter affords an example of what can be traced throughout the play, the not uncommon omission in the Folio of mere expletive oaths, an omission more called for and carried out a little after James's accession than in 1599. Pistol's "solus" speech, ll. 44-9, has been clearly added to and revised in the F. so as to make it more absurd and laughable. There is a mixture of metaphors: "nastie" is a better, because a lower, epithet for mouth than "messful," and there is a use of maw and mouth, unconscious that they are synonymes. L. 42 Q. is improved in l. 49 F. Again, in l. 57, "groaning" is replaced by "doting," which is better, inasmuch as it better keeps up the alliteration which Pistol affects, and is more exceeding good senseless. In l. 52 "fall foul" is well changed to "grow foul," for the former denotes action, whereas Pistol, here as elsewhere, talks but never acts. Can anyone hesitate in l. 60, in such a colloquy as this, between "I'll kill him" and "I'll run him up to the hilts"? The acute boy was aware of the late change when he altered "Hostes," &c., to "Mine Hoast Pistoll," and placing him first, calls his former hostess "your Hostesse." Ll. 83-4 F.—"Why the devil," &c., come in much better here than at l. 16 Q., and the phrase "Be enemies with me too" is better placed in F. at l. 96. In ll. 107-10 "soul" is changed to "heart" in the mouth of the mundane Quickly; "troubled" is far better expressed by "shake," considering that she is speaking of a fever, and though "tashan contigian" is an absurd accumulation of blunders such as she constantly makes, these absurdities would not gain so ready an appreciation with a then audience as "quotidian tertian."

II. ii. The analogue in Q. of l. 16 seems like the natural close of the speech. But l. 16 itself seems to be changed so as to require or allow of ll. 17-18. These, therefore, should be counted as additions;

but even supposing they are not, yet the change in l. 16 must be counted an improvement. "Shine," in l. 36, was at first naturally suggested by "steeled," and by the thought of the limbs shining with the perspiration of toil; but the simile is somewhat discordant, and "toyle" is to my ear far more emphatic and deceitful. In l. 42 we have "heate of wine," and in F. "excesse of wine." Why is there a change? Because heat of wine makes one blab out incautiously what he thinks, excess of wine makes a man say that which he does not think. The change of "state" to "person," l. 58, unquestionably shows a more matured thought. It is impossible also to read ll. 71-5 and not see that in the F. they have been augmented, and as I think improved. Neither can there be many, if any, who will not pronounce l. 80 F. to be a great improvement of l. 60 Q., both lines showing without a doubt that they are printed as written. Ll. 86-8 are clearly also a later enlargement. "Vilde" also of Q. is too much opposed to "Belonging to his Honour," while "and *this* man," with action suited to the word, is more expressive than any adjective, and accords better with Henry's dignity than calling names like a boon companion of Pistol. In ll. 100-1,

"Can it be possible that out of thee
Should proceed one sparke that might," &c. (Q.)

and

"May it be possible that *forraigne hyer*
Could out of thee extract one sparke *of evill*
That might annoy my finger?" (F.)

observe the various beauties introduced, especially in *forraigne hire* and spark of evil which necessitate the change of "proceed" to the more forcible and telling "extract."

Passing over various other things, and merely noting the far greater accuracy of thought involved in the change of "redress" to "revenge," l. 174, and to the improvement of l. 185 over "since God cut off," of Q., I pass on to

II. iii. Here there is evidently an augmentative change in F. of Bardolph's speech, ll. 7-8, as shown by the change of Dame Quickly's answer from "Aye" to "Nay," &c. This speech of Bardolph's thus altered also proves that a change has in the Folio been made in

Pistol's previous speech. How much more natural also is the F. in ll. 31-2, and in Bardolph's, 41-2.

II. iv. In l. 29 Q. we have "a sceptre guided," but a sceptre, though "borne," is not guided ; besides, his argument is, that Harry did not and could not guide his course, so the word in the Folio was omitted. The Constable in l. 32 F. uses a phrase of the same import as in Q., but more courtly and respective. Nobility of character, l. 35, is a quality of more importance in a Councillor than mere age, and l. 37 is an immense improvement in sense and in every other way over l. 19 Q. L. 20 Q. is a proof that ll. 32—48 F. are an after expansion. In l. 136 it is evident that the line was altered to admit of the addition "and Vanitie" for the corresponding line of the Q., and the next one scan rightly.

III. ii. ll. 1—9. In Q., from Nym and Pistol's speeches, "hot," "hot," there is an evident change in F., nor can any one doubt but that the latter is the revised form as shown by simple inspection. What makes this more plain is that the Q. "'Tis honor," &c., is in F. also improved and removed to l. 23. The change of "honor" to "fame" in l. 11 shows that the previous speech is correctly given in both versions, besides that "the humor of it" is Nym's special phrase. But I think none can help preferring the enlarged folio speech of Pistol or the dialogue before it. So if any one will consult the Q. attentively, he will see that ll. 25—38 F. are new additions, while the corresponding phrases elsewhere have their ludicrousness or wit increased. The change in III. ii. l. 50 of "defensive" into "defensible" is an intentional change, for Shakspeare makes the governor refer to a well known rule of war that a city that resists when no longer defensible, ipso facto, gives itself over to spoil.

III. iv. Here, though the French of both is corrupted, we have in the Q.—

"Alice venez ici, vous avez été en Angleterre, vous parlez fort bien l'Anglais."

In the Folio—

"Alice tu as été en Angleterre, et tu parlais bien le langage."

Here she "tutoies" Alice because she is her nurse, and because she

would put her in good humour. Secondly, she uses "parlais" and not "parle," a cunningness of Shakspeare as to the present enmity. Thirdly, as not yet Queen of England, but a foreign enemy, she avoids the double use of Angleterre and Anglais. There is a second change which leads to the same conclusion that the Folio was a revised version. Alice says that the Princess will learn "en petit temps," but the Folio has the more correct and idiomatic—"en peu de temps." Thirdly, it is unlike an abbreviated copy to displace, as is done in the Q., the elbow from its natural sequence as it occurs in the Folio.

III. v. In l. 2, 5, Q., we have "Mort de ma vie" and "Mort Dieu," but Shakspeare, thinking these too much alike in English mouths and ears to be used by different persons, substituted in ll. 5, 11, F., "O Dieu vivant" and "Mort de ma vie." As in l. 9 the Constable would hardly admit that the English could "outgrow" their grafters, he alters it to "overlook." Can any one compare ll. 18—20 F. with ll. 12-13 Q., and not see that the former is the more matured form? Or in ll. 22-3, are not "Honour of our names" and "frozen Icesickles" comparatively poor to "honor of our Land" and "roping Icyecles" (upon our Thatch)?

III. vi. If there be any that will maintain that the Q. is the improved version of Fluellen's speech, ll. 6—15, I can only say, that such an ancient is of "no estimation in the 'orld." One instance, Shakspeare had had "Ensigne," but remembering that Falstaff was dead he made Fluellen describe him by his insignia as an "Ancient Lieutenant." I note also as before the excision of the expletive oath "by Ghesu." Nor can there, I think, be much doubt as to the priority in point of time of "furious fate" and "Fortunes fickle wheel" over "cruel fate" and "Fortunes furious fickle wheel"; or of "let not death his windpipe stop" over "let not Hempe his Windpipe suffocate." Can one doubt which are better Pistoleses? Ll. 57-8 Q. are omitted in the Folio. Why? The simple answers seem to be—1. That there was too much repetition of the "fico." 2. That Shakspeare saw that he could not consistently allow the choleric Fluellen to keep his temper under such continued insolence. The phrase, the fig of Spain, in itself a most opprobrious and

contumelious allusion, was repeated three times, and each time with aggravations; he therefore contented himself in his revised copy with the curtailed second one, "The figge of Spaine." Is it not too more consistent for the braggart coward to utter his contumelious words but once and as he goes off? This exit follows the fashion of his stage heroes, and avoids, as far as possible, his being called to account. Again, l. 79, "I do perceiue he is not the man hee would gladly make shew to the world hee is" (F.) is, I take it, an improvement of the Q. reading. Certainly no one, I think, would maintain that the Q. version is here an improvement of the Folio. Neither is there, I think, any comparison between "his army is too weak" and the proud brag of the French king by Mountjoy, "the Muster of his Kingdom too faint a number," l. 126. Lastly, the change in l. 167 of "beyond the bridge" to "beyond the river" shows that l. 166 is not an omission in the Q., but an addition in the F. version.

III. 7. Here let any one compare ll. 11—18 and ll. 20-5 with the Q., and if he cannot see most evident marks of elaboration I need try no more to convince him. He cannot be persuaded 'gainst his will.

IV. i. In ll. 131-6 are alterations, augmentations, and, I hold, improvements, as in the transpositions of the Q. phrases "wives rawly left" and "children poore behind them." So in the king's speech, l. 144, &c.; and it must be remembered, here as always, that if my possible opponent cannot see any improvement in the Folio to justify the view I uphold, he is bound by his argument to find an improvement in Q. over Folio, or allow that Shakspeare's revisals were not as a rule improvements. In ll. 163-5, if one examines the lines carefully, he will find evidence of after increase, and of elaboration of expression.

"Now if these *outstrip* the law,
Yet they cannot escape Gods punishment."

"Now, if these men have *defeated* the Law, and *out-runne*
Native punishment; though they can *out-strip* men,
They have no *wings* to *flye* from God" [Ps. cxxxix. 9].

In ll. 308-10 we have in Q. four "stays." The absence of three of these in F. renders the double meaning of the fourth more con-

spious, and the "I know thy errand" brings out the king's rapidity of thought, and close scanning of his actions.

IV. ii. If the alterer were ignorant, he must at least have known one thing, what parts were likely to take with the multitude. Could he then have excised the *whole* of this scene, including the Constable's speech, ll. 15, &c., and Graundpree's? And here I would take occasion to make the same general remark as to the comic portions. Nym Pistol, Jamy, and Macmorris were the very ones to take the commonalty and make them tickle o' the sear, yet, on the theory of mere excision, these parts have been woefully shortened and cut into more ordinary talk.

IV. iii. ll. 3, 4. There is improvement in the change of "yet" into "besides," and in the transposition of the actual numbers and the proportion. In l. 5 Salisbury's "The odds is all too great" is rightly altered to "'Tis a fearefull odds," for despondency is neither consistent with his character as immediately portrayed, nor was it our author's wish to exemplify the English by Salisbury and Warwick (Westmorland, F.), as despondent. In ll. 43-6 the transposition of "sees old age" and "comes safe home" greatly improves the speech, because it then follows the natural sequence of thoughts and events, and leads more naturally to the next thought, "Will yeerely," &c. So from l. 49 the sequence is more natural. Harry first speaks of the good man as feasting his neighbours; then he talks over the occasion of it, shows his scars, tells of his own doings, remembers with affection his leaders, lastly, drinks to the health of all who fought. But, not content with these yearly festivals, he at odd times teaches his son, as his son will teach his grandson. Compare this sequence with that in the Q. Again, in the line (l. 59)

"And from this day unto the general doome,"

Shakspeare, seeing that the concurrent mention of the day of doome fell rather discordantly on the ear and imagination, altered it—at the same time making the rhythm better suited to the rest of the speech—to

"From this day to the ending of the world."

Salisbury's speech, ll. 69—71, cannot have been the original form

of the corresponding Q. speech by Gloucester. Observe the improvement from "might" to "could," l. 76. Omitting another passage, Mountjoy's speech cannot but be an augmentation of Q. Still more clearly, ll. 98—100 must be an augmentation, for there is a distinct increase of a second thought, that "many will yet die at home." The change of "bones" to "joynts," l. 126, allows of a more appropriate and effective action. In l. 132 the introduction of "humbly" emphasizes the then obedience of a York to a Lancaster who showed himself to all men a king.

IV. iv. Can any one imagine that the speech, ll. 20-3 Q., with its "cinquante ocios," or that its being addressed to the boy in the abjectness of the Frenchman's fear, is an improvement upon ll. 37-9 F.?

IV. vi. Is there any difficulty in deciding between York's body all (hasted for) "basted ore," and all "hagled over," l. 11, or between "blood" and "gore," l. 12? The correct scansion of Q. shows that ll. 21-3 are an augmentation, and a greatly improved picture which carries out the obedience just spoken of under IV. iii. 132. Omitting the "kist his lippes," as it may have been an omission in the Q. copy, I draw especial attention to the change of "argument" to "Testament," l. 27, as I would be almost content to rest the argument for the Folio being the later version on this change alone. Certainly on this taken with those in ll. 21-3. It necessitates also the noble change in l. 27 of "never ending" to "Noble-ending," an alteration equal to that in l. 9 of "honour dying" to "honour-owing." Shall I add, equal to the alteration in ll. 31-5?

IV. vii. It is mere waste of labour to point out to an attentive reader—and none other do I address—the improvements in the Folio version of Fluellen's speeches, especially in that ending l. 39. But I would notice, en passant, the slight but effective change in l. 55 of "And ride" to "Ride thou," the phraseology of an angry man in its emphasis, and in the disconnection of its clauses. From ll. 65-6 Q., as compared with F., ll. 73—80 have been at least transposed and altered, and in all probability increased and improved. For one cannot make l. 65 Q. agree with the last-named lines, or compare it with them. In ll. 134-5, 138-43, we have not only increase but

improvement, for they show more clearly the gradual rise of the choleric Welshman's indignation, until he somewhat forgets whom he is addressing. The Q. l. 134,

"It may be there will be harme between them,"

cannot be compared with l. 172 F.,

"May haply purchase him a box a' th' eare,"

especially as in both Q. and F. there follows l. 181—

"Follow and see there be no harme betweene them."

In IV. viii. l. 21 compare "notablest peece of Treason" with "a most contagious Treason," and ask one's self which is the more mirth-provoking, or which action—the single one of addressing the king, or where he first explodes freely before Warwick, and as a consequence allows himself to explode freely before the king? So in l. 55 Shakspeare changed "impute" to "take," as more fitting the speech of a common peasant or soldier.

V. i. One needs not point out the evident alterations and improvements in Fluellen's speeches throughout. I would merely draw attention to the change of "the other day" to "yesterday," l. 9, one of those apparently slight changes which marks Shakspeare's improved attention to Fluellen's character. Also to his omission, after his first salutation, of Pistol's name and rank, and the substitution at first of such epithets as "Scurvie lowsie knave," and the like. The phrase "Antient Pistoll" is five times omitted in F., and when his anger is satisfied at his piquant revenge, he no longer uses the other opprobrious terms. He is satisfied with himself, and has ocularly proved his adversary to be a scurvy knave beneath contempt.

V. ii. l. 1—8. The scansion of the corresponding four lines of the Q. seem to me to show that these eight lines are an augmentation in F., not omissions in Q. Cf. l. 22 with ll. 2, 3 F. as a first example, and then take the rest one by one. In like manner it is impossible not to see, by a close comparison of Burgundy's speech, even by what is given us in the Quarto, that some of it as it appears in the Folio is not a mere retention, but an alteration for the better. He does not ask what has kept them from the gentle *speech* of peace, but why the

"mangled Peace should not recover her native loveliness." In l. 79 we have the improved change from "Oreviewd" to "O're-glanet," and "let" to the better "appoint." Are not ll. 204-9 far better so far on in their interview than just at the commencement of it? are not ll. 36—40 of Q., and ll. 160-9, better placed than at ll. 83—92 Q.? Referring back to my remarks on III. iv. I would note the F. correction of "Heritier" for the Q. "Heare," l. 341. No one will deny that ll. 343-7 are much better in the Folio, especially ll. 344 and 345.

Having thus examined the two versions in most of their chief points of difference, leaving many minor ones, and not improbably some as great, unnoticed, and having omitted all portions where the counter-argument of curtailment might be opposed to me, I would conclude with the following observations. Having gone through both very carefully, I believe that what has been said is a fair specimen of all that might have been said. If very occasionally it be thought that there may have been a change in favour of the opposite view, I would say—(a) That the majority, and here there is an immense majority, carries the day; (b) That the reader may be of one opinion, while Shakspeare may have been of another; (c) That as it is humanum errare, so even Shakspeare's second thoughts may not always have been his best.

II. It now remains to inquire, When was the Quarto version revised? This seems at once answered by the fact that it is the Chorus before Act V. in the Folio that gives us the 1599 date. But after strenuous endeavours to make the other facts agree with this I have been compelled to a different conclusion, and now hold that it is the Q. that represents the 1599 version, and that the Folio is a revise of later and Jacobean date. I cannot pretend to fix the exact time, but my impression has, from the facts that have come before me, gradually deepened almost into a conviction that the Folio version was originally played before Prince Henry and, it may be, the rest of the Royal Family. Not improbably, though this is a mere guess after Shakspeare had gained greater favour by his *Macbeth*—in my belief his one strictly political play and the second he wrote at, at least an implied, royal command. Nor do I think it unlikely that it may have been in 1610, when Henry, in his sixteenth year, was with

great pomp and solemnity knighted, made Prince of Wales, and given a household at St. James's, then made the Prince's Court. Henry was noted for his addiction to martial exercises, and we cannot therefore think of a play more appropriate to be acted before him than one which set forth the most illustrious of English kings, his namesakes, in the most favourable light, as indeed the model of a hero-king. This would be, I hold, the greatest flattery that Shakspeare could offer him, as well as a most patriotic act. I say most patriotic act, first as setting forth such an example to be followed; secondly, because the very reason that urged Harry to war was one specially applicable to the then times. Henry of Bolingbroke had suggested to his son that the rivalries and contentions of the Lancastrians and Yorkists could be best extinguished by a foreign war. James was in a somewhat similar position to Henry IV. Prince Henry gave promise of being a Henry V, and this latter's example was set forth as the most ready and effectual means of welding the so-called United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland into one real and compact whole. These considerations form an *à priori* argument for my view. But there are other arguments and probabilities drawn from facts.

1. Besides one or two probabilities already noticed in the preceding pages, my first reason for thus advancing the date of the second version lies in Nym's speeches. All know that the word "humour" was fashionable cant in 1598, and before and after that year, and that Jonson adopted it and ridiculed it in 'Every Man in His Humour' in 1598, and in 'Every Man Out of His Humour' in 1599. So here Shakspeare makes it the favourite phrase of the low pilferer Nym. It is true that it occurs about as frequently in F. as in Q. But there is this difference: on the first two occasions on which it occurs in the Qo it is struck out in F., though the rest of the wording is the same, without the slightest necessity or improvement. Afterwards it is not so. My explanation is that Shakspeare began to strike out a phrase, the "humour" of which had been lost, but after two such changes resolved on retaining it as a favourite saying which would individualize Nym, just as Fluellen was latterly individualized by "Look you now," and by "o' my conscience now."

2. A second is, that while oaths such as Harry's "God before" are

retained, various of the mere expletive oaths are expunged, more particularly the "by Geshu" of Fluellen. This looks as though it were re-written at a time when that feeling prevailed which gave itself vent in the Act of 1606—"Against those who jestingly and profanely take the name of God or of Christ Jesus in any stage play, interlude," &c., &c. Both these arguments in themselves, perhaps slight, yet agree with one another, and also with those more important ones that follow.

3. The introduction of English, Welsh, Scotch, and, before the return of Essex, Irish captains in Harry's army would in 1599 have been worse than out of place. History indeed tells us that Henry had Scotch mercenaries at Agincourt, but Scotland in Elizabeth's reign was a hostilely inclined neighbour. Elizabeth would hear nothing of a Scotch successor, and on her deathbed, knowing that James was and would be her successor, made no reply, save that "no rascal" should succeed her. Her people, too, were antagonistic to the Scotch. Shakspeare himself expressed but the general feeling when he said,

"We must not only arme t' invade the French,
But lay down our proportions to defend
Against the Scot * * *
Who hath been still a giddy neighbour to us."

And other phrases will recur to the reader. The introduction, therefore, of Jamy as a peculiar, but thoughtful, learned captain, who would "ligge i' th' grund" rather than not do good service before Harfleur, would have been in her time an unpleasant anachronism. Nor, so far as we know, was he introduced.

In like manner it was a marked anachronism in 1599, when Ireland was unconquered, and when Essex had been sent to subdue it, and had not yet succeeded, to introduce Macmorris. Neither on the 1599 view do we get an explanation of a point which had for years puzzled me—his explosion at the apparently inoffensive words, "your nation." But after Mountjoy's victories, 1600-3, it was no longer an independent nation, though a part, and a subdued part, of Great Britain. His rage was natural in a subdued Home-Ruler, and was understood and appreciated by an English audience, to whom its cause was a pleasant and satisfactory reminiscence. Under an English-

Scotch King of Great Britain and Ireland, Shakspeare, whether as a patriot or an accepter of what had happened—though I prefer, in the case of one of so much intelligence, to adopt the patriot view—would naturally bring in the representatives of each kingdom. Were he exhibiting a model king before the darling and hope of the nation for his instruction, whether in peace or war, he would naturally desire—especially when James was considered too intent on preserving a coward peace—to hint at what the new kingdom could do. Instead of being anachronisms, Jamy and Macmorris would point to an acceptable moral as well as adorn a tale.

4. A fourth argument can be drawn not from an addition, but from a very significant omission. In the Q. I. ii. ll. 99-100 we have—

“[England] Impounded as a stray, the king of Scots,
Whom like a *caytiffe* she did leade to France.”

But in the Folio the offensive words in italics were omitted. A clear proof, I take it, that this version was made after Elizabeth's death. With this may be coupled the last caution addressed in the Q. by Pistol to his Nell or Doll. This Shakspeare in his more matured judgment, or out of regard for his audience, excised from the Folio version.

5. It might be urged also, in addition to the foregone arguments, that the execution of Cambridge and the rest was a justifying precedent for the execution of the Gunpowder Plot traitors, and thus gain a reason for the elaboration of the Folio from l. 104. Some, if not all, were accounted by many Roman Catholics, martyrs, and saints, and hence the greater necessity for an example of how “we our kingdom's safety must so tender.” As some slight proof, besides remarking that the Folio after the lines at 103, which conclude the Quarto version, are wholly occupied with “Treason, and murther,” I would ask whether these lines addressed to Scroope, 114-17, do not seem to glance at the Gunpowder Plot. I say glance, because otherwise I see no appropriateness in the last two lines.

“And other divels that suggest by treasons,
Do botch and bungle up damnation,
With patches, colours, and with formes being fetcht
From glist'ring semblances of piety.”

6. Once more, though I have not sufficiently examined the question, nor have I data for comparison, I am yet inclined to believe that the extra syllable test, and that of the extra syllable at the end of the third foot, would bring out the same conclusion, namely, that the date of the Folio version is beyond 1599. Compare, for instance, V. ii. 5—

“ And as a branch and member of this stock ” (Q.)

with

“ And as a branch and member of this Roy[al]ty ” (F.).

Here the diction is better and more courteous, and we have an example—to which at least one other can be added of the double extra syllable or 'lty, which is, I take it, a mark of late date.

7. Lastly, though also I have not sufficiently examined this change in the play, with reference to Henry's substitution very frequently of “ I ” and “ my ” in the Folio for the “ we ” and “ our ” of the Quarto, I would notice, that while James used the plural in his official documents, he adopted the singular form in his addresses or speeches to his Parliaments. The probable conclusion need hardly be pointed out that Shakspeare either followed in the Folio an improved acquaintance with regal custom, or one more in accord with that of the reigning monarch.

One possible objection I would answer. Why should the allusion to Essex be retained? First, its presence is no proof that it was recited. As I believe that ll. 31-2 of Chorus II. were intended to be erased from the author's copy when ll. 33—42 were added, so I think it not impossible that these may in like manner have been inadvertently kept. Secondly, Shakspeare as an Essexite — as I strongly believe he was—would naturally remember him with affection, and place his fate indirectly before Prince Henry, as in contrast with the execution of Cambridge, Scroop, and Masham, and of the Gunpowder Plot traitors. He would also be the more inclined to have him avoid in such matters the example of a queen, whom for some now unknown reason he, Shakspeare, latterly cared little for, so little, that though he had praised her more than once before, and though he had been publicly incited by Chettle *to write her elegy*, he would write none.

III. I would conclude with a few words in favour of the belief that the Folio was not printed from Shakspeare's MS., but from a playhouse copy. The words indeed will be few, but full of meaning. Heming and Condell's too general assertion was founded only on a few particulars. We know beyond a doubt that some of these plays were not printed from his MSS., and *Henry V.* can be added to the number.

We have at the outset—"Actus Primus. Scæna Prima." But there is no Scena Secunda throughout the play, and this though in other of his plays they are given continuously and often correctly. But the confusion is worse when we come to the Acts. Every one knows and sees that a Chorus preceded each Act; but in the Folio the Chorus before Act II., and Act II. itself, are made part of Act I. Its Act II. commences with what really was, and in our editions now is, Act III. Its Act III. is our Act IV. But as the copier or other would thus have only had four Acts, and knew that the proper number was five, he overcame the difficulty by making IV. vii. the commencement of an Act IV. This he did because he found there an entrance of Gower the Chorus-Prologue speaker only unfortunately he does not this time come in as such, but as an English Captain speaking to Fluellen. Act V. is of course by this means correctly marked.

A third matter is the ridiculous corruption of the French words and phrases. It is impossible that these could have been due to Shakspeare himself, who, we know, was at least able to read the French Testament so as on opportunity to quote from it. Neither, if the passages be examined, can it be that the printer could have so ingeniously and continuously muddled the letters of the handwriting before him. There must have been more than one muddler. Here I would have concluded, but that it may be as well to add a few remarks on the position of III. iv. with reference to Mr P. A. Daniel's criticism at p. 294 of his *Time-Analysis of Henry V.* (N. Sh. S. Trans. '77-9, Part II).

IV. He says—" [this Scene (III. iv.) . . . seems out of place; its time must be supposed within a day or two of Day 4, Act II. sc. iv.; for since that time, as we learn in Chorus 3, the negociations for this

marriage have been broken off. I accordingly inclose this scene in brackets, and refer it to the interval which follows Day 4].” I am not clear whether he means out of its proper place in the drama as originally penned by Shakspeare, or merely out of place historically. If the former, I deem it a sufficient answer that it is in the same place in both Quarto and Folio, which, whatever view we take of their priority, *must* at least be taken as two distinct versions. As to the supposition that it is historically out of place, Mr Daniel himself, in his note at p. 298-9, has rightly said, “If we correct the dramatist at the bidding of history very little of his work would remain intact.” Besides, I would ask, Is it likely that any one would at once announce to a daughter a bran new project, of the acceptance of which he is as yet ignorant? If I understand Shakspeare’s delineation of the French king aright, he was one of those weak men who (in theory) accounted his children chattels to be moved or removed at his pleasure; neither was he one likely to announce a project unless there were a likelihood of its acceptance. Is it also consonant with Shakspeare’s delineation of Katharine, or to his delineation of any high-born lady, to make her unmodestly, at the first glimpse of a marriage, run off to learn English before she knew that the English king, her father’s enemy, would even entertain the project? Besides, Mr Daniel forgets that, according to the text, Harry had already taken Harfleur; the situation—with the remembrances of the Black Prince and his father to back it—was becoming serious; the tennis balls had turned to gun-stones of power; Burgundy, for aught we are told, was already labouring with “all his wits, his pains, and strong endeavours” to bring about a reconciliation. Hence a sacrifice to patriotism, if nothing more, was required. By this, even alone, she was led to entertain the subject seriously. If, therefore, Shakspeare thought a comic scene required between III. iii. and v., and thought that the Pistolian scenes might well be varied, I do not see that we are called to quarrel with his decision. With these remarks I conclude, merely adding that I have made them on the supposition that others, like myself, take Mr Daniel’s proposed change as meant to be made in the sequence of the drama, and not merely as a supposedly necessary time adjustment.

B. N.

VIII. THE NUMBER OF WITCHES IN *MACBETH*, IV. I.

BY BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

(Read at the 61st Meeting of the Society, May 14, 1880.)[*Thunder. Enter the Three Witches.*] (before l. 1.)

* * * * *

[*Enter Hecat, and the other Three Witches.*] (before l. 39.)

THESE are the first two stage directions in this scene in the Folio of 1623. Although the three subsequent folios make corrections, and many attempts at correction, all print these words verbatim. Secondly, in the quarto of 1654—"As it is now acted at the Duke's Theatre"—usually called Davenant's version, though, except that it introduces new songs, it is a reprint of the first folio, errors included, these same directions are retained. Thirdly, in the quartos of 1686 and 1695—"As now acted at the Royal Theatre"—the Duke having become king—editions which may be called Davenant's, if any may be so called, and which form a greatly altered and interpolated version of Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, have the same. Thus the actors, including the supposed Davenant, and Betterton, found no difficulty in, but rather approved of, these stage arrangements. I hold, therefore, that those editors who having formed the prejudgment that there could only have been three witches, found here merely an erroneous repetition, have themselves made an error in supposing that Shakspeare's imagination or resources were unequal to the introduction of more.

Quotations from other plays have indeed been given where, on the entry of a second person, the first already on the stage is erroneously given as entering also. But, because we know that such directions must be wrong, there is here no visible or necessary

inconsistency or contradiction which pronounces this to be an error. Surely there may in this great display of magical power and pomp, where Hecate herself condescends to appear that she may dazzle, subdue, and delude an earthly potentate and valiant warrior, surely there may have been a second set of three witches. I therefore proceed to show to the Shakspeare student sincerely desirous of trying to comprehend his author why, irrespective of the arguments just stated, there is a probability, and in some degree a necessity, for there being this second set.

Who was Hecate, and how did Davenant and Betterton conceive the scenes in which she appears? Hecate is the only one who has a name, and this alone shows that she was different in nature from the witches. So the first words on her first appearance in III. v. are—

First W. Why, how now Hecat, you looke angerly?

Hec. Have I not reason (Beldams) as you are?

Sawey, and over-bold, &c.

Whence it is clear that she herself is not a Beldam. It is also clear that as she immediately proceeds to order preparations for continuing that which she calls them saucy and over-bold for commencing, that she is a ruler over them, merely jealous of her prerogatives. Her next words prove both these things—

“And I the Mistris of your Charmes,
The close contriver of all harmes,
Was never call’d.”

The ruler-ship is again shown in—

“Your Vessels and your Spels provide.”

Note the “your”—

“Your Charmes and everything beside.”

Again we hear—

“And you all know, Security
Is Mortals’ chiefest Enemy;”

a phrase tending to show that she is something other than mortal. Lastly, in II. i., it is said—

“Now witchcraft celebrates
Pale Hecate’s offerings;”

thus showing that all witchdom offer to Hecate as to their deity. My reason for thus dwelling on Hecate's rank as a ruler over the witch world is partly because many readers of Shakspeare necessarily ignorant of mythology might be led away by the odd reasonings of those who would interpret this scene. All classical readers know that Hecate was a name applied to three heathen goddesses, and all such false deities were in mediæval belief infernal spirits. Hence and because Hecate was more generally an epithet of Proserpine, she became Queen of Witchdom. Middleton takes the same view of her, and Davenant further distinguishes her, for while Macbeth is still made to address the witches as "black and midnight hags," he afterwards replies to Hecate's first speech by

"What e're thou art, for thy kind caution, thanks ;"

and thus shows that besides her being "pale" and not "black," she who stands apart, and in the back and not improbably higher ground, is so different from the rest, that he doubts—as Ferdinand did of Miranda—whether she were a mortal being or supernatural. If then Hecate be not a witch, but an infernal and ruling spirit, what meaning can "other" in "the other three witches" naturally have unless it mean three different from the first three?

Again, neither queens nor even noble personages ever appeared in Elizabethan days without attendants. When Olivia would receive the pseudo-Sebastian, Maria attends her. Shakspeare would have committed a glaring breach of the most ordinary etiquette had Hecate the queen given her solemn reception to the King of Scotland without being attended by her bevy of attendants. Davenant brings out the difference of rank more distinctly before the spectator in III. v., for when, after her charge to the witches her little spirit calls for her, his stage direction is—*Machine descends*, showing that she was in a chair, throne, chariot, or cloud.

Now to two other probable reasons. 1. The three witches with Hecate give the unmagical and even number four; six and Hecate make up the mystic seven. If the play of Macbeth be looked into, it will be found that Hecate and the witches constantly employ uneven and mystical numbers. We have the three times three that

make up nine, the sow's blood that hath eaten her nine farrow, &c.; whence, by the way, I hold with those who have it that the second witch's *thrice* in IV. i. 2 is the repetition of the first one's

“Thrice the brinded cat hath mewed,”

and should therefore be pointed with a comma or semicolon after it, the *once* being the number of times that the hedge-pig has whined.

2. The increased numbers add not only to the pomp, but also to the variety and grotesqueness, of the scene. There is indeed neither evidence nor probability that they joined in the incantations round the caldron. They were young witches at nurse, unable as yet to go highlone, and being so, they were mute attendants on Hecate their queen during the magic rites and shows. But when Hecate—or, as in Davenant, the first witch—would delight Macbeth and “charm the air,”

“While you perform your antic round,”

they left their mistress, and joined the dance. How bare and unpicturesque would be a round performed by three, or as in Davenant by two; how heightened if six or five joined in, all either in one circle or in two, the outer stepping or rather contorting themselves now the same, now the reverse way, from the inner.

The only word that can be found fault with is *the*, because it may be said that these other three witches have not yet been seen. But, first, they may have been attendants on Hecate when she first appears in what Davenant calls the *machine*. Secondly, even if this were not the case, a writer conversant with the stage management would know that six witches had been prepared, and would naturally make the slip, if slip it can be called, and use *the* for the three still in waiting.

I repeat, therefore, that the only difficulty has arisen from the prejudgment of those reading critics who fancied that they could only have three witches to deal with, and that Shakspeare had no more right to introduce three others than he had a right to fight out York and Lancaster's long jars with more than three or four ragged foils right ill disposed.

NOTE ON K. JOHN, II. i. 455-7.

“*Bast.* Heere’s a stay
That shakes the rotten carkasse of old death
Out of his ragges.”

VARIOUS of the conjecturers and even some critics have expended a surplus portion of their ingenuity on the first line. Johnson suggested *flaws* in the sense of “gust or blast;” that is some of the storm of war being overpast, this peaceful proposal which comes like a great calm is likened by him—not by Shakspeare—to such a sudden gust or flaw as, for instance, sunk the Eurydice. Spedding’s *storm* may be classed with this. His *story* is no better, for I know not how a calm, peaceful story can—as a story—shake Death out of his rags. Becket’s *say* adopted by Singer only requires mention to cause the usual result of his conjectures. Professor Karl Elze would support *bray*, thinking that it refers to the trumpet-note of defiance sounded by the citizens of Angiers. But he forgets two circumstances: 1. That the citizens answered neither of the summonses to a parley by a trumpet; 2. That no trumpet, if used, could then be called a note of defiance, and especially on this third occasion, when the sole intent is to propose a peaceful solution. It is to this occasion alone that the fiery but practical Richard, son of Cœur de Lion, can refer.

Let us now turn to the original. W. N. Lettsom will have it that “*stay* is perhaps the last word that could have come from Shakspeare.” But he, though very ingenious and acute, is too fond of seeking that which will suit his own supposition of what Shakspeare must have meant, instead of seeking for his author’s intent and meaning. Preferring this latter plan, I would say that *stay* is one of the best words that could have been chosen. The opposing armies have hurried up to engage one another, and the Bastard, taking part of his metaphor from this hurrying up, and continuing the line of thought expressed in his previous speech, “O now doth Death,” &c., speaks of Death as impetuously hurrying up in anticipation of great gala days. But now comes this sudden compromise, instead of “soldiers’ swords being Death’s fangs,” he, in his hot haste, has run

against an unexpected stay, an unseen impediment, as an impetuous boy runs against a man, post, or wall. If readers in this nineteenth century cannot remember their boyish days, they can at least remember the effects of a railway collision, which is enough in sober prose to shake one's rags off one's body, and, in the case of Death, would probably injure his scythe-handle.

An eminent Shaksperian—though it should be added a German one—has since written to me that “stay” in the senses of stop or hindrance is not given in our Dictionaries. I reply, that all I know of, from Cotgrave downwards, give these senses. Richardson, besides the meanings “to stop . . . to obstruct or hinder,” and besides giving quotations both of the verb and substantive in these senses from other authors, has this from Holland’s ‘Pliny’, b. ix, c. 27, where there are also two other examples of the verb—

“Our Stay-Ship Echeneis, *Trebius Niger* saith,
is a foot long . . . and that oftentimes it stayeth
[hindreth] a ship.”

Shakspeare uses it too in *J. Cæsar*, IV. iii.—

Lucil. You shall not come to them.

Poet. Nothing but death shall stay me.

“A stay” in nautical or mechanical idiom is used in the secondary sense of “support,” because it stays or hinders the mast, &c., from falling. “This is a stay (hindrance)” is, too, a recognized phrase, like “It stays me.” Indeed, even if the substantive did not—as it does—follow the senses of the verb, as stop, the act of stopping, does the intransitive, and stop, the cause of stopping, or hindrance, the transitive form, every Englishman, besides Shakspeare, would be entitled so to use them.

P.S. In accordance with the spelling adopted in these *Transactions*, the name wherever it occurs is spelled SHAKSPERE. It is due, however, to my own strong convictions to state, that I invariably wrote and write it SHAKESPEARE.—B.N.

Correction: page 71, *After* line 17 *add* —
to Mrs Page’s invitation

“let us every one go home
And laugh this sport o’er by a country fire”;

IX.

THE FIRST AND SECOND QUARTOS AND THE FIRST
FOLIO OF *HAMLET*:

THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER.

BY GUSTAV TANGER, PH.D.

(Read at the 63rd Meeting of the Society, Friday, October 15, 1880.)

WHEN in 1854 Delius put forth his first edition of *Hamlet*, which he had based on the First Folio in preference to the Second Quarto, Tycho Mommsen (in Jahn's *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie & Pädagogik*, vol. 72, 1855, pp. 57, 107, 159) showed very forcibly how little F₁ deserves that honour, and how little Delius was aware of the true value and importance to be attached to either of those old editions. In criticizing Delius's *Hamlet*, Mommsen alleged most weighty reasons why we should think Q₂ a far better authority than F₁: however badly Q₂ is printed, it is disfigured only by the hundreds of compositor's blunders (including some accidental omissions), whereas F₁ exhibits, quite apart from very numerous misprints, a large number of other corruptions of a more serious and deplorable kind, viz. errors of copyists, interpolations of actors, accidental as well as intentional omissions, and, last not least, the traces of Heminge and Condell's (H. C.) arbitrary criticism. Mommsen, in the articles just mentioned, has pointed out the true way of treating similar Shakspeare-questions, and has besides set a splendid example to all Shakspeare-critics by his excellent edition of *Romeo and Juliet* (Oldenburg, 1859), the *Prolegomena* of which I must gratefully acknowledge have exercised a great influence over my own inquiries into

the Hamlet-question. Mommsen there establishes the high probability, if not certainty, of Q₂ of *Romeo and Juliet* being printed from the poet's own MS.; and the tests afforded by his *Prolegomena* have been applied by the writer of the following pages to Q₂ of *Hamlet*. I have arrived at the conclusion (see *Anglia*, vol. iv. pt. 2) that *we may consider Hamlet, Q₂, to have been printed from the poet's own MS. with as much right as Mommsen makes out with regard to Romeo and Juliet, Q₂.* This appears from orthographical as well as grammatical peculiarities of Q₂, especially from the orthographical treatment of the syncope, and from characteristic mistakes and inconsistencies in Q₂,¹—features which we find more or less effaced in the subsequent editions, and which can be easily and sufficiently explained only by the supposition that Q₂ was printed from the Poet's own MS.

I then proceeded to a close examination and collation of Q₁, Q₂, and F₁ (of Q₁ and Q₂ I used Collier's facsimiles;² of F₁ the original copy belonging to the Royal Library in Berlin) for the purpose of once more checking Mommsen's above-mentioned inquiries into the relative value of Q₂ and F₁, and of forming an opinion of my own concerning the much-discussed question, whether in Q₁ we possess a "first Shakspearean sketch" of our tragedy (though in a decidedly bad condition, perhaps from being a surreptitious edition),—or whether Q₁ be nothing but a pirated and garbled version of the authentic text as we possess it (however badly printed) in Q₂.

Knight, Delius, Elze, Staunton, Dyce, and other renowned English Shakspeare-scholars, each with smaller or greater modifications of his own, hold the former view; Collier, Lloyd, Grant White, and Tycho Mommsen are foremost among the advocates of the latter theory (see, apart from the above-mentioned publications, Mommsen's remarks in the *Athenæum*, 7 Feb. 1857, reprinted in Furness's *New Var. Hamlet*, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26).

¹ These enquiries formed Part I of Dr Tanger's Paper originally, but as the Committee were not willing to print them, they will appear in Germany.—F. J. Furnivall.

² Mr Furnivall has prefixed to my references, the scene and line-numbers of Q₁, and line-numbers of the Globe edition for Q₂, as marked in his editions of Griggs's 'Facsimiles' and of Q₁, and Q₂ 1879, 1880.

My own investigations have led me to join the latter side, and an opportunity being afforded me (by the Committee of the New Shak. Soc.) of submitting them to the judgment also of English critics, I shall try in Part I to show that Mommsen was right in believing Q₂ a better authority than F₁, and in Part II that there is *no need* of believing in a '*first sketch*.'

For this purpose I shall first give a list of almost all the differences between the texts of Q₂ and F₁, excluding only those which pertain to mere orthography and punctuation, and variations which would unnecessarily swell the list without being of any value for the settlement of our question. But before doing so, I cannot help observing that the Stage-Directions, which have not as yet been paid due attention to, seem to me to afford a remarkable point of evidence. I therefore subjoin a list of them.

PART I.

Q₂.F₁.

Act I. sc. i.

1. l. 125] Enter Ghost.
2. 127] It spreads his armes.¹
3. 138] The cocke crowes.¹

- l. 107] Enter Ghost againe
wanting.

I. ii.

4. Florish. Enter Claudius, King of Denmarke, Gertradt he (*sic*) Queene, Counsaile: as Polonius, and his Sonne Laertes, Hamlet, cum Alijs.
5. **wanting.**
6. Florish. Exeunt all but Hamlet.
7. Enter Horatio, Marcellus, and Bernardo.

Enter Claudius King of Denmarke, Gertrude the Queene, Hamlet, Polonius, Laertes, and his Sister, Ophelia, Lords Attendant.

25. Enter Voltemand and Cornelius.
- Exeunt. Manet Hamlet.
- Enter Horatio, Barnard, and Marcellus,

I. iii.

8. Enter Laertes, and Ophelia his sister.
- Enter L. and Ophelia,

I. iv.

9. A florish of trumpets and two peeces goes off.¹ **wanting**
10. 57] Beckins. " Ghost beckens Hamlet.

¹ Why are these managerial stage-business directions from Shakspeare's MS. (see too 11, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 60, 74, 75), while 77 is not?—F. J. F.

Q₂.F₁.

II. i.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 11. Enter old Polonius, with his man or two. | Enter Polonius and Reynaldo. |
| 12. Exit Rey. | Exit |

II. ii.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 13. Florish. Enter King and Queene, Rosencraus and Guildensterne. | Enter K., Q., Rosincrane and Guildensterne cum alijs. |
| 14. 39] Exeunt Ros. and Guyld. | Exit (one line too early). |
| 15. Enter Embassadors. | Enter Pol., Voltumand, and Cornelius. |
| 16. Exeunt Embassadors. | Exit Ambass. |
| 17. 115] Letter. | 108] The Letter. |
| 18. Enter Hamlet. | Enter Hamlet reading on a Booke. |
| 19. 214] Enter Guildensterne and Rosencraus. | 217] Enter Rosincran and Guildensterne. |
| 20. 350] A Florish. | Florish for the Players. |
| 21. Enter the Players. | Enter foure or fiue Players. |
| 22. | 509] Exit Polon. |
| 23. 520] Exeunt Pol. and Players. | (The Players have no Exeunt.) |

III. i.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 24. 28] Exeunt Ros. and Guyld. | Exeunt. |
| 25. 54] Enter Hamlet (too early). | after l. 55] Enter Hamlet. |
| 26. 55] | Exeunt. |
| 27. Exit. | Exit Hamlet. |
| 28. Exit (Ophelia). | |

III. ii.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 29. Enter Hamlet, and three of the Players. | Enter H., and two or three of the Players. |
| 30. | 41] Exit Players. |
| 31. after l. 42] Enter Pol., Ros., and Guyld. | before l. 42] id. |
| 32. 44] | Exit Polonius. |
| 33. 46] Ros. I my Lord. [Exeunt they two. | Both. We will my Lord. [Exeunt. |
| 34. Enter Trumpets and Kettle Drummes, King, Queene, Polonius, Ophelia. | Enter K., Q., Pol., Oph., Rosencrance, Guildensterne, and other Lords attendant, with his Guard, carrying torches. Danish March. Sound a Flourish. |
| 35. 132] Enter Prologue. | 138] Enter Prologue. |
| 36. Enter King and Queene | Enter King and his Queene. |
| 36a. | 217] brain. [Sleeps. |
| 37. 233] Enter Lucianus. | 232] Enter Lucianus. |
| 38. | Powres the poyson in his eares. |
| 39. Exeunt all but Hamlet and Horatio. | Exeunt. Manet Hamlet and Horatio. (See No. 6.) |
| 40. Enter the Players with Recordrs. | Enter one with a Recorder. |
| 41. | 369] Polon. I will say so. [Exit. |
| 42. 382] Exit. | |

Q₂.F₁.

III. iii.

43. 26] Exeunt Gent.

Exeunt Gent.

44. 35] Exit.

III. iv.

45. Enter Gertrard and Polonius.

Enter Queene and Polonius.

46. Exit Ghost.

Exit.

47. Exit.

Exit Hamlet tugging in Polonius.

IV. i.

48. Enter King and Queene, with
Rosencraus and Guyldensterne.

Enter King.

IV. ii.

49. Enter Hamlet, Rosencraus, and
others.Oh, heere they come. [Enter Ros. and
Guildensterne.*Enter Hamlet* (is printed separately at
the head of the scene).

IV. iii.

50. Enter King and two or three.

Enter King.

51. Enter Rosencraus and all the
rest.

Enter Rosincrane.

52. They enter.

Enter Hamlet and Guildensterne.

IV. iv.

53. Enter Fortinbrasse with his Army
ouer the stage.

Enter Fortinbras with an Armie.

54.

Exit (Fort.).

IV. v.

55. Enter Horatio, Gertrard, and a
Gentleman.

Enter Queene and Horatio.

(For *Queene* instead of Q₂ *Gertrard*,
see also No. 45.)56. before l. 17] Enter Ophelia (too
early).

after l. 20] Enter Ophelia distracted.

57. (Over the first line of the old
snatches sung by Ophelia we
read *shee sings*, and also after-
wards we find *Song* printed be-
side the verses, even in Act V. i.)(Here the songs are outwardly marked
as such by being printed in italics.)

58. l. 34] Enter King.

l. 32] Enter King (it seems too early).

59.

Exit (Oph.).

60. A noise within. Enter Laertes
with others.

Noise within. Enter Laertes.

61. A noyse within. Enter Ophelia.

A noise within. Let her come in.
Enter Ophelia.

62.

Exeunt Ophelia.

Q₂.

63. Enter Horatio and others.
 64. Enter Sayers.
 65. 31] Exeunt.

IV. vi.

Enter Horatio, with an Attendant.
 Enter Saylor.
 Exit.

IV. vii.

- 66 Enter a Messenger with Letters. Enter a Messenger (also with textual variations).

V. i.

67. 62] Enter Hamlet and Horatio. 53] Enter Hamlet and Horatio a farre off.
 68. Enter K., Q., Laertes, and the Enter K., Queene, Laertes, and a corse. coffin, with Lords attendant.
 69. Leaps in the graue.
 70. Exit Hamlet and Horatio. Exit.

V. ii.

71. Enter a Courtier. Enter young Osricke.
 72. A table prepard, Trumpets, Enter K., Qu., Laertes, and Lords, Drums, and officers with Cush- with other Attendants, with Foyles ions, King, Queene, and all the and Gauntlets a Table and Flagons state Foiles, daggers, and Laertes. of wine on it.
 73. 253] Prepare to play.
 74. 265] Trumpets the while.
 75. 268] Drum, trumpets, shot. 270] Trumpets sound and shot goes Florish, a peece goes off. off.
 76. 267 and 287] They play. Play.
 77. (Q₂ omits the remaining stage- (F₁ gives some more): directions except 78, 79, and 80.) 289] In scuffling they change Rapiers.
 309] Hurts the King.
 314] King Dyes.
 318] (Laertes) Dyes.
 345] (Hamlet) Dyes.
 78. 336] A march a farre off. Enter March a farre off, and shout within. Osrick. 337] Enter Osricke.
 79. Enter Fortenbrasse, with the Enter Fortinbras and English Am- Embassadors. bassador, with Drumme, Colours, and Attendants. (For the singular *Ambassador*, see No. 64.)
 80. Exeunt. Exeunt marching: after the which a Peale of Ordenance are shot off.

There are a few stage-directions that do not differ at all in the two editions, e. g.

V. i., at the end, *Exeunt*. Or,

V. ii., 'Enter Hamlet and Horatio.' These have of course been left out in the above list.

Some instances (see Nos. 25, 31, 32, 56, 61, 68(1), 73, 76, 77), and some of the omissions, clearly show the inattention and carelessness of the Q₂ compositor; but upon the whole, the stage-directions go to show that they are from Shakspeare's MS. Some of them are suggestive rather than exact; and that is just what we might expect of Shakspeare, who, having his head full of the plot and dialogue, naturally dashed off most stage-directions in a somewhat hasty manner. F₁, in such cases, generally takes greater care (see 34, 79), and pays particular attention to formalities, yet sometimes entirely neglects important features which are traceable in Q₂. In No. 4 it was, no doubt, the poet's intention to represent Hamlet as entering dejectedly among the last persons appearing. F₁ effaces this trait, as it does a similar feature in 72. In No. 4 too we notice that F₁ makes Ophelia enter for the sake of stage-effect, for she has not to speak a single syllable, and seems altogether strangely out of place in this scene. It may have been the common practice then; and Shakspeare may be supposed to have not seriously objected to such trifling departures from his original intention.

The words *Counsaille: as Polonius* are perhaps also worthy of remark, being probably so put by Shakspeare to intimate the position Polonius occupies at the Danish Court. F₁ omits this characteristic. A similar thing we find in No. 11, where Q₂ calls Polonius *old*, whereas F₁ again puts the name without such an epithet. No. 13 makes it probable that Shakspeare did not think it necessary to write in his stage-directions what was understood. F₁ is right in adding *Cum alijs*, for the King says: "goe, some of you, and bring," &c.; but Shakspeare seems to have taken it for granted that kings are generally followed by a train of courtiers. A similar deficiency in details may be observed in Nos. 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 67. For 23, see below.

No. 33 also seems to point back to the poet.

No. 49 in Q₂ answers to the text, IV. i. 33: "Goe, joyne you with some further ayde." In 51, 'all the rest' probably means the 'others' of 49. 52 looks as if it had been written thus by Shakspeare, supposing that Q₂ has dropped 'Guyldensterne' in the line: "How, (—) bring in the Lord," where *the* instead of *my* must be another blunder of the compositor.

No. 55. Shakspeare originally wrote "Enter Gertrard and a Gentleman;" but to save an actor he afterwards altered—hastily it seems—so as to put Horatio instead of the Gentleman. His negligent alteration caused some confusion in the rubrics of the beginning of IV. v., and a strange inconsistency in the latter part of the piece, for a full account of which see *Anglia*, iv. 2.

It will be hard to account for what we read under 57, unless we suppose Q₂ to be printed from the poet's MS. It must be remembered that Q₁ does not in any way distinguish the songs from the common text. The words 'and others,' or 'with others,' occurring in 49, 60, 63 (compare also 50, 51), are replaced by more precise or formal terms in F₁, and are in all probability owing to Shakspeare himself.

We see that the Q₂ stage-directions possess a certain intrinsic value of their own, and deserve, as far as they are sufficiently complete, to be preferred to those of F₁, which, as we shall see, may be important for stage-managers, and useful for the completion of deficient stage-directions in Q₂, but can hardly be of any authority, *being for the most part not Shakspeare's, but Heminge and Condell's*, who abstracted them from, and adapted them to, the text as well as they could.

The truth of the latter assertion will readily appear.

For No. 1, compare in the text: "Loe, where it comes *again*."

Nos. 2 and 3 omitted, because the text leaves their places doubtful.

No. 4 has been spoken of above.

No. 6. Text: 'Come away.' Observe '*Manet Hamlet*,' and compare 39.

No. 10. Text: "It beckons you."

No. 11 may be concluded from the rubrics.

No. 13. Spoken of above.

No. 15. Text: "Welcome good Friends:
Say, Voltumand," &c.

No. 17. The actor who had to play the part of Polonius may have written 'Letter' in his part, where we find it printed in Q₂. The real letter begins there. But H. C. evidently thought the

address also belonged to the letter, and thus put 'The Letter' before line 109.

No. 18. Text: "But looke where sadly the poore wretch comes reading."

No. 19. Text: "Pol. You goe to seeke my Lord Hamlet;" and the following rubric Rosin. explain the difference.

No. 20. Text: There are *the Players*.

No. 21. Stage-practice.

No. 22, 23. Pol. 'Come, sirs.' These words caused H. C. to think that an *Exit Polonius* was to be put here, and indeed, if this had not been a somewhat extraordinary case, their usual mechanical trick to supply the wanting stage-directions might have done them as good service as in other places, but unfortunately this passage requires some more attention. After Polonius's words: 'Come, sirs,' Hamlet dismisses the players: "Follow him, friends, wee le heare a play to-morrow." The players turn to go, and approach the door, while Hamlet takes one of them aside ("Dost thou heare me, old friend?"). The others, and Polonius among them (for *he* is not likely to stand without), linger about the door for a few seconds, till Hamlet has hastily whispered his few words to the player. He then dismisses him too: "Very well, follow that Lord," and they all go off almost simultaneously, so that the Q₂ stage-direction is certainly preferable to that of F₁. The compositor having no space left for it, put it after *Elsonoure*, instead of after *mock him not*.

No. 34. Stage-practice.

No. 35. H. C. looked but superficially at the text, and put *Enter Prologue* just above the three prologue-lines, thus showing that they did not always rightly understand their text. Having thus put *Enter Prologue* in a wrong place, and thinking of the Dumb Show, they naturally believed they'd discovered a mistake in the text: "We shall know by *this fellow*," the more so, as they read immediately below: "The Players cannot keepe counsell, they'l tell all." In Q₂ the text goes on: "Will a tell vs what this show meant?" *i. e.* Will the Prologue tell? And Hamlet answers: "I, or any show that you will show him." H. C., continuing in their error, altered accordingly: "Will THEY tell vs what," &c., but did not extend

their attention to the following line, so that the answer in F₁ reads: "I, or any shew that you shew HIM"(!)

No. 36. Instead of Q₂ Queene, F₁ puts *Bap.*, as rubric for the *P. Queene*. Compare Hamlet's words: "his wife Baptista," and see No. 45, above.

No. 37. Strictly following the text: "This is one Lucianus;" hence the *Enter* of this character was put *before* Hamlet's last words, and not *after*, as might have been expected, considering H.C.'s usual procedure.

No. 38. Text: "He poisons him."

No. 40. Stage-practice. Hence in the text: '*O the Recorder*. Let me see.' Q₂ 'ô the Recorders, let me see *one*.' (See 64.) The coincidence appearing from 43 is of too trifling a nature to be of any weight here.

No. 45. The rubrics in Q₂ answer to the stage-direction: *Ger.* except l. 51, Queene: "Ay me, what art?" The blunder of wrongly attributing the following line to Hamlet makes it probable that this inconsistency is the compositor's fault.

In F₁: *Qu.* throughout the scene.

No. 48. Shows that Shakspeare intended a new scene to begin here, whereas the common stage-practice seems to have been that the scene simply continues in the same room.

No. 49. See above. It is less troublesome for representation as F₁ has it.

No. 50. The text did not afford any hint as to the 'two or three' of Q₂; so they are not mentioned in it.

No. 51. The same may be said of 'all the rest.' Ros. is the only speaker besides the king, until Hamlet appears, so H. C. could not well put a different stage-direction.

No. 52. Text: "Hœ (Guildensterne?), Bring in my Lord."

No. 55. See above, p. 115. Stage-practice.

No. 56. Text: "She is importunate, indeed *distract*."

No. 60. The 'others' of Q₂ are indispensable, since the Danes have actually to exchange a few words with Laertes. H. C. were again superficial here.

No. 64. See 40.

No. 66. Arbitrary alteration in the F₁ text. The King interrupts himself by asking: "How now? What news?" The messenger answers: "Letters, my Lord, from Hamlet. This to your Majesty," &c. Is a messenger at all likely to speak to the King of Hamlet without giving him his title of *Prince* or *Lord*? H. C. probably took the King's exclamation for a partial repetition of the startling news, and interpolated accordingly, if the actor had not altered his part on his own account.

No. 71. Text: V. ii. 246: "Giue them the Foyles, young Osricke."

No. 75. In the text, so much stress is laid on the sound of trumpets and drums, &c., that H. C. could not help having their attention called to the necessity of a stage-direction.

Whether, in No. 74, F₁ be wrong or right in omitting a similar stage-direction, remains doubtful, as the text ("If Hamlet giue the first or second hit," &c.) seems to be in favour of F₁.

No. 77, to l. 289. Reminiscence of the stage-practice.

To l. 309. Text: "Oh, yet defend me, friends, I am but hurt."

No. 78. Text: "What warlike *noise* is this?"

No. 79. Stage-practice.

No. 80. Text: for his passage:

"The Souldiours Musicke & the rites of Warre
Speake lowdly for him. . . .

.
Go bid the Souldiers shoote."

The above list shows that the knowledge of stage-practice, and more especially the text itself, were sufficient sources for H. C. to supply the F₁ stage-directions from, at least most of them. (See below.)

This fact, together with some other considerations, makes it probable that F₁ was printed from a MS. woven together from the different parts of the actors. Actors, when copying their parts, do not, as a rule, write out stage-directions which do not concern them particularly. This explains the circumstance that H. C. had to supply

most of the stage-directions. Further, we observe interpolations in F₁ (see the list below) which must be put down to the actors. Supposing now F₁ to have been printed from some complete copy of the piece belonging to the theatre, who would have entered such interpolations in that copy? Is it not much more probable that the actors, in writing out their own parts or in studying them, should have altered the words or phrases they objected to, according to their taste? Certainly H. C. cannot be expected to have remembered all those trifling variations, and to have inserted them when they prepared their Folio. Besides, the very circumstance that H. C. themselves indulged in alterations, or rather adulterations, of the text (see list below) seems to imply, that they had no very high opinion of the authenticity and pureness of their source. Thus it is all but certain that the above supposition as to the origin of the F₁ stage-directions and of F₁ in general is correct. I said that at least 'most' of the stage-directions are likely to have been got up in that way. There must have been a book containing the stage-directions without the full text in the possession of the theatre, and it is not impossible that H. C. should have found it useful here and there (the description of the Dumb Show was probably taken from it); but, upon the whole, its notes cannot be supposed to have been such as could be inserted in an edition of *Hamlet*. Thus H. C. naturally examined the text for hints which might aid them in their task. Hence we meet with numerous instances, showing in an unmistakable manner how H. C. proceeded, and how anxiously and often short-sightedly they followed the text. It might be objected, in spite of all the above arguments, that perhaps H. C. were in possession of the genuine stage-directions, but replaced them by their own, thinking that they needed correction as well as the text.

But whatever may be our opinion of H. C., nobody will think them capable of fancying that stage-directions, such as Nos. 6, 24, 29, 35, 36, 39, 45, 50, 53, 60, &c., in F₁, were any improvements on those in Q₂.

In the subjoined list of textual variations in Q₂ and F₁ I have marked by

—, what seems to be a simple *accidental* omission;

=, what is probably an *intentional* omission, for the sake of shortening the representation of the piece;

||, what is probably owing to the negligence, inattention, or criticism of the *compositor*;

§, what is probably a *foul case*;

†, what seems to be owing to an interpolation of some *Actor*;

‡, what is probably due to the critical revision which the text received at the hands of H. C., when it was being woven together from the parts of the actors.

Of course, there will be some doubt left in several cases as to whether a variation ought to be marked || or † or ‡. Even in other cases it will be seen that it is difficult to arrive at a decision, if the variations are examined, not by themselves, but in the context. The marks, therefore, affixed to the different variations, can be only tentative in many cases, especially where I do not quite agree with Mommsen (*Jahrb.* Articles II and III.). It ought to be borne in mind that orthography and punctuation were paid more attention to by H. C. than anything else. The innumerable variations of this kind would have unnecessarily swelled the following list.

‘Q₁,’ added to certain readings, means that the First Quarto confirms, or at least countenances, those readings.

Q₂.F₁.

Act I. sc. i.

14. Stand ho, who is there?	— Stand: who's there:
33. || What we haue two nights seene.	What we two nights h. s.
43. Lookes <i>a</i> not like the King.	‡ it
46. <i>Speake</i> to it (Q ₁).	‡ Question it, Horatio.
61. When <i>he</i> th'ambitious Norway combated.	— <i>he</i> wanting.
65. <i>iump</i> at this dead hour.	‡ just at. . .
73. || <i>with</i> such dayly cost.	why such (Q ₁)
88. || all these his lands.	those.
89. stood seiz'd of.	‡ on.
98. lawlesse resolute (Q ₁).	|| Landlesse.
101. <i>As</i> it doth well appear.	|| and it.
103. compulsatory.	‡ compulsative.
11. 108—126.	= wanting (also in Q ₁).
138. || <i>your</i> spirits.	<i>you</i> spirits.
140. — shall I strike it.	<i>at</i> it.
150. trumpet to the morn.	‡ day.
Q ₁ : morning.	

Q₂.F₁.

158. Some *say*, that euer. || *sayes*.
 160. || This bird of dawning dare *The Bird*.
 sturre abraode. † can walke. Q₁: dare walke.
 163. No fairy *takes*, Q₁. || *talkes*.
 164. || so gracious is *that* time. *the time*.
 167. Eastward hill. † *Easterne*.
 174. Lets doo't (Q₁: Lets). || *Let*.
 175. || *conuenient*. conveniently (-ly Q₁).

I. ii.

8. sometime Sister. || *sometimes*.
 9. ioyntresse *tc* † *of*.
 11. *an* auspicious and *a* dropping eye. † *one* . . — and *one*.
 24. § bands of lawe. Bonds.
 35. For bearers of this greeting || For bearing of . . .
 (Q₁: For bearers of these greetings).
 57. — Hath my Lord, wroung from HE hath, my Lord:
 me my slow leaue. — *wanting*.
 By laboursome petition and at
 last.
 Vpon his will I seald my hard
 consent.
 (Q₁: Cor. He hath, my Lord,
 wrung from me a forced graunt.
 And I beseech you, grant your
 Highnesse leaue.)
 67. || Not so *much*, my Lord, I am Not so, my Lord. . . .
 too much in the sonne. (The
 second *much* rang beforehand
 in the compositor's ear.)
 68. nighted colour. † *nightly*.
 77. || coold mother. good mother.
 82. ? chapes of grieefe. shewes of Griefe.
 83. || deuote me truly. denote.
 129. || sallied flesh (Q₁: sallied). *solid*.
 132. ô God, God. † O God, O God!
 134. Seeme to me. || Seemes to me.
 135. Fie on't, ah fie, tis. . † Fie on't? Oh fie, fie, 'tis . . . (metre
 destroyed).
 137. || That it should come *thus*. come to *this*.
 149. — Why she. . . . Why she, *euen she*.
 150. O God. † O Heauen.
 155. *in* her gauled eyes (Q₁). || *of*. (The compositor's eye caught
 the *of* in the line above.)
 175. teach you *for to* drinke. † *t. y. to drinke deepe* (Q₁).
 178. — it was to my mother's wed- to *see* my m. w.
 ding.
 183. Or euer I had seene. Compare: † Ere I had euer seene.
 '*or ere* those shooes were old,'
 l. 147.

Q₂.F₁.(Q₁ : Ere euer I had seene that day Horatio.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 204. distil'd. | \|\| bestil'd. |
| 209. Whereas. (It ought to be 'Where as,' as in Q ₁ .) | Whereas. |
| 213. \|\| Vppon the platforme where we watch. | watcht. |
| 224. \|\| Indeede Sirs but this troubles me. See the following : | Indeed, indeed Sirs; (perhaps + Q ₁ (do.) |
| 237. \|\| Very like, stayd it long. | perhaps +? Very like, very like. Q ₁ (do.) |
| 239. Both: Longer, longer. | ‡ All. L. 1. ² |
| 240. grissl'd, no. (See above, ii. 68 : Q ₂ : nighted, F ₁ : nightly.) Q ₁ : gristeld. | ‡ grisly? no. |
| 243. I warn't it will. Q ₁ : I warrant. | \|\| I warrant <i>you</i> it will. |
| 248. tenable. Q ₁ : tenible. | \|\| treble. |
| 251. so farre <i>you</i> well. | ‡ so fare ye well. |
| 257. \|\| <i>fond</i> deedes. | <i>foule</i> . |

I. iii.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3. \|\| And conuay <i>in</i> assistant. | And Conuoy <i>is</i> assistant. |
| 5. favour. | † favours. |
| 9. The perfume and suppliance of a minute. | — The suppliance of a m. ? no more. (Perhaps due to H. C.'s inattention.) |
| 12. ? bulkes (pl. s caught - from 'thewes'). | Bulke. |
| 16. his will, but you must feare. | his feare . . . feare (cf. I. ii. 97). |
| 18. — wanting. | For he himselfe is subject to his Birth. |
| 21. This ³ safty and health of this whole state. | ‡ The sanctity and health of the
§ weole State. |
| 26. particular act and place. | \|\| ? peculiar sect and force. |
| 34. keepe you in the reare. | † Keepe within the . . . |
| 40. their buttons. | \|\| <i>the</i> buttons. |
| 46. as watchman | \|\| watchmen. |
| 57. blessing with <i>thee</i> (Q ₁). | ‡ <i>you</i> . |

¹ Probably both the compositor and the copyist found *Whereas* in Sh.'s MS. This trifle had escaped the eye of H. C. In two other like cases, they (or the copyist?) made the proper correction. In both cases it is the words *with all* which are wrongly printed together in Q₂.

I. v. 79: Withall my imperfections on my head.

F₁ : With all my . . .

Q₂, III. iii. 81 : Withall his rimes braod blown . . .

F₁ : With all his crimes broad b.

² Q₂ is more accurate here : Horatio cannot be supposed, from the text, to join his two companions in exclaiming: '*Longer, longer!*' Before this, Q₂ has *All* in three cases, whereas F₁ reads *Both*, because H. C. thought that Hamlet asked only the two sentinels proper.

³ *This*, perhaps because *his* stood right above in the MS., or on account of the following S. (See *New Var. Haml.* vol. I. p. 62, note 21.)

Q₂F₁

- | | |
|--|---|
| 59. <i>Looke</i> thou character. | ‡ <i>See</i> thou. |
| 62. Those friends thou hast. | \|\| <i>The</i> friends. |
| 65. each new hatcht vn fledgd
courage. | ‡ earth vnhatcht vn fledgd comrade. |
| Q ₁ : of every new vn fledgd
courage. | (See what Ingleby says: Furness,
<i>Var Haml.</i> , I. p. 69, note.) |
| 74. Or of a most select and gener-
ous, chiefe ¹ in that. | Are of a most select and generous
cheff in that that |
| Q ₁ : Are of a most select and
generall chiefe in that. | |
| 75. \|\| nor a tender <i>boy</i> . | BE. |
| 76. \|\| loue. | lone (= loan). |
| 77. dulleth. ² | duls the. |
| 83. \|\| inuests you. | inuities. |
| 106. these tenders for true pay. | \|\| his tenders (cf. l. 103). |
| 109. \|\| wrong it thus. | Roaming it thus. |
| 114. § My Lord, with almost all the
holy nows of heauen. | My Lord, with all the vovs of
heauen. ³ |
| 117. Lends the tongue. | Gives the t. (The next line begins
with <i>Giving</i> .) |
| 120. From this time. ⁴ | \|\| ‡ For this time, Daughter. |
| 121. <i>Something</i> . | ‡ <i>somewhat</i> . |
| 125. tider. | ‡ tether. |
| 128. not of that <i>die</i>. | \|\| that <i>eye</i> . |
| 130. pious bonds (for bauds). | pious bonds. ⁵ |
| 131. \|\| beguide. | beguile. |

¹ If we take 'chief' (as Knight does) to stand for 'eminence, superiority,' the Q₂ reading, apart from the comma after *generous*, is quite satisfactory. The verse remains too long, it is true; but if we pronounce the three monosyllables, '*Or of a*,' in the duration of one unaccented syllable, which is by no means difficult before the strongly accented *most*, we practically remove that obstacle too. Perhaps Sh. wrote OR, and not *Are* (as Q₁ and F₁ read), to denote the somewhat indistinct and gliding manner of pronunciation necessary in this place.

² Some differences, which I had not originally received into this list, were afterwards put in by Mr. Furnivall. Hence they are left without a mark.

³ The line commences in Q₂ as well as in F₁ with the words: *My Lord*, which ought to close the preceding line. This coincidence can only be explained, by supposing that address to have stood in the same place in the poet's MS. So H. C. probably found in their source what we read in Q₂. Judging the line too long, they struck out *almost*. The omission of *holy* seems to be the compositor's fault. (Q₁: "And withall, such earnest vovs.")

⁴ If in this line, "You must not take for fire, from this time," we take *fire* to be dissyllabic, we need not adopt the F₁ word 'Daughter,' which looks as if H. C. had made it close the line, as it does three lines above ('these blazes, Daughter'), probably thinking the line too short.

⁵ Here again both the Q₂ compositor and the copyist seem to have been led astray by some indistinctness in Sh.'s handwriting, although, on the other hand, it is so easy to read *bonds* for *bauds* that the concurrence of Q₂ and F₁ in this mistake cannot be of much weight in our matter.

Q₂.F₁.

I. iv.

1. It is very colde.
 2. || nipping.
 9. wassel.
 14. *But* to my mind.
 17—37½.
 42. Be thy intents.
 45. ô answere mee (Q₁).
 49. interr'd (Q₁).
 54. hideous, and we fooles (Q₁).
 61. It waues you (Q₁).
 69. || somnet (summit).
 72. assume (conjunctive mood after
if).
 74. thinke of it,
 75—77½.
 77. It waues me still.
 80. Hold off your hands.
 87. || imagon.

- || is it very corde?
 a nipping.
 || wassels.
 || *And* to my mind. (The next line
 begins with *And*.)
 = wanting (also w. in Q₁).
 || euent.
 ‡ Oh, oh, a. m.
 ‡ enurn'd.
 ‡ hidious? And we . . .
 ‡ It wafts.
 || sonnet.
 || assumes. (The next word begins
 with an S.)
 thinke of it?
 = wanting (w. in Q₁ too).
 ‡ It wafts.
 || off your hand.
 imagination.

I. v.

18. Knotted . . . locks.
 20. || fearefull Porpentine.
 22. list, list, ô list:
 24. O God.
 29. *hast* me so know't
 that *I* with wings.
 33. rootes it selfe (Q₁).
 35. *Tis* giuen out (Q₁).
 my orchard.
 43. with trayterous gifts.
 47. — what falling off.
 55. || so *but* though . . .
 56. || will sort it selfe.
 58. morning ayre.
 60. *of* the afternoone.
 62. Hebona (Q₁).
 68. || possesse
 71. barck't about (Q₁).
 75. § of Queene (Q₁).
 77. || vnanueld.
 91. adiew, adiew, adiew.
 95. || swiftly vp.
 104. Yes by heauen.
 107. My tables, meet it is, &c,

- ‡ knotty (see above, I. ii. 68, 'nightly,'
 and 'grisly,' I. ii. 240).
 fretful (Q₁).
 † list, Hamlet, oh list:
 ‡ Oh Heauen (the same variation, see
 I. ii.).
 † *Hast, hast*, me
 — (*I* omitted.)
 || rots.
 ? it's g. out.
 ‡ mine O.¹
 ‡ hath Traitorous gifts.
 what *a* falling off.
 so Lust, though (Q₁).
 will sate it selfe (Q₁: would fate it selfe).
 ‡ Mornings Ayre.
 † *in* the afternoone (Q₁).
 ‡ Hebenon.
 posset.
 || bak'd.
 and Queene.
 || vnanueld.
 adue, adue Hamlet, Remember me.
 (See above, *list*, *Hamlet*, Q₁.)
 stiffly vp.
 † Yes, yes, by h.
 † My Tables, my Tables, meet . . .
 (*verse too long*).

¹ In general Q₂ prefers *my* before vowels, whereas F₁ often reads *mine*.

Q₂.

112. *Enter Horatio and Marcellus.*
 Hora. My Lord, my Lord.
113. || Heauens secure him.
 || boy come, and come.
129. desire shall.
132. I will goe pray.
133. *whurling* words (probably Sh.'s
 orthography; compare I. i.,
sturre).
136. There is Horatio (Q₁).
156. Shift our ground (Q₁).
161. *Ghost*. Sweare by his sword.
162. worke i' th *earth* (Q₁ work in
 the earth).
167. your Philosophie (Q₁).
174. or this head shake (Q₁).
176. As *well well* (Q₁).
177. if *they* might.
179. || This doe *sweare* (compositor's
 criticism?).
181. || ('Sweare' is omitted in conse-
 quence of the alteration in
 I. 179.)

F₁.

- ‡ *Hor. & Mar.* within. My Lord,
 my Lord.
Enter Horatio and Marcellus.
 Heauen s. h.
 — boy; come bird, come.
 || desires shall.
 † Looke you, Ile g. p.
 ‡ *hurling*.
 (The copyist seems to have faithfully
 copied *whurling*, which H. C.
 changed into *hurling*.)
 || There is, *my Lord*. (The composi-
 tor's eye caught the preceding line,
 which ends with *my Lord*.)
 || shift for ground.
 † Sweare (Q₁).
 ‡ i' th' *ground*.
 || our Ph.
 ‡ or thus, head shake.
 || as *well*.
 || if *there* might.
 This *not to* doe . . .
 Sweare.

II. i.

1. *this* money.
4. ? meruiles (= marvellous), to
 make inquire. (See *New Var.*
Haml., i. 118, note 4.)
16. *As* thus.
28. — Fayth as you.
38. fetch of *wit*.
40. || *with* working.
- 52-3. **wanting**.
63. carpe of truth.
69. God buy *ye*, far *ye* well.
75. O my Lord, my Lord.
76. i' th' name of God.
77. closset.
95. As it did seeme.
97. shoulder.
99. helps.
101. *Come* goe.
105. || passions.
111. heede.
112. coted . . fear'd.
114. By heauen it is as proper.
- || his money.
 maruels.
 ‡ you make inquire.
 || *And* thus.
 Line 15 begins with *And*.
 Faith *no* as you . . .
 ‡ fetch of *warrant*.
 i' th' working.
 At friend or so, and gentleman.
 || cape of truth.
 ‡ God . . . *you* . . . *you* well.
 † Alas, my Lord, my Lord.
 ‡ in the name of Heauen.
 † chamber.
 ‡ That it did seeme.
 || shoulders.
 || helpe.
 — Goe.
 passion.
 speed.
 quoted . . feare.
 ‡ It seems it is as p

Q₂.

120. *Come* (the last word of the scene).

F₁.

? *wanting* (perhaps left out on purpose to finish with the rhyme).

II. ii.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 5. — so call it. | so <i>I</i> call it. |
| 6. Sith. | † <i>Since</i> . |
| 12. sith . . . haviör. | † <i>since</i> <i>humour</i> . |
| 17. Whether ought . . . thus. | — <i>wanting</i> . |
| 36. goe some of <i>you</i> . | † of <i>ye</i> . |
| 39. <i>Quee</i> . <i>I</i> Amen. | — Amen. |
| 43. \|\| I assure, my good Liege. | Assure <i>you</i> , my good Liege. |
| 45. And to my gracious king. | \|\| <i>one</i> to my . . . |
| 48. As <i>it hath</i> vsd to doe. | † as I haue. |
| 50. That doe I long to heare. | † that I doe l . . . (perhaps \|\|). |
| 52. <i>fruite</i> to that great feaste. | \|\| <i>Newes</i> to that . . . |
| 54. my deere Gertrard. | † my sweete <i>Queene</i> . ¹ |
| 57. and our hastie marriage
(our facilitated the omission of
<i>ore</i> -). | and our o're-hastie m. |
| 58. Welcome <i>my</i> good friends. | — welcome good friends (the metre
is defective). |
| 73. threescore thousand (see <i>Anglia</i> ,
vol. iv. part 2. | three thousand (Q ₁). |
| 78. For <i>this</i> enterprise (Q ₁ : that). | \|\| for <i>his</i> enterprise. |
| 85. busines is <i>well</i> ended. | † is <i>very well</i> e. (Spoils the metre ;
Q ₁ has <i>very well</i> dispatched.) |
| 90. — Therefore breuitie. | Therefore <i>since</i> breuitie. |
| 98. And pittie <i>tis</i> tis true. | † And pittie <i>it</i> is true. |
| 105. <i>while</i> she is mine (Q ₁). | † whilst . . . |
| 112. \|\| <i>thus</i> in her excellent. | † <i>those</i> in . . . |
| 125. hath shown me. | \|\| shew'd me. |
| 126. And more <i>about</i> . . .
soliciting. | . . . <i>aboue</i> .
 soliciting. |
| 137. \|\| a <i>working</i> mute and dumb. | Q ₁ : winking. |
| 142. prescripts. | † precepts. |
| 143. \|\| from <i>her</i> resort. | <i>his</i> resort. |
| 146. <i>repell'd</i> . | † repulsed. |
| 148. \|\| Wath. | Watch. |
| 149. lightnes. | a Lightnesse. |
| 150. wherein. | whereon. |
| 151. <i>mourne</i> for. | † <i>waile</i> for. |
| 152. — thinke this.
very like. (See Hamlet's words,
I. iii., 'very like.') | think 'tis this ?
† very likely. |
| 161. <i>does</i> indeed. | \|\| <i>ha's</i> indeed. |
| 174. excellent well. | † excellent, excellent well. |
| 187. but as your daughter may con-
ceae. | but <i>not</i> as . . . |
| 190. a is farre gone. | † far gone, far gone. |
| 197. the matter you <i>reade</i>. | \|\| the matter you <i>meane</i> . |

¹ See above, stage directions, Nos. 45, 55, pp. 113, 115.

Q₂.F₁

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 198. satiricall <i>rogue</i> . | † s. <i>slawe</i> . |
| 201. lacke of wit. | § locke of wit. |
| 202. with <i>most</i> weake hams. | — with weake Hammes. |
| 205. — for your selfe. | for <i>you</i> your selfe. |
| \|\| <i>grow</i> old. | <i>be</i> old (Q ₁). |
| 216. \|\| sanctity. | sanity. |
| 217. I will leaue him and my daughter. | leaue him and sodainely contriue the |
| (The compositor's eye strayed | meanes of meeting |
| into the following line.) | Betweene him and my daughter. |

The whole speech is divided into a kind of verses in F₁ ; hence :

- | | |
|---|--|
| 218. My Lord I will take my leaue of you (Q ₁). | ‡ my <i>honourable</i> Lord I will <i>most humbly</i> take . . . |
| 219. \|\| You cannot take. | You cannot, <i>Sir</i> , t . . . |
| except my life (3 times). | ‡ Except my life, my life. |
| 224. <i>the</i> Lord Hamlet. | <i>my</i> Lord Hamlet. |
| 227. \|\| My <i>extent</i> good friends. | <i>my excellent</i> g. fr. |
| 232. § euer happy. | ouer-happy. |
| \|\| Fortunes lap. | Fortunes Cap. |
| 237. fauors. | \|\| fauour ? |
| 240. What newes ? | † What's the newes ? |
| 243. \|\| but your newes is not true. | But your newes is not true. Let me |
| | (244 ¹ —276) . . . attended. |
| 277. But in the beaten way of friendship . . . | But in the beaten way . . . |
| (Between <i>true</i> and <i>But</i> , 31 lines | |
| (244—276) are left out.) | |

The two *Buts* following so awkwardly upon each other show that this passage cannot have run in the poet's MS. as it does in Q₂. The omission may have been brought about by the compositor's skipping over a page, and was probably facilitated by the first *But* still ringing in his ear, when his eye caught the second *But*. (See below, p. 129.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 280. \|\| euer poore. | euen poore. |
| 285. ? come, come, deale. | come, deal. |
| 287. Anything. | † why, anything. |
| 305. discouery, <i>and</i> your secrecie to the King and Queene moult no feather. | ‡ discouery <i>of</i> your secrecy to the King and Queen moult no feather. |
| 308. exercises. | \|\| exercise. |

¹ Let me question more in particular : what haue you, my good friends, deserved at the hands of Fortune, that she sends you to Prison hither ?

Guil. Prison, my Lord ?

Ham. Denmark's a Prison.

Rosin. Then is the World one, &c., &c.

Q₂.F₁.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 312. firmament. | — wanting. |
| 313. nothing to me but | ‡ no <i>other</i> thing to me then. |
| 315. — What peece of work is man. | What <i>a</i> p. |
| 316. \|\| faculties. | faculty. |
| 333. \|\| tribute <i>on</i> me. | of mee (Q ₁). |
| 337. — peace, and the Lady. | peace : the Clowne shall make those |
| (Q ₁ : the clowne shall make them | laugh whose lungs are tickled a' th' |
| laugh that are tickled in the | sere : and the Lady ¹ |
| lungs.) | |
| 341. take <i>such</i> delight. | — take delight. |
| 331. <i>No indeede</i> are they not. | ‡ they are not. |
| ll. 352—379 wanting. | (F ₁ gives them, and Q ₂ also alludes to them. ²) |
| | — not strange. |
| 380. It is not <i>very</i> strange. | ‡ make mowes. |
| 381. make mouths. | — forty, an hundred. |
| 382. fortie, <i>fiftie</i> , a hundred. | — your hands, come : |
| 388. your hands come <i>then</i>. | \|\| in the Garbe. |
| 390. in this garb. | lest my extent. |
| \|\| let me extent. | ‡ swathing clouts. |
| 401. swadling clouts (Q ₁). | |

¹ See the parallel passage in my 'Forewords' to Facsimile *Hamlet*, Q₂, p. xvi.—F. J. F.

² This passage has often been considered as a later addition for stage purposes, chiefly because the transition to Hamlet's bitter words seems to be as satisfactory in Q₂ as in F₁. But if we look a little more closely into it, we find it an impossibility that Shakspeare should have written the passage as it is printed in Q₂. Hamlet asks : "Doe they hold the same estimation they did when I was in the Citty, are they so followed?" Ros. simply answers : "No indeede are they not." It is impossible to imagine that Hamlet, who takes such a lively interest in the players, and who has just asked several questions about them, should be satisfied with this answer, which simply states the fact that the popularity of the players has decreased, but not the reason of it. Hamlet must be expected to inquire further, and so he does indeed, according to the F₁ reading : "How comes it? Doe they grow rusty?"

Let us now look at Q₂.

"Ros. No indeede are they not.

Ham. It is not very strange, for my Vncle is King of Denmarke, and those that would make mouths at him while my father liued, giue twenty, fortie, fiftie, a hundred duckets a peece for his picture in little," &c.

There is at best a very awkward gap here, though Hamlet's word might be strained into some connection with Rosencrans's answer. In F₁ the transition is clear enough : "*Ham.* Do the boys carry it away? *Ros.* I that they do, my Lord, Hercules and his load too." In like manner Hamlet's uncle had 'carried it away.' In the lacuna spoken of above (ll. 244—276) the case was worse and better : worse, because no internal proofs could be derived from the text showing the wanting speeches to be left out accidentally ; better, because the two *Buts* following so hard and awkwardly upon each other must be suffered to give in their evidence, however trifling it may be. Here we have no such external evidence, but the text, when examined attentively, shows clearly enough that we had to do with an accidental omission. (See below.)

Q₂.

409. Sir, a Monday morning, 'twas
 then indeede.
409. When Rossius *was* an actor.
414. then came each Actor.
415. — (Pol. enumerates only *six*
species of dramatic poetry,
finishing with: *Historicall*
Pastorall.)
438. pious chanson.
439. abridgment comes (Q₁).
441. oh old friend.
442. || face is vallancet¹ (Q₁: val-
lanced).
450. || friendly Faulknors.
462. were no sallets.
464. || affection.
 as wholesome as sweete, &
 by very much more handsome
 then fine (Q₁: as wholesome as
 sweete).
466. one speech in't I chiefly loued.
467. || Aeneas talke to Dido.
468. || when he speaks.
478. and *a* damned.
479. Now is he *total* Gules.
483. To their *Lords* murther.
486. so proceede you (Q₁: so goe on).
493. vnequall matcht.
496. — fals: (half a line wanting).
497. Seeming to feel this blow.
503. — Like a newtrall (metre defec-
 tive).
512. Marse's Armor.
517. § follies (= fellies).
524. But who, o woe.
525. mobled (Q₁).
527. — That's good.
544. ? prethee no more.
545. the rest of this soone.
551. while you liue.
565. for . . . neede.
566. || dosen lines or sixteene lines.
568. could *you* not.
579. to his owne conceit.
580. || all *the* visage *wand*.

F₁.

- † Sir, *for* a Monday morning 'twas *so*
indeede.
Q₁: You say true a Monday last, 'twas
so indeede.
— When Rossius an Actor.
|| then can each A.
(Here *eight* species are named, of
which the last is Tragicall-Comic-
all-*Historicall-Pastorall*.)
- || Pons Chanson.
|| abridgements come.
oh *my* olde F. (Q₁).
|| is valiant.
- French Faulconers (Q₁).
|| was no Sallets.
affectation.
— **wanting**.
- || One *cheefe* speech in it I cheefely
lou'd.
A . . . Tale to Dido (Q₁).
where he speakes (Q₁: where he
talkes).
|| and damned.
|| *to take Geulles*.
|| *vilde murthers*.
— **wanting**.
|| match.
fals. Then senseless Illium.
|| *his* blow.
And like a n . . .
- || Mars *his* Armour.
|| fallies of her wheele.
|| But who, o who.
|| inobled (three times).
That's good : *Inobled* Queene is good.
(Q₁: mobled Queene is good.)
pray you no more.
— rest soone.
|| lined.
for *a* neede (Q₁).
dosen or sixteene lines (Q₁).
‡ could *ye* not.
|| whole conceit.
|| all *his* visage *warm'd*.

¹ Sh. probably wrote vallanc'd.

Q₂.

585. or he to *her*.
 587. || and *that* for passion (*that*
 anticipated from 'That I haue,'
 which follows 'passion,')
 593. faculties.
 604. Hah, *s'wounds* I should take it :
 for it cannot be.
 608. { With this slaues offall.
 { bloody, baudy villaine.
 610. wanting.
 611. { Why what an Asse am.
 { I, this is most braue.
 612. of a deere murdered.
 615. || a stallyon.
 617. || my braines.
 626. If a *doe* blench.

F₁.

- or he to *Hecuba* (Q₁).
 and *the cue* for p.
 || faculty.
 ‡ Hah, *Why* I should &c. (See
 above, several times 'Heauen' for
 Q₂ God.)
 { With this slaues offall.
 { ‡ bloudy ; a Bawdie villaine.
 † Oh Vengeance.
 { † Who ? What an Asse am I ?
 { † *I sure*, this is most brave (all in
 one line).
 || of *the* Deere murdered.
 A Scullion ?
 Braine (Q₁).
 ‡ if he *but* blench.

Act III. i.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. ? conference. | circumstance. |
| 19. are <i>heere</i> about . . . (the verse
is too long). | are about. |
| 26. \|\| into these delights. | on to these d. |
| 30-1. may <i>heere</i> affront Ophelia. | \|\| may <i>there</i> affront. |
| 31. \|\| my selfe. | my selfe (<i>lawful espials</i>). |
| 43. please <i>you</i> . | ‡ <i>ye</i> . |
| 46. \|\| lowlines. | lonelinesse. |
| 48. sugar ore. | \|\| surge o're. |
| 55. — with-draw my Lord. | <i>let's</i> withdraw my L. (necessary for
the metre). |
| 71. the proude mans. | \|\| the poore man's. |
| 72. ? despiz'd loue. | dispriz'd loue. |
| 75. \|\| quietas. | Quietus (Q ₁). |
| 76. would fardels beare. | \|\| would <i>these</i> fardels. |
| 86. \|\| pitch & moment. | pith & moment. |
| 92. thanke you <i>well</i> . | † well, well, well. |
| 96. \|\| No not I, I neuer . . . | Ho no, I neuer . . . |
| 97. you know right well (Q ₁). | \|\| <i>I</i> know right well. |
| 99. \|\| their perfume <i>lost</i>. | \|\| <i>then</i> perfume <i>left</i> . |
| 107. <i>you</i> should admit no. | <i>your honesty</i> should a. |
| 110. then <i>with</i> honestie (Q ₁). | \|\| then <i>your</i> Honestie. |
| 120. \|\| enoculat. | innoculate. |
| 122. — Get thee a Nunry. | thee <i>to</i> a Nunry. |
| 136. no <i>where</i> but (Q ₁). | \|\| no <i>way</i> , but. |
| 142. — <i>Nunry</i> , farewell. | <i>go</i> , Farewell. |
| 148. — paintings, well enough (Q ₁). | \|\| <i>pratlings too</i> , well enough. |
| 150. \|\| your selves another (Q ₁ : selues). | \|\| <i>selfe</i> . |
| 151. \|\| list. | lisp. |
| 153. — wantonnes ignorance. | w. <i>your</i> ignorance. |
| 154. \|\| marriages. | marriages. |

Q₂.

160. || expectation.
 163. *And* I of Ladies.
 165. || what noble.
 167. stature.
 175. which *for to* prevent.
 185. his greefe.
 196. || vnmatcht go.

F₁.

- expectansie.
 || *Haue* I . . .
 that noble.
 feature.
 which *to* prevent—(or ‡ ? The metre
 is defective).
 this greefe.
 vnwatcht.

III. ii.

4. towne cryer spoke. || *had* spoke. ('*I had as lief*' (just
 before) gave rise to this mistake.)
 5. *with* your hand thus. — your hands thus.
 10. to *heare* a robustious (Q₁). || to *see* a . . .
 11. § totters. tatters.
 14. I would haue such a fellow (Q₁). || I could . . .
 21. ore-steppe. || orestoppe.
 28. || though it makes, make (conjunctive mood).
 30. || of which one, of *the* which one.
 32. § praysd. praise.
 35. Pagan nor man. || P. or Norman.
 56. *Ros.* I my Lord. ‡ *Both.* We will my Lord.
 65. licke absurd pompe. || like a, p
 67. ? fauning. (See Stratmann's faining.
 note. *New Var. Haml.* vol. I, p.
 232.)
 68. of *her* choice. || of my choise. (due to : *my deare*
 Soul ?)
 69. || distinguish her election. distinguish her e.
 || S'hath. (Compositor's criti- Hath.
 cism ?)
 74. co-medled. ‡ co-mingled.
 84. of thy soule, || my soule. ('my' follows close after.)
 92. *In* censure of. || *To* censure of. (or ‡ ?.)
 94. || And scape detected. detecting.
 106. That did I. ‡ That I did.
 108. ? What did you enact (Q₁). And what . . . (Perhaps the pre-
 ceding '*and* was accounted' gave
 rise to this *And*.)
 115. ? my *deere* Hamlet. my good Hamlet.
 121-2. — **wanting** (All Ophelia's I meane, my Head vpon your Lap.
 short replies or questions here I my Lord (Q₁).
 end with *my Lord*, which facili-
 tated the omission.)

In the description of the *Dumb* show I observe the following 15 variations :—

1. Enter a King & a Qu.
 2. **wanting**.
 3. and he her.
 4. **wanting**.

- a K. and Qu.
 very louingly.
wanting.
 She kneeles . . unto him.

Q₂.

5. *he* lyes him downe.
6. come in an other man.
7. kisses it, pours,
8. sleepers eares,
9. and leaues him.
10. dead, makes.
11. three or foure come.
12. seeme to condole.
13. harsh awhile.
14. accepts loue.
15. **wanting.**

F₁.

(*he* left out) Lyes . . .
 comes in a Fellow.
 k. it *and* powres,
 King's eares,
 and Exits,
 dead, *and* makes,
 two or three Mutes comes,
 seeming to lament,
 loath and vnwilling awhile,
 accepts his loue,
 Exeunt.

Although it is easy to see that some of the differences are due to the carelessness of the compositor (especially in Q₂), the more considerable variations must probably be ascribed to Heminge and Condell, who (it seems) found a somewhat corrupted description in the book of stage-directions only.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 147. —\|\| Marry this <i>munching</i> | this is <i>Miching Malicho</i> , that meanes |
| 147. <i>Mallico</i> ; it means . . . | . . . Q ₁ myching Mallico. |
| 151. by this fellow (Q ₁). (See stage directions.) | ‡ these Fellowes. |
| 152. — Keepe, they'le tell all. | k. <i>counsell</i> . |
| 153. Will <i>a</i> tell (Q ₁). | ‡ will <i>they</i> . |
| 166. orb'd the ground. | orbed ground. |
| 174. \|\| from our former state. | your f. st. |
| 176. For women feare too much,
euen as they loue, | For women's Feare and Loue holds
quantitie. |
| 177. And womens feare and loue hold
quantitie. | (cf. <i>Anglia</i> , iv. 2.) |
| 178. \|\| <i>Eyther none</i> , in neither. | In neither. |
| 179. \|\| what my <i>Lord</i> is. | w. my <i>loue</i> is. |
| 181. Where loue is great, the litlest
doubts are feare, | wanting. |
| 182. Where little feares grow great,
great loue growes there. | |

These two curious lines in Q₂ are perhaps also due to the compositor's not having heeded the poet's mark of omission; they certainly do Sh. more honour when left out.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 184. <i>their</i> functions. | <i>my</i> functions (due to the preceding
<i>my</i>). |
| 190. <i>That's</i> wormwood. | † Wormwood, <i>wormwood</i> (Q ₁ : Ow. w.) |
| 206. of eyther, grieefe. | of other Greefe. |
| 207. ennactures. | \|\| ennactors. |
| 209. \|\| Greefe ioy. | Griefe ioyes. |
| 214. fauourite flyes. (See <i>New</i>
<i>Var. Hamlet</i> , vol. I, p. 253.) | fauorites flies. |

Q₂.F₁.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 228. To desperation turne my trus
and hope. | } — wanting. |
| 229. And Anchors cheere in prison be
my scope. | |
| 233. If once I be a . . . euer I be a
wife. | |
| 240. doth protest. | ‡ protests. |
| 255. are as good as a Chorus (Q ₁). | \|\| are a good Chorus. |
| 260. ? <i>mine</i> edge. (Q ₂ elsewhere
prefers my, and F ₁ mine.) | <i>my</i> edge. |
| 263. — Leauē thy faces. | Pox leauē thy . . . |
| 267. \|\| Considerat season. | confederates . . . |
| 277. — wanting . | <i>Ham.</i> What, frighted with false fire
(Q ₁). |
| 285. Thus runnes. | ‡ So runnes. |
| 287. — with provincial roses. | with <i>two</i> p. R. |
| 315. . . with choler. | <i>rather</i> with choller. |
| 318. \|\| the Doctor. | his Doctor. |
| 319. — into more choller. | into <i>farre</i> more ch. |
| 321. \|\| And stare not. | start not. |
| 330. — of busines. | of <i>my</i> B. |
| 334. answerē as I can. | \|\| answerē as I can. |
| 335. rather <i>as</i> you say. | \|\| rather you say. |
| 341. admiration, impart. | — admiration. |
| 349. <i>And</i> doe still. | ‡ <i>So I</i> do still. |
| 351. <i>Surely</i> barre. | \|\| <i>freely</i> barre. |
| 358. I sir, but while the grass. . . | — I, but while . . |
| 359. ô the Recorders. | ‡ O the Recorder. (See stage direc-
tions.) |
| 360. let me see <i>one</i> . | ‡ let me see. |
| 374. \|\| & the vंबर. | & thumbē. |
| 375. eloquent. | ‡ excellent. |
| 377. harmony. | \|\| hermony. |
| — to my compasse. | to <i>the top</i> of my c. |
| 384. make it <i>speake</i> . | — make it . . . |
| 385. <i>s'bloud</i> (Q ₁ Zownds). | ‡ <i>Why</i> . |
| 388. \|\| though you fret me <i>not</i> . | though you <i>can</i> fret me (Q ₁). |
| 402. Leauē me friends. | |
| 403. I will say so. By and by is easily
said. | <i>Pol.</i> I will say so.
<i>Ham.</i> By & by is easily said.
Leauē me friends. |

Was there an indistinct correction in the poet's MS., which was paid due attention to by the copyist, but overlooked by the compositor of Q₂?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 407. \|\| <i>breakes</i> out. | <i>breaths</i> out. |
| 409. such busines as the bitter day. | \|\| such <i>bitter</i> businesse as the day . |
| 413. speake dagger. | speake Daggers. |

Q₂.F₁.

III. iii.

6. Hazard so neere's as.
7. out of his *browes*.

Hazard so dangerous. || (or † ?.)
lunacies † ?.

(I prefer *browes* to the reading of the Folio. It stands metaphorically for 'frowns,' and I do not see any reason why it should be altered.)

14. whose *weale*.

|| whose *spirit*. (Owing to the preceding 'spirit'.)

17. || *or* it is a massie (*or* disturbs the metre).

It is a massie.

23. — but a generall grone.

but *with* a g. g.

25. || *about* this feare.

vpon this feare.

50. || *or* pardon.

or pardon'd.

73. but now *a* is *a* praying.

‡ *he* is . . praying.

A similar instance of H. C.'s modernizing criticism may be observed a little farther on, l. 91, in this same soliloquy of Hamlet.

77. sole sonne.

|| soule Sonne.

79. || Why this is base and silly.
(Compositor's criticism ?)

Oh this is hyre and Sallery.

91. At game *a* swearing (Q1: At game, swaring).

‡ At gaming, swearing.

III. iv.

5. — round.
wanting.

round *with him*.

† *Ham. within*. Mother, mother, mother.

6. || Ile *wait* you.

Ile *warrant* you.

12. *wicked* tongue.

|| *idle* tongue. (*Idle* stands just above.)

16. *And* would *it* were not so, you are.

‡ *But* would *you* . . so. You are.

20. || *most* part of you.

inmost . . .

22. Helpe how.

† helpe, helpe, ho.

What how helpe.

† What ho ! help, help, help !

32. thy better (Q1).

|| thy Betters.

49. || *Ore* this solidity. (Compositor's criticism ?)

yea this s.

50. || *heated* visage. (Connected with the preceding variation.)

tristful visage.

52. (*Qu. s'* line given to *Ham.*)

55. On this brow.

|| his brow.

59. || on a heaue, *a* kissing hill.

on a heauen-kissing h.

65. brother.

|| breath.

Q₂.

- 71—76. { sense sure. . .
 { difference.
78—81. Eyes without . . . mope.
87. || *And* reason *pardons* will.
89. || my very eyes into my soule.
90. greeued.
91. || As will leaue *there* their tinct.
97. || the kyth.
104. *your* gracious figure.

117. that you *doe* bend.
118. And with th'incorporall.
139. — **wanting**.
143. — And the matter.
145. *that* flattering unction.
152. To make them ranker
158. || And leaue the purer.
161—164. That monster custome . . .
 put on.
 || to refraine night.

167—170. The next more easie . . .
 . . . potency.
179. || *This* bad beginnes.
182. blowt king.
202—210. There's letters sealed . . .
 . . . directly meete.
215. || a *most* foolish prating . . .
 (owing to the 'most' in l. 214.)

F₁.

- wanting**.¹
= Q₁.
= **wanting** (Q₁).
|| *As* reason *panders* Will.
mine eyes into my very s.
grained.
As will *not* l. their Tinct.
the tythe.
|| *you*. (The line begins with another
 'you'.)
— that you bend (metre defective).
|| with their corporall.
Extasie ?
And *I* the m.
|| *a* fl. unction.
|| To . . . ranke.
And *liue* the p.
= **wanting** (Q₁).
(F₁ reads : 'Assume a virtue if you
 haue it not Refrain to night,' all in
 one line.)
= **wanting** (Q₁).

Thus bad b.
|| blunt K.
= **wanting** (Q₁).

a foolish p.

IV. i.

For the beginning of the Act, see Stage directions.

1. There's matter. || T. matters.
4. Bestowe this place on vs a little
 while. ‡ — **wanting**.
5. || Ah *mine own* lord. Ah *my good* Lord.
7. the sea. the Seas.
10. Whyps out his Rapier, cryes a ‡ He whips his Rapier out, *and* cries
 Rat, a Rat. a Rat.²
22. let it feede. ‡ let's it feede (wrongly referred to
 'owner,' l. 21; instead of '*we would*
 not understand, l. 20).

39. *And* let them know. || *To* let them . . .
41—44½. Whose whisper . . . wound- = **wanting** (Q₁).
 less ayre.³

¹ See also omissions, in Q₁, of lines 161-4; 167-70; 202-10, below.

² The words are much less lively than in Q₂; besides, the metre is destroyed.

³ The gap in l. 40 is generally filled up by the words: 'So haply slander,' which suit admirably both metre and sense. (See *New Var. Haml.* vol. I, p. 314.)

Q₂.F₁.

IV. ii.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Ham. Safely stowd, <i>but soft</i> ,
what noyse, who calls on <i>Hamlet</i> ?
O heere they come. | Ham. Safely stowed . . . <i>Gentle-</i>
<i>men within. Hamlet. Lord H.</i>
<i>Ham. What noise, etc.</i> |
|--|---|

Here again some indistinct correction in the MS. seems to have misled the compositor of Q₂.

6. || compound it.

compounded it.

18. like an *aple*.|| like an *Ape*.(Q₁: As an Ape doth nuttes.)32. — to him. *Exeunt*.bring me to him, *hide Fox and all*
after.

IV. iii.

(See Stage directions.)

21. of *politique* wormes (Q₁).

|| of wormes.

25. seruice, two dishes (Q₁).

‡ seruice to dishes.

27—30. *King. Alas, alas.*— **wanting**.*Ham. A man . . . worme.*

37. || but if indeede.

but indeede, if.

45. — **wanting**.

with fierie Quicknesse.

47. euery thing *is* bent (Q₁).|| euery thing *at* bent. (The com-
positor's eye caught the '*at helpe*'
standing right above.)

54. — so my mother.

*and so . . .*66. *congruing* to that effect.

coniuring.

70. will nere begin. (Compositor's
criticism ?)

were ne're begun.

IV. iv.

8. Goe *softly* on.|| Go *safely* on.9—66. (All the rest of the scene, 57
lines.)= **wanting** (Q₁).

IV. v.

(See Stage directions.)

9. § they *yawne* at it.they *ayme* at it.

33. O ho.

? **wanting**.37. ? Larded *all* with.

Larded with.

38. ? *ground* did not go. (Q₁: not.)*graue* did not go.

¹ 'Ground' seems to be due to the compositor's inattention; but I entertain serious doubts as to whether Furness be right (*New Var. Hamlet*, vol. I. p. 331) in suppressing *all* (with F₁) and *not* (in opposition to Q₁, Q₂ and F₁). May it not have been the intention of the poet to make Ophelia spoil the metre as well as the sense of what she sings? Is it not very probable and natural that her mind should '*gambol*' from the matter she means to '*reword*?' This certainly was Shakspeare's idea of insanity, or he would not have made Hamlet allege "rewording the matter" as a test of perfect sanity. In fact,

Q₂.

40. How *do you*.
 57. — Indeed without.
 69. || they *would* lay.
 77. || death, *and now beholde* ô Gertrard, Gertrard. (Verse too long.)
 82. — in thoughts.
 89. || *Feeds on this* wonder, keeps himself.
 93. our person.
 106. || *The* cry choose we.
 141. *is't* writ.
 146. Pelican.
 150. || peare. (For 'Let her come in,' see stage-directions.)
 156. || with weight.
 161.2. — **wanting**.
 165. — **wanting**.
 166. ? rain'd many a tear.
 176. pray *you* loue.
 177. Pancies.
 182. you *may* weare.
 195. || beard *was* as white.
 (*was* anticipated from the next line,
 196. — Flaxen was.
 199. God a mercy on his soule (Q₁).
 || Christians soules.
 201. — Doe you this ô God.
 214 || funerall.
 217. call't in question.

F₁.

- ‡ How *do ye*.
 Indeed *la ?* without.
 they *should* lay.
 death. Oh, G. G.
 in *their* thoughts.
 || *Keeps on his* wonder, keeps himself.
 || our persons.
They cry . . .
 || *if* writ.
 || Politician.¹
 pierce
 by waight.
 { Nature is fine in Loue and where
 'tis fine.
 { It sends some precious instance of
 it selfe
 After the thing it loues.
 Hey non nony, nony, hey nony.
 raines. . .
 — pray love.
 || Paconcies. (See l. 146, 'Politician.')
 † *oh*, you *must* weare.
 beard as white.
 but see *New Var. Hamlet*, I. p. 350.)
 All Flaxen was (Q₁).
 || Gramercy. . .
 Christian s.
 I pray God.
 . . you *see* this . . .
 buriall.
 ‡ call in question.

the more we think of it, the more we must find it improbable that Ophelia, with her disturbed mind, should not put some confusion or other into what she sings. Her old snatches of ballads were no doubt generally known and popular among Sh.'s public, so the slightest deviation from their common text was sure to impress the spectators the more strongly with the disturbance of Ophelia's mind. Such alterations are as important means of characterizing Ophelia in her insanity, as the various 'Ah, Oh's' unconsciously inserted by the Clown in his churchyard verses must be owned to be characteristic there.

The Folio has a few traces left of this unconscious distortion of the metre by the Clown. Some, however, are effaced, because, to Heminge and Condell, outward correctness was a weightier matter than such 'finesses.' They therefore left out *all* in Ophelia's verses, but could not help seeing that the nonsense arising from *did* NOT *go* was intended by the poet; so they kept it.

¹ We cannot on any account accuse H. C. or one of the actors of having supplied this nonsense. It must be due to the compositor—whether to his carelessness or to his criticism.

Q₂.

2. Sea-faring men.
 9. Ambassador.
 18. *and* in the grapple.
 22. — doe a turne.
 25. *thine* ear.
 26. § bord of the matter.
 31. || *So* that thou knowest thine.
 32. — will you.

IV. vi.

- ‡ Saylor.
 ‡ Ambassadors.
 ‡ In the g.
 doe a *good* turne.
 || *your* eare.
 bore of. . . .
He that t . . .
 will giue you way.

F₁.

IV. vii.

6. || proceede.
 7. So *criminall* and so capitall.
 ('criminall,' owing to the ending of 'capitall.')
8. || safetie, *greatnes*, wisdom.
 14. She is so *conclue* to my life.
 20. || Worke like the spring.
 22. || for so loued *Arm'd*.
 24. where I *have aym'd* them.
 27. Whose worth.
 36. **wanting**. (For the *Messenger*,
 see stage-directions.)
 37. These to your Maiestie.
 41. Of him that brought them.
 48. — of my suddaine returne.
 — **wanting**.
 51. and no such thing.
 60. *I my Lord*, so you will not.
 69-80. My Lord I will be rul'd . .
 graueness.
 82. two months since.
 85. they can well.
 87. grew vnto.
 90. || he *topt me* thought.
 92. || Lamord.
 95. *all the* nation.
 101-103. the Scrimures . . . opposed
 them.
 107. *What* out of this.
 115-124 { There liues . . .
 . . . vicer.
- proceeded.
 So *crimefull* and so Capitall.
 Safety Wisdom.
 ‡ She's so *coniunctive*.
 Would like the Spring.
 for so loud a *Winde*.
 where *I had arm'd* them.
 || who's worth.
 How now; What newes?
Mes. Letters my Lord from Hamlet.
 This to your Maieſty.
 — **wanting** (because another *them*,
 l. 40, precedes).
 of my suddaine, *and more strange*
 returne.
 Hamlet (signature to letter).
 || Or no such thing. (Another *or*
 begins the line.)
 ‡ *If* so you'l not . . .
 = **wanting** (Q₁).
Some two months hence.¹
 || they ran well.
 grew into.
 ‡ he *past my* thought.
 Lamound.
 || *our* nation.
 = **wanting** (Q₁).
 || *Why* out of this.
 = **wanting** (Q₁).

¹ This addition is closely connected with the omission just mentioned. It serves to complete the metre in the line—

'And call it accident: some two monthes hence'
 —where *hence* is a blunder of the compositor's, owing to the preceding *s* of *monthes*.

Q₂.

135. || ore your heads.
 141. — for purpose.
 143. *that* but dippe.
 155. || *did* blast.
 157. ? cunnings.
 160. § prefar'd.
 163. but stay what noyse.
 — **wanting**.
 165. they follow.
 167. || *ascaunt the Brooke*.
 168. his horry leaues.
 169. || Therewith . . . did she *make*.¹
 172. || *cull*-cold.
 175. *her* weedy trophies.
 178. old laudes.
 182. with *theyr* drinke.
 183. melodious *lay*.
 184. Alas, then she is drown'd.
 192. || drownes it.

F₁.

on your heads.
 for *that* purpose.
 ‡ I but dipt.
should blast.
 commings.
 prepar'd.
 — **wanting**.
 how sweet Queene.
 ‡ they'l f.
aslant a Brooke.
 his hore leaves.
 There with . . . did she *come*.
 cold.
 || *the w. t.*
 † old tunes (Q₁).
 || with *her* dr.
 || *m. buy*.
 ‡ Alas then, is she drown'd?
 doubts it (for 'douts it').

V. i.

1. || *when she* wilfully
 9. || so offended.
 12. it is *to* act, to doe.
 13. || or all.

37-42. — **wanting**.

(The compositor's eye strayed
 from 'bare Armes' to 'with-
 out Armes'.)

50. — for that out-liues.
 68. get thee *in*

that wilfully.
 Se offendendo.
 ‡ it is *an* Act to doe.
 argall.
 { Why he had none . . .
 . . . without Armes?

|| soope of liquor.

72. there *a* was nothing *a* meet.
 74. — *a* sings *in* graue-making,
 (Q₁: that is thus merry in making
 of *a* graue.)

80. clawed me.
 81. || into the Land.
 86. || *this* might be.
 87. ? *asse now* ore-reaches.
 88. that *would* circumuent,
 91. || how doost thou *sweet* Lord.
 (sweet L. precedes.)
 94. || when *a went* to beg it.

that *Frame* o.
 † get thee *to* *Yaughan*.
 (Supposing Yaughan to have been the
 name of some well-known inn-
 keeper near the theatre. See *New*
 Var. Hamlet, I. p. 379.)
 stoope . . . (Q₁).
 there was nothing meete.
 ‡ *that he* sings *at* gr. . . .
 || caught me.
 intill the L.
it m. be.
Asse o're Offices.
 || *could c.*
good L.
meant to beg.

¹ Compositor's criticism? Perhaps owing to *There with* being written rather close together in the poet's MS. See above, *withall* for *with all*.

Q₂.F₁.

98. || massene.
 107. quiddities.
 109. *mad* knaue.
 114. his recoueries to haue.²
116. — will vouchers.
 117. of his purchases and *doubles*.
 119. will scarcely.
 125. *which* seeke out.
 (Hamlet speaks to the Clown):
 127. Sirra.
 129. || or a pit of clay.
 130. — *wanting*.
 135. ? yet it is mine.
 151. I haue tooke.
 153. of *the* Courtier (Q₁).
 154. — been Graue-maker.
 155. — Of the dayes.
 161. || *that* very day that.
 (owing to the second that).
 162. that *is* mad.
 176. I haue been *Sexton*.
 182. — corses that will.
 190. — heer's a scull now hath lyen.
203. — Ham. Alas.
 211. not one.
 212. grinning.
 213. || Ladies *table*.
 (table occurring two lines above
 'set the table,' may have been
 caught by the compositor's
 eye.)
 239. || the *waters* flaw.
 240. but soft *awhile*.
 241. || Who is *this* they follow?
 244. 'twas of some estate.
252. || been lodged.
 254. — Flints.
 (metre destroyed.³)

- Mazard,
 Quiddits.¹
 || rude k.
 his Recoueries; Is this the fine of his
 Fines, and the recouery of his
 Recoueries to haue.
 will *his* v.
 purchases and *double ones* too.
 || hardly.
 ‡ *that* seeke out.
 ‡ Sir.
 O a pit of clay.
 for such a Guest is meete.
and yet . . .
 ‡ I haue taken.
 || of *our* C.
 been a G.
 Of *all* the dayes.
 the very day that,
 || *was* mad.
 || *sixeteene*.
 corses *now-a-days*, that . . .
 Here's a Scul! now: *this* Scul has
 laine.
Let me see. Alas (Q₁).
 || no one.
 ‡ jeering.
 Ladies *chamber* (Q₁).
 the *winters* flaw.
 || but soft *aside*.
 is *that* they . . .
 — 'twas some Estate.
 (metre destroyed).
 haue l.
Shardes Flints . . .

¹ Must we not suppose Shakspeare to have written *quiddities* to match *quillities* (Q₂ quilletes)? How should the compositor of Q₂ have come to put the equally correct form *quiddities*?

² Compositor went from first *Recoveries* to second. See my *Forewords* to Q₂, p. xviii.—F. J. F.

³ The heavy 'Flint' may stand for a measure:

"for charitable prayeers,
 Flint / and peeb/les should / be throwne / on her."—F. J. F.

Q ₂ .	F ₁
255. virgin <i>Crants</i> .	‡ virgin <i>Rites</i> .
258. <i>Doct.</i> This rubrum occurs twice for	‡ <i>Priest</i> .
269. O treble woe.	? O terrible woer.
270. || tenne times <i>double</i> .	<i>treble</i> .
279. Coniures.	|| Coniure.
284. For though I am not.	|| Sir, though I . . .
285. || in me something dangerous.	something in me d. (Q ₁).
286. wisdoms feare (Q ₁). hold off thy hand (Q ₁).	‡ wisenesse. ‡ Away thy hand.
287. <i>All.</i> Gentlemen.	— <i>wanting</i> .
288. <i>Hora.</i> Good my Lord.	<i>Gen.</i> Good my Lord.
297. <i>S'wounds</i> th'owt doe.	<i>Come</i> . . . thou'lt doe.
298. woo't fast.	— <i>wanting</i> . (Verse too short.)
299. Esill.	<i>Esile</i> . ¹
308. || <i>this</i> a while.	<i>thus</i> a while.
316. I pray <i>thee</i> .	I pray <i>you</i> .
317. Strengthen your.	Strengthen you.
321. || <i>thirtie</i> shall we see.	<i>shortly</i> shall we see.

V. ii.

1. now <i>shall</i> you see.	|| now <i>let me</i> see ² the other.
9. should <i>learn</i> us.	‡ should <i>teach</i> us. ³
17. || to vnfold. ⁴	vnseale.
27. But wilt thou heare <i>now</i>.	|| But wilt thou heare <i>me</i> .
40. <i>might</i> flourish.	|| <i>should</i> flourish. ⁵
43. || such like, as sir.	such like Assis.
44. and knowing of	|| know of.
46. || <i>those</i> bearers.	<i>the</i> bearers.
57. — <i>wanting</i> .	Why man, they did make loue to this employment.
58. their defeat.	|| debate.
63. || thinke thee.	think'st thee (for thinks't).
68-80. — <i>wanting</i> . ⁶	To quit him . . . who comes here.

¹ Q₁ reads: 'Wilt drinke vp vessels,' which proves, at least, that a simple *e* must have been the vowel of the first syllable of the doubtful word; so that *eisel* (see *New Var. Haml.* I. p. 405) seems to be an unjustifiable departure from what has come down to us.

² The compositor repeating to himself the words he was going to put in type, involuntarily changed 'shall you see' into the commonplace 'let me see.'

³ See Schmidt, *Sh. Lex.* I. 3, v. *learn*, where instances are adduced from *Sh.* showing that he sometimes used *learn* for *teach*, a confusion still known in popular English.

⁴ *White* (*New Var. Haml.* I. p. 415): "The terminal syllables of the line above probably misled the compositors of the Qq. Here *Sh.* would have avoided a rhyme; and from l. 52 it is plain that he broke a 'seal.'"

⁵ This mistake was probably caused by the following *should*.

⁶ Observe the sign of interrogation after conscience, l. 67, Q₂, which makes it probable that the inattentive compositor's eye strayed from *conscience* ? to *comes heere* ?, which latter words, apart from the sign of interro-

Q₂.

89. but as I *say*.
 91. if your Lordshippe.
 — spirit, your bonnet.
 101. || *But yet* me thinks it is very
 sully and hot, *or* my complexion.
 104. my Lord.
 109. Nay *good my Lord* for my ease
 in good faith, sir.
 106—150.
 here is newly come . . .
 hee's vnfellowed. . . .

156. impaund.¹
 157. hanger *and* so.
 162-3. *Hora*. I knew you must be
 edified by the margent ere you
 had done.
 171. || why is this *all* you call it.
 hath layed on twelue for nine.
 — Shall I deliuer you so?
 190. || Yours doo's well.
 || no tongues els.
 191. for's turne.
 195. || A did *sir* with.
 196. has he,
 many more.
 197. || breede.
 198. || and out *of an* habit.
 199. || histy collection.
 200. ? prophane and trennowed.
 202. triall.
 203---218.

Enter a Lord . . .
 instructs me.

219. — you will loose . . .

F₁.

- || . . . *saw*.
 || friendshippe.
 spirit : *put* your b.
 — Mee thinks it is very *soultry* and
 hot *for* my Complexion.
but my Lord.
 || Nay, *in good faith*, for mine ease in
 good faith : Sir.
 = wanting (Q₁).
 = wanting, except l. 143-4 : You
 are not ignorant of what excellence
 Laertes is *at his weapon* ('as his
 weapon' not in Q₂), which proves
 the omission to be an intentional
 one, made with a good deal of cir-
 cumsppection and cleverness.
 imponed.
 || Hangers *or* so.
 — wanting.

- this *impon'd* as you call it.
 || hath *one* twelue f. n.
 Shall I *redeliuer* you *e'en* so
 yours, *yours*, *hec* does well.
 no tongues else.
 || *tongue* (the preceding '*tongues*'
 caused this error).
 He did *compleie* with.
 || had he.
 || mine more.
 beauy.
 and out*ward* habit.
 yesty collection.
 fond and winnowed.
 || tryalls.

= wanting (Q₁).

you will lose *this wager*.

gation, offer more than sufficient external resemblance to *conscience*, to explain such a mistake. Thus also the omission of the anxious question, *who comes here?* in Q₂ is easily accounted for.

¹ See *New Var. Haml.* I. p. 431. If *imponed* was really meant "to ridicule the affectation of uttering English words with French pronunciation," we must either suppose H. C. to have preserved the poet's spelling better than Q₂, or the Q₂ compositor to have rather cleverly replaced the extraordinary word *imponed* by one more intelligible to him, and to have thus unconsciously put the word intended, but disguised, by Shakspeare. I think it is more plausible to believe that H. C. arbitrarily altered *impaund* into *impon'd*.

Q₂.

223. — thou would'st not
thinke how *ill* all's heere.
227. obey *it*.
230. || there is speciall.
232. — if it be.
235. since no man of ought he leaues,
knowes what ist to leaue be-
times, *let be*. (Here only a
comma is *wanting* after
knowes.)
254. hurt my *brother* (Q₁).
261. — To my name vngord.
261. || But *all* that time.
265. — Give vs the foiles.
(On account of the following
'Come, one for me.')
270. || Ostricke.
274. he is better.
283. || an Vnice.
291. Come my Lord.
296. Set *it* by a while.
297. — Laer. I do confest.
299. Here *Hamlet take my* napkin
rub thy browes.
310. || I am *sure* you make.
324. — It is heere Hamlet, thou art
slaine.
(Verse too short.)
326. an houres life.
327. || in *my* hand.
326. — Heere thou incestious damned
Dane.
(Verse too short.)
337. || is *the Onixe* heere.
350. cause a right.
355. || O god Horatio.
356. ? shall *I leaue* behind me?
(Q₁. 'What a scandall wouldst
thou leaue behinde? A gliding
pronunciation removes the me-
trical difficulty in Q₂.)
369. the rest is silence.

F₁.

- but* thou wouldest not thinke.
— how all heere.
obey.
there's a speciall.
if it be *now*.
‡ since no man ha's ought of what he
leaues. What is't to leaue betimes?
- || . . *Mother*.
|| To *keepe* my name *engorg'd*.
But *till* that time.
Give vs the foyles, *Come on*.
- Osricke.
|| he is better'd.
an Vnion.
|| Come on sir.
(Repetition of Hamlet's preceding
words.)
— set by a-while.
A touch, a touch, I do confesse.
|| Heere's a napkin, rub thy browes
(metre destroyed).
I am *affear'd* . . .
It is heere Hamlet.
Hamlet, thou art slaine.
- † an heure of life (Q₁).
in *thy* hand.
incestuous, *murdrous*, Damned Dane.
(The metre is correct, although the
verse is printed in two lines.)
Is *thy Vnion*¹ heere (Q₁).
|| causes right.
O good Horatio.
shall *live* behind me.
- ‡ . . . silence O, o, o, o.
Dyes

¹ The folio reading *Vnion* being corroborated by Q₁, we must either suppose the actor who represented Hamlet to have substituted *vnion* for *onyx*, or the Q₂ compositor not to have known *vnion*, and substituted the name of some well known precious stone for *vnion*. The latter supposition seems to be more plausible; it is besides countenanced by what Q₂ prints for *vnion* where it occurs for the first time: *Vnice*, a conciliatory attempt of the compositor.

Q₂.F₁.

373. *you* would see?
 390. — to yet unknowing world.
 394. || and *for no* cause.
 401. which *now* to clame (Q₁).
 402. shall haue also cause.
 403. || no more.
 409. most royall (Q₁).
 410. || *right* of warre.
 412. || bodies.

(According to stage practice.)

- ‡ *ye* would see.
 to *th'* yet vnknowing w.
 and *forc'd* cause.
 || which *are* to claime.
 || . . . alwayes cause.
 on more.
 ‡ most royally.
rites of Warre.
 body (Q₁).

The following initial *s* of *such* probably gave rise to this mistake in Q₂: it cannot, of course, have been the intention of Shakspeare to cause a general removal of the victims to take place as a *finale* to the "Tragedy of *Hamlet*."

According to the list above, Q₂ contains about 180 variations due some how or other to the compositor, besides about 70 accidental omissions, and 7 'foul cases.' In F₁ we find: Nearly 160 variations which must be ascribed to the compositor; about 31 accidental omissions; 3 'foul cases; 15 intentional omissions (to shorten the representation of the piece); about 38 variations owing to the Actors, who had altered words or phrases in their parts; and about 100 traces of Heminge and Condell's editorial criticism.

Thirty-two cases seem doubtful to me, because they admit of being explained in several ways.

These numbers speak for themselves: Q₂ affords us Shakspeare's genuine text, disfigured, it is true, by an untrustworthy *compositor*, but still infinitely superior to the F₁ text, which, in spite of its outward appearance of correctness, is all the more dangerously corrupt inwardly, having been modelled and remodelled by *Copyists*, *Compositors*, *Actors*, and, last not least, by the *Editors* themselves.

If this list is compared with the disquisitions of Mommsen (*Jahrb.* vol. 72), it will appear that, in most cases, I perfectly agree with that critic with regard to the origin attributed to the various readings. One of the principal points, however, in which I cannot help differing

from him, is my frequently marking as a blunder of the F₁ compositor, what he considers to be an interpolation of some actor. I think Mommsen has too good an opinion of the carefulness of the F₁ compositor; his idea of misprints and compositor's blunders in general seems to be as narrow, as his opinion of the typographical correctness of F₁ is exaggerated. Mr Wm. Blades, in the *Athenæum*, 1872, I. p. 114, observes that every compositor at work reads a few words of his original and keeps them in mind, repeating them until he has put them in type. It is but natural that during such repetitions some words should be supplanted by others having a similar sound, and that mental transpositions of syllables or words should happen as soon as his attention slacked. In *Richard III*, I. ii. 38, an actor is said to have said: 'the parson cough' for the 'coffin pass.' Similarly, whole common-place expressions seem to have found their way into Q₂ as well as F₁. Thus I do not doubt but Q₂ is right in reading V. ii. 1: "Now shall you see the other." The F₁ compositor unconsciously substituted the standard phrase of common life: "Let me see." This will help to explain several variations in a manner different from Mommsen's. In 'why she, *even* she,' I do not see an actor's interpolation in F₁, but a simple omission in Q₂. Also in II. ii. 527: "That's good; mobled queen is good," where the word *good* occurring twice gave rise to the omission of the last four words in Q₂. IV. v. 56: 'Indeed, *la*,' is a delicate touch of characteristic, and I cannot help thinking that it was simply left out in Q₂. It cannot, of course, be my intention to point out all the instances in which my opinion differs from that of Mommsen, the less so, because the main result he arrives at, viz. that the F₁ text of *Hamlet* contains numerous interpolations of the actors and editors, is confirmed by the above list, which has been independently obtained from a collation of the old editions. But some details, being of no little consequence for the settlement of another part of the Hamlet question, must not be passed over in silence.

The *additions* found in F₁, Mommsen groups in six classes:

1st. Such as refer to the stage-practice. (*Jahrb.* p. 112.) There are such; but I fail to recognize this relation, *e. g.* in the line:

"What? frighted with false fire?"

(Q₁.) "What, frighted with false fires?"

I think this line was simply left out by the Q₂ compositor.¹

2nd. Idle additions belonging, perhaps, to the recital on the stage. Here I cannot join Mommsen in considering, *e. g.*, the line :

"Hey non, nony, nony, hey nony,"

as such an idle addition. See *New Var. Hamlet*, I. p. 344.

3rd. Some words and half verses which seem to have been left out through negligence in Q₂.

4th. Whole lines, simply left out in the quartos.

5th. Two longer prose passages, Act II. ii. I do not share Mommsen's opinion that they were subsequently added for stage-purposes, but have tried above to show that they are simple omissions in Q₂.

6th. Two metrical passages, IV. v. 161-3 :

"Nature is fine in loue," &c.,

and

"To quit him . . . comes here?"

These Mommsen also believes to have been left out by the Q₂ compositor, especially the latter passage, which is absolutely necessary to explain Hamlet's more amiable disposition towards Laertes.

Mommsen asserts that none of the F₁ additions were made by Shakspeare. As far as this means that F₁ cannot boast of any special additions from the poet's hand, I accede to this assertion. But I think that, setting aside the trifling addition of exclamatory or declamatory words by the actors or by Heminge and Condell, we have no right to speak of additions proper at all, since there is nothing to confute my supposition that *all the seeming additions in F₁ are mere accidental omissions in Q₂*.

Omissions in F₁.—Several of the most beautiful passages, mostly of a reflective nature, are wanting in F₁, and it is plain that they were omitted to shorten the representation of the piece. Mommsen himself (*Jahrb.* p. 114) confesses that these omissions were made cleverly

¹ See the parallel passages in my Forewords to Q₂ (Griggs's *Facsimile*), p. xiv.—F. J. F.

and with 'knowledge of the stage,' but he shrinks from allowing them to have been made by Shakspeare himself. He tries to support his opinion by observing that Burbage, Heminge, and Condell were also clever men and knew the stage. But we must ask whether Shakspeare, who at all events was at least a spectator, if not an active player in his *Hamlet*, is at all likely to have suffered others to abridge his tragedy? Q₁ shows that the abbreviations in question were made before 1603. Who could be better qualified for this task than the author himself? And is the poet at all likely not to have been asked by his fellow-actors to do it, since he surely knew best what might be left out without too seriously injuring the piece? There is no kind of disparagement to Shakspeare's character in supposing that he did not refuse to do what most dramatists have to do: adapting their pieces to the stage.

Other characteristic features of Hamlet, F₁.

Many of the F₁ readings offer negligent, shallow, and commonplace expressions, for good ones in Q₂, and may have arisen from the different parts being repeatedly copied, or from the carelessness of the compositor, but could not possibly have been introduced by the poet in making a recension of his piece for the stage. Mommsen (*Jahrb.* p. 116), it seems, again underrates the carelessness of the F₁ compositor, and relies too confidently on the outward correctness of the folio. Nobody can deny that it is more carefully printed than Q₂, but its credit of being so very much superior to Q₂ in this respect, seems to be due chiefly to the curious anxiety exhibited in its punctuation. If we consider the numerous accidental omissions, however, the still more numerous misprints and blunders of the compositor, and even the different instances of nonsensical punctuation (see *Jahrb.* p. 164), it will be granted that, after all, the excellence of F₁ may be reasonably doubted in this respect.

Many of the variations marked || in the above list are attributed by Mommsen to the actor's interpolations; but it will be seen that, making a little more allowance for the negligence of the compositor, they cannot be marked otherwise than as due to him.

Especial importance must be attached to another remark of Mommsen. He observes (*Jahrb.* p. 122, *seq.*) that several of the F₁ readings betray a kind of grammatical and metrical neologism, and groups his instances under the following heads:

1st. Twice the old 'for to' before the infinitive has been removed. See I. ii. 175, and III. i. 175.

2nd. F₁ substitutes three times forms in -y (-ly) for the more poetical participial forms in -ed. See I. ii. 68; I. ii. 240, and I. v. 18.

3rd. The old *sith* has been twice replaced by *since*. See II. ii. 6, 12.

4th. The expletive *do*, so frequently met with in Spenser, has been removed in four places. See II. ii. 626; III. ii. 240; III. iv. 117; V. ii. 284.

5th. Words which, according to the old usage, occasionally drop their prefix (*e. g.* *stonish*) show their full forms in several places.

6th. Some old verbal forms are replaced by their more modern equivalents (*taken* for *tooke*, V. i. 151, &c.). In one point, however, I cannot agree with Mommsen, who in Q₂ (IV. vii. 89) takes *me thought* to be the past tense of the impersonal verb *methinks*. I rather incline to suppose that *me* was erroneously put for *my*, as F₁ has it. The verb *top* (which would strangely stand as a neuter verb if we adopt Mommsen's interpretation) has thus its proper object: 'he topt my thought.' See *New Var. Hamlet*, vol. I. p. 362, where this reading has been received into the text.

7th. Some archaic and rare words have been removed.¹ Also the conjunctive mood has been effaced in F₁ in several places.² But on examining such instances in our list, we find that in many of them it is but the simple addition or omission of an *s* that produces this confusion in mood and number of verbs, so that many of these cases may be safely considered as mistakes of the compositors.

8th. Also with regard to the number of spoken syllables, and the accent of several words, F₁ is more modern than Q₂.

I subjoin the upshot of Mommsen's remarks on the subject.

It is certain, that measurings like *faëry*, *safëty*, convenient,

¹ See *Rites for Crants*, V. i. 255; *coniuring* for *congruing*, IV. iii. 66, &c., and cf. I. ii. 183.

² See I. iv. 72; III. ii. 28; and cf. pl. II. ii. 439.

especiall, transformation, nation, arméd, louéd . . . are the rule in Spenser, especially in ryme, whereas, in the interior of the verse, syncopized forms are frequent. It is certain, further, that liquid consonants often lengthen a word by one syllable (*Zerdehnung*, as Mommsen calls it): fiër, hourës, juggëlar, &c.; certain besides, that some of these archaic measurings are still traceable in Shakspeare in spite of all the modernizing efforts of later editions; only they must not be considered as the rule, but as exceptions. They are most frequently met with in the earlier pieces of Shakspeare, and the unsyncopized forms in *-ed* generally occur at the end of a verse and before vowels. (See Perkin's 'Shakspeare' by Mommsen, pp. 379, s. and p. 365.) Words which must be accented in the French way also occur in Shakspeare, although not often. On the other hand, differences between paroxytone nouns and oxytone verbs are observed, which were soon after disregarded. (See Perkin's 'Shakspeare,' pp. 24, 360 ss., 406.)

The metre in F₁ is often spoilt, not only by accidental omissions, but also by different readings. This, as Mommsen rightly observes, is one of the most important arguments in proving that F₁ was not revised by Shakspeare, but interpolated by strange hands. Mommsen (*Jahrb.* p. 159) gives a list of such *corruptelæ*. They are on the whole too obvious to be disputed. In some of these cases, however, I think the F₁ compositor has simply left out some words, whereas Mommsen supposes the omission to be due to the actors. Thus, *e. g.*, Q₂ reads (II. i. 1 s.), "Come goe with me, I will goe seeke the King." F₁ spoils the metre by leaving out 'Come.' Actors, in altering anything in their parts, have some reason for doing so, and we are generally able to guess their motives without difficulty; but in the case referred to, I utterly fail to see what could have induced an actor, or Heminge and Condell, to drop this word, which, no doubt, was often superfluously added on the stage.

As regards the punctuation of F₁, it is on the whole scrupulously careful, and owing to this very scrupulousness we come across some strange distortions of sense. Mommsen rightly calls attention to the fact, that the punctuation of Q₂ is scanty, even incomplete, but seldom positively wrong. For instances, see *Jahrb.* p. 164 ff. They

amply illustrate and prove the truth of Mommsen's assertion, that we do not only not obtain from the orthography and punctuation of F₁ any new evidence of a direct connexion of the F₁ text of *Hamlet* with Shakspeare's MS., but a clear proof that the text received certain changes at the hands of Heminge and Condell, or of the compositor, —probably of both, we ought to add.

We have thus found the F₁ text of *Hamlet* disfigured by numerous blunders of the compositor, by interpolations due to the actors, and by many traces of Heminge and Condell's criticism. We have further seen that we have no occasion to believe in a direct connexion between F₁ and the poet's MS., or even with Q₂, and that the intentional omissions (abbreviations) are due to Shakspeare himself.

Taking all this into account, there are only two possibilities left which are worth consideration.

Either Heminge and Condell's F₁ was printed from a coherent stage-copy of the piece, or it was printed from a version obtained from the actor's parts together with a book containing the stage-directions only, which probably supplied the description of the Dumb Show, and perhaps a few other stage-directions.

At first sight this alternative seems to be of a very trifling nature, especially as we must suppose the player's parts to have been copied from the stage-copy, and not directly from the poet's MS. Certainly Heminge and Condell would have been able to introduce their 'critical corrections' into such a stage-copy as well as into a text obtained from the player's parts; the F₁ compositor might have made as many blunders in printing the one as in printing the other; and copyists might have contributed their share of mistakes in the one case as well as in the other; but there are two things that turn the scale in favour of the second supposition, namely, the actor's interpolations, and the nature of the F₁ stage-directions. The interpolations in question cannot be supposed to have been entered in a stage-copy; hence we cannot explain the existence of the F₁ *Hamlet* without the actors' parts as its source; and since there is no sensible reason why Heminge and Condell should have departed from the stage-directions of a stage-copy, which, being obtained directly from

the poet's MS., would have been no contemptible authority, we must exclude such a coherent stage-version from the sources of the F₁ *Hamlet*, without undertaking, however, to explain its absence. Thus we arrive at the following conclusion:

"From Shakspeare's MS. a stage-copy was made, *which was lost after the players had written out their parts from it*. These parts were, perhaps, repeatedly copied, certainly interpolated by the actors, and afterwards, together with a book containing the stage-directions only, served as the source of a new version. They exhibited the Shakspearean abbreviation of several speeches, which were probably never marked out in the lost stage-copy. Heminge and Condell having no high opinion of the pureness of their source, and thinking to better it, made it worse by introducing corrections and new readings of their own. After having fitted it out with an over-scrupulous, sometimes ridiculous, punctuation, they committed their version of Shakspeare's *Hamlet* to the compositor, who further disfigured it by numerous blunders, and thus the play was printed as we now read it in the First Folio."

PART II.

ON THE RELATION OF THE FIRST QUARTO OF SHAKSPERE'S *HAMLET* TO THE SECOND.

IN Furness's *New Variorum Hamlet*, vol. ii. p. 14, we read:

"The First Quarto numbers 2123 lines; the Second Quarto about 3719. This notable difference in quantity, coupled with a marked difference in words, phrases, and even in the order of the scenes, together with a change in the names of some of the characters, has given rise to an interesting discussion, which probably will never be decided: it is whether in the Quarto of 1603 we have the first draught of Shakspeare's tragedy, which the author afterwards re-modeled and elaborated until it appears as we now have it substantially in the Quarto of 1604, or is the First Quarto merely a maimed and distorted version 'of the true and perfect copie?'"

I may fairly say, that there are very few critics at present who deny that the First Quarto is a surreptitious edition, and an involuntary

caricature of some better and more complete *Hamlet*, either First Sketch or complete Play. Several critics have verified this view of the matter (see *New Var. Hamlet*, ii. pp. 24—33) in different ways; but the fact that, although agreeing in the main result, they differ more or less considerably with regard to several details of no small importance, together with the circumstance that this view still has adversaries, though few in number, will, I hope, account for a new attempt to settle this question.

The point, therefore, which we shall have to direct our chief attention to in the following investigations, will be to show that Q₁ is a mangled and corrupted version, a caricature, *not of a juvenile work of Shakspeare*, but of the mature and perfect tragedy in the abridged form in which it was acted in 1603, little disfigured by certain interpolations of actors, but entirely free from the other *corruptelæ* which were to impair the value of F₁, twenty years after the publication of Q₁. Without taking much notice of the observations of other critics, which will be stated and analyzed, as far as necessary, in the Second Section of this Part, I shall first subjoin the result of my comparison of Q₁ and Q₂, excluding those passages only that do not, on account of their little consequence, deserve a place among the more conclusive points of evidence.

§ 1.

Act I. i.

(1) The first Sentinel says in Q₁ :

3.¹ "O you come most carefully vpon your *watch*." Q₂ : "vpon your *houre*."

5. Instead of *riuals* of my watch, Q₁ reads *partners*.

6-7. (2) *Enter Horatio and Marcellus*. They answer to the question of the first Sentinel:

7. "*Hor.* Friends to this ground.

8. *Mar.* And leegemen to the Dane.

9. O farewell honest souldier, who hath releued you?"

The last line appears to stand without connexion. In Q₂ the words: "O farewell," &c., are the necessary reply to Francisco's :

¹ The outside Number gives the line in each scene of Q₁.

10. "Giue you good night."

25—27. (3) "Sit down I pray, and let vs once againe
Assaile your ears that are so fortified,
What we haue two nights seene."

Evidently something is wanting here. Q₂: "so fortified against our story, What we," &c. Thus a connexion, though somewhat loose, is effected.

34. (4) "Breake off your talke, see where it comes againe."

Q₂: "Peace breake thee off, looke where," &c.

38. (5) "Most like, it *horrors* mee with feare and wonder."

Q₂: "it *horrows* me."

63. (6) "In what particular to worke, I know not,
But in the thought and scope of my opinion" . . .

Q₂: "particular *thought*" and "in the gross and scope" . . .

Thought seems to haue got out of its proper place through the hurry of the purloiner and compiler of the material for Q₁, whom we may call X.

69. (7) "And why such daily cost of brazen cannon."

Q₂: "*with* such," &c. The Folio proves that in Q₂ the compositor made a mistake, whereas X *heard* the right word spoken on the stage.

76—94. (8) "Mary that can I, at least the whisper goes so," &c. This long speech of Horatio affords some interesting variations.

85. "His lands which he stoode seized of by the conqueror."

Q₂: "*to* the conqueror" alone affords sense.

Perhaps X did not think the somewhat bold expression which he found in his notes correct, and so altered it into what he cannot have understood himself.

89. "Of inaproued mettle hot and full."

Q₂: "vnimproued."

In Q₁ as in Q₂ we are told of some enterprise "that hath a stomach in't." Q₂ states what this enterprise is, and afterwards continues: "and this is the main motiue" . . . Q₁ equally says, l. 93: "And *this* (I take it) is the Chiefe head and ground of this our watch," without saying anything about the nature of the enterprise. Here there is evidently an omission in Q₁.

Of the rest of this speech X saved only some poor fragments, probably only *the most accented words*, which he afterwards inserted in *his Hamlet* (Q₁) as well as he could. We shall meet with numerous instances of a similar proceeding.

(9) After l. 94 the Ghost enters, so that we observe the same lacuna in Q₁ as in F₁ (Q₂ 108—126).

104. (10) "they say *you* Spirites oft walke."

Q₂ erroneously: *your*, see No. 7.

108. (11) "'Tis gone, or we doe it wrong, being so maiesticall, to offer it the shew of violence." This is unintelligible without Q₂: "*Mar.* Shall I strike it with my partizan?"

Hor. Doe if it will not stand."

113. (12) "And then it *faded* like a guilty thing."

Q₂: "it *started*."

Compare l. 122: "It faded on the crowing of the Cocke."

(13) The last four speeches in this scene differ only in a few trifles from those in Q₂.

115: "trumpet to the *morning*," instead of the more poetical *morne* in Q₂.

116: "Doth with his *early* and shrill crowing throat."

Q₂: "with his *lofty* and shrill *sounding*" . . .

117: "And at his *sound*" (*sounding* of the preceding line seems to have rung in X's ear). Q₂: "his *warning*."

126: "And then they say, no spirit dare *walke* abroad."

Q₂: "dare *sturre* abroad." F₁: "can walke."

131: "But *see* the *Sunne* in russet mantle clad."

Q₂ much more appropriately: "But *looke* the *morne*" . . . Besides, the sun cannot yet be supposed to have risen when *Hor* speaks these words.

We must immediately pass from the Ghost to broad daylight, as Q₁ has it. X, in making so easy an alteration when he patched up his notes, did not notice the internal contradiction arising from his putting *Sunne* for *morne*.

I. ii.

(14) *Enter King, Queene, Hamlet, Leartes, Corambis and the two Ambassadors, with Attendants.* (For Q₂ see above, stage directions.)

Observe that the Queen and the King are not called by their names as in Q2 and F1. X did not know them when the scene opened. The name of Claudius, which does not occur in the text, is wanting throughout Q1. The Queene's name occurs several times in Q2; hence X had sufficient opportunity to hear it. (See, *e. g.*, viii. 37, or l. 1174.)

Leartes stands throughout for *Laertes*, and *Corambis* for *Polonius*.

¹ viii. 30 : l. 1167 : "What is't Corambis?"

xi. 117 : l. 1556 : "Corambis | Call'd."

xiii. 6 : l. 1625 : "olde Corambis death."

The name of Polonius occurs only four times in the received text :

I. ii. 57 : "What says Polonius?"

Here Q1 (ii. 21) has only what immediately precedes :

"Haue you your fathers leaue, *Leartes*?"

The second question, X had not time enough to write down. Hence this passage could not furnish him with the name of the old counsellor.

IV. i. 34 : "Hamlet in madness hath Polonius slain."

But this scene in Q1, apart from being an imitation of the abridged form as given in F1, is so different from the authentic text that it is easy to see how X, aided by memory and a few disconnected notes, which only gave a rough idea of the contents, composed this scene rather independently. Observe :

xi. 113—123 : ll. 1552—1562 :

"When as he came, I first *bespake* him faire,
But then he throwes and tosses me about,
As one forgetting that I was his mother :
At last I call'd for help : and as I cried, *Corambis*
Call'd, which Hamlet no sooner heard, but whips me
Out his rapier, and cries a Rat. a Rat, and in his rage
The good olde man he killes.

¹ The scene-and-line references (viii. 30, &c.) are to my numbers in Griggs's Facsimile : the higher line references (l. 1167, &c.) are to Furness's reprint in Vol. II. of his *Variorum Hamlet*.—F. J. F.

King. Why this his madnesse will vndoe our state.
Lordes goe to him, inquire the body out.
Gil. We will my Lord. *Exeunt Lordes."*

It is plain that X had not been able to secure the passage where the name of Polonius occurs in the authentic text, because of the hurry in which he jotted down his notes. He afterwards filled up the gaps as well as he could; hence we read, that the Queen is "thrown and tossed about." We find the King in Q₁, as in F₁ and Q₂, dispatching the Lords to look for the body of Polonius; but in Q₁ the King has not asked before: "Where is he (Hamlet) gone?" Nor has he been told that Hamlet has drawn "apart the body he hath killed," yet only after this question and this answer could the King give the above commission to the Lords.

X, therefore, did not learn the counsellor's name from these passages either.

Polonius is again named in IV. iii. 17 and 32, both times in the King's question: "Where is Polonius?"

But here again there is abundant evidence of the deficiency of X's notes. Q₁, xi. 134: l. 1573: "Now sonne Hamlet, where is this dead body?" The King asks the same question again: xi. 147: l. 1586: "But sonne *Hamlet*, where is this body?" (Compare also xi. 155: l. 1594: "Well sonne *Hamlet*," and Mommsen's *Proleg.* p. 168.) Hamlet in return for this parental address, dutifully styles the king '*Father*,' xi. 138, 145, 149: ll. 1577, 1584, 1588, in this scene, as he does in several other places, whereas in the authentic text there is *not one* instance of his calling the king '*Father*.'

These instances, and the tenour of the whole scene, clearly betray the comparative independence of X in writing this scene.

The upshot of the above observations is, that X, in the hurry of taking down his notes, failed to hear the name of Polonius distinctly enough to note it down in its correct form. If we consider that to X, Polonius must have seemed a subordinate character as compared with Hamlet, Ophelia, the King, the Queen, and Horatio, and that we meet with partial distortions in the names of Gilderstone, Rossencraft, Voltemar, and Cornelia, and Leartes; that the name of Ostrick,—(which occurs twice in the *text* of Q₂ (V. ii. ll. 186 and 246)

and *once only* in that of F₁, the former passage (the dialogue with the Lord) not being represented on the stage,)—is entirely wanting in Q₁ (see xviii. 61: l. 2074¹); that in like manner the name of Francisco, which also occurs only once in the opening of the piece, has not been caught by X, we may safely infer that Corambis is nothing but a distortion of the true name of Polonius. And indeed at some distance from the stage, X could easily misunderstand *Corambis* for *Polonius*,² especially as he was busy taking down his notes.

Observe that both words are trisyllabic, that both have an *o* in the first syllable, followed by a liquid consonant, that both accent the second syllable containing a nasal consonant, and that both names have an *s* for their final consonant.

As to *Montano*, as Q₁ calls Reynaldo, there are not so many points of resemblance: both words are trisyllabic and shew an Italian ending. Yet I think that also here we have not to do with a remnant of some older *Hamlet*, but with an arbitrary substitute for the true name of Reynaldo which X had failed to hear properly. (See also p. 176, No. 52.)

There are unmistakable proofs of the deficiency of the notes which X used to compose this scene (sc. v.). It numbers 31 lines in Q₁, and about 74 in Q₂. The very beginning shows how X patched up his fragments.

“*Cor.* Montano, here, these letters to my sonne,
And this same mony with my blessing to him,
And bid him ply his learning, good Montano.”

The last line is evidently made after the model of the words in Q₂, II. i.:

“And let him ply his musique.”

The next speech (Q₁, v. 5—11) almost ridiculously crude, and without connexion with what precedes it, is more instructive still:

“You shall do very well, *Montano*, to say thus,
I knew the gentleman, or know his father,

¹ *King.* Giue them the foyles, 2074.

² To Mr. Daniel, Dr. Nicholson, Dr. Ingleby, and myself, these suppositions are impossible.—F. J. F.

To inquire the manner of his life,
 As thus ; being amongst his acquaintance,
 You may say, you saw him at such a time, marke you mee,
 At game, or drincking, swearing, or drabbing,
 You may go so farre."

To this we may add, as a clear proof of the incompleteness of X's notes :

" *Mon.* My lord, that will impeach his reputation.

Cor. I faith not a whit, no not a whit,
 Now happely hee closeth with you in the consequence,
 As you may bridle it not disparage him a iote.
 What was I about to say." (v. 13—16.)

Who is this *hee* ? Doubtless this passage was as void of meaning to X himself, as to us. Yet it would be easy to trace back almost every phrase in this scene to some corresponding expression in Q₂. In v. 22 : l. 653, the words 'Or at Tennis,' remind us of Q₂'s : "There *falling out* at Tennis," which alone convey the idea of something blameable to our mind, whereas the words in Q₁ imply that the game of Tennis was something shameful in itself ; a case of nonsense brought about by incompleteness. The supposition, therefore, that X did not catch the name of Reynaldo, and replaced it by another name, appears to be founded on as good grounds as any other suggested as yet. (See below.)

After this necessary digression I return to the comparison of Q₁ and Q₂:

(15) Of the beginning of this scene ii. (Q₂, I. ii. 1—26) we find no trace here. The artificial and affected way in which the King speaks of his marriage, seems to have been too difficult for X, who at best may be supposed to have taken down a few disconnected notes, the meaning of which he could not make out afterwards. For this reason he probably dropped them altogether. The rest of the King's long speech is given thus (ii. 1—10) :

" Lordes, we here haue writ to *Fortenbrasse*,
 Nephew to olde *Norway*, who impudent
 And bed-rid, scarcely heares of this his
 Nephews purpose : and Wee heere dispatch
 Yong good *Cornelia*, and you *Voltmar*
 For bearers of these greetings to olde

Norway, giuing to you no further personall power
 To businesse with the King,
 Then those related articles do shew :
 Farewell, and let your haste commend your dutie."

Even apart from *impudent* (misheard for *impotent*), from the contradiction in : "we have writ to Fortenbrasse, *Nephew*" . . . and : "greetings to old Norway," and from the unintelligibility of "*this* his Nephew's purpose," the nature of which was never stated by the King in Q₁, as it is in Q₂ (II. ii. 17—27) ; it is plain that the original of Q₁ in this place cannot have been essentially different from Q₂. X having heard about the Norwegian affair in the first scene already, was in a *terra cognita* as soon as he found the name of Fortenbrasse in his notes, and very naturally made the scene begin with this passage. The blunder of making the King say that he has written to young Fortenbrasse, is a natural consequence of the confusion in X's notes, and clearly shows that X's ambition did not go beyond producing what might be thought a sketch of the stage *Hamlet*, regardless of internal contradictions and nonsense. We shall see that we cannot even give him credit for having read over what he had botched up. We have an opportunity here of understanding the reason why the characters in Q₁ appear to be different from those in Q₂. It is a well-established fact that the first speech of the King in Q₂ affords us an excellent idea of his character. Several of the most characteristic passages being left out in Q₁, we cannot, of course, expect to find the King's character alike in the two editions. The same thing may be observed as to the character of Hamlet and that of the Queen. Shakspearean skill was necessary to veil the latter's guilt so admirably as to make us still hesitate to pass sentence. Suppose now some of her words are left out or given in a less skilful way,—will she not step forth at once from the dim light in which she moves in Q₂? (See below, No. 27.)

(16) ii. 15—20 : II. 155—160 :

"*Lea*. My gracious Lord, your favourable licence,
 Now that the funerall rites are all performed,
 I may haue leaue to go againe to France,
 For though the favour of your grace might stay mee,

Yet something is there whispers in my hart,
Which makes my minde and spirits bend all for *France*."

We may here watch X making the best of his notes. He does not hesitate to write new lines under the influence of his other notes. The second of the above lines seems to be quite different from Q₂. Yet if we consider that in Q₂, l. 12, the King had already used the word *funerall*, and that soon after Hamlet's deep mourning is criticised, it seems not at all unlikely that X should have used here what he had not been able to use in the right place. I should, perhaps, hesitate to utter this opinion, if similar instances were not so numerous in Q₁ as they really are. This same speech affords another case of the kind:

"For though the favour of your grace might stay me." . . .

This line was written merely in order not to leave the words *favour* and *gracious* (see the authentic text, 51, 56¹) unused, which X found in his notes.

(17) The King at last addresses Hamlet. X unscrupulously took the concluding lines of the King's long speech from their right place and made the King begin (ii. 26: ll. 166—172):

"And now princely Sonne *Hamlet*,
What meanes these sad and melancholy moodes?
For your intent going to *Wittenberg*
Wee hold it most vnmeet and vnconuenient,
Being the Ioy and halfe heart of your mother.
Therefore let mee intreat you stay in Court,
All *Denmarkes* hope, our coosin and deerest Sonne."

The last five lines are evidently out of place here, nor does Hamlet take any notice of them, his speech answering to that in Q₂. The Queen's preceding attempt at cheering up her son is wanting in Q₁, and consequently Hamlet's pathetic answer: "My Lord, 'tis not the sable sute I weare," &c. (ii. 33—39), is addressed to the King, whereas, in Q₂, Hamlet does not speak to the King at all in this scene. Probably X was puzzled by the King's answering to Hamlet's words as if they had been addressed to him, and made Hamlet speak

¹ Your leaue and fauour to returne to Fraunce . . .
And bow them to your *gracious* leaue and pardon.

to the King, not seeing what a delicate feature of the dialogue he thus destroyed.

(18) X paid particular attention to stage-effects, to which we certainly must add rymes too. He was often in such a hurry that he did not secure both rhyming lines; and since only on hearing the second line he could be aware of there being rhyme, we sometimes find partially or wholly different rymes in Q₁. Thus (ii. 38-9, ll. 178-9):

“Him haue I lost I must of force forgoe,
These but the ornaments & sutes of woe.”

In this case X had only caught *woe*, and probably made a mark in his notes to remember that there was a rhyme. At home he substituted a rhyming line of his own, which even an enemy of Shakspeare would never attribute to the poet.

(19) ii. 40—47: ll. 180—187:

“This shewes a louing care in you, Sonne *Hamlet*,
But you must thinke your father lost a father,
That father dead, lost his, and so shall be vntil the
Generall ending. Therefore cease laments,
It is a fault gainst heauen, fault gainst the dead,
A fault gainst nature, and in reasons
Common course most certaine
None liues on earth, but hee is borne to die.”

If we compare the above lines with a passage from the corresponding speech in Q₂, I. ii. 103-105, &c.:

“To reason most absurd, whose common theame
Is death of fathers, and who still hath cried
From the first course, till he hath died to-day.
This must be so: . . .”

we observe not only how X, whose only source was what was spoken on the stage, was liable to misapprehensions (*course* for *corse*), and how, on the other hand, he noted down only the principal words, the true meaning and relation of which he did not always remember at home, so that we often meet words or phrases well known from Q₂, in different, strange, and even ridiculous applications (see *reason*, *common*, *course*, in this speech).

A careful examination of Q₁ convinces us that, scanty as X's notes must have been, he has succeeded in introducing a surprising

number of Shakspearean words and phrases, and that he was able to do so only by acting on the principle of leaving, even of the most fragmentary notes, as few unused as possible. It is true, he was not over-scrupulous as to the propriety of the places he often assigned to them, nor can I tell whether it was idleness or respect for Shakspeare's words that prompted him often to insert incoherent passages, rather than to make bolder attempts at restoring connexion; but it is certain that by thus making the best of his spoils, he has succeeded in giving a certain Shakspearean air to many of his involuntary caricatures. Read, for instance, the first soliloquy of Hamlet (ii. 55—75: ll. 195—215):

- (20) "O that this too much grieu'd and sallied flesh
 Would melt to nothing, or that the vniuersall
 Globe of heauen would turne al to a Chaos!
 O God within two moneths, no not two: married,
 Mine uncle: O let me not thinke of it,
 My fathers brother: but no more like
 My father, then I to *Hercules*.
 Within two months, ere yet the salt of most
 Vnrightheous teares had left their flushing
 In her galled eyes: she married, O God, a beast
 Deuoyd of reason would not have made
 Such speede: Frailtie, thy name is Woman.
 Why she would hang on him, as if increase
 Of appetite had growne by what it looked on.
 O wicked wicked speede, to make such
 Dexteritie to incestuous sheetes,
 Ere yet the shooes were olde,
 The which she followed my dead fathers corse,
 Like *Nyobe*, all teares: married, well it is not
 Nor it cannot come to good:
 But breake my heart, for I must holde my tongue."

Q₂ and Q₁ agree in reading *sallied*; F₁ has *solid*. This coincidence may very well be a mere accident: the Q₂ compositor put *sallied* for *solid* (a blunder which belongs to the very simplest and commonest class of mistakes), and X *misheard* 'sallied' for 'solid.' The different parts of this speech betray a slight incompleteness, which was probably the reason of their being transposed in Q₁ to afford at least a semblance of connexion. The words, "Or that the vniuersall Globe of heauen would turne al to a Chaos," are the

only ones not found in Q₂ ; and it needs no further proof that this line is the work of X.

On the whole, this soliloquy, confused as it appears in Q₁, shows again that the original of Q₁ must have been Q₂, or a play almost identical with it (see No. 14).

(21) ii. 76 : l. 216 : "Health to your Lordship," misheard for "Hail to," &c., on account of the following dental consonant.

(22) ii. 85 : l. 226 : "But what is your affaire in *Elsenoure* ?" was completed after ii. 91 : l. 231, where he asks the same question again.

(23) ii. 128—130 : l. 268 :

"Where as they deliuered forme of the King,
Each part made true and good,
The Apparition comes."

After *deliuered*, the Q₂ words, *both in time*, are wanting (see No. 19).

(24) ii. 134 : l. 274 : "And wee did thinke it *right done*." Q₂ : *writ down*.

(25) ii. 139—145 : ll. 279—285 :

"My Lord we did, but answere made it none,
Yet once me thought it was about to speake,
And lifted up his head to motion,
Like as he would speake, but even then
The morning cocke crew lowd, and in all haste,
It shrunke in haste away, and vanished
Our sight."

The third line shows that X did not supply the gaps in his notes, if the nonsense was not too evident and glaring. See the second line : "it was about to speake," and the fourth : "like as he would speake" ; the fifth and sixth lines : "in all *haste*," and "in *haste* away."

(26) ii. 187 : ll. 327 : "Foule deeds will rise." Q₂ : "Fonde deedes," a misprint. X *heard* the right word on the stage.

I. iii.

(27) What we have observed above about the delineations of some characters in Q₁ (their comparative broadness and coarseness, see No.

15) holds good also with regard to Laertes. In Q₂ Laertes bears a certain family-likeness to his father, inasmuch as he has a rather voluble tongue, which he uses so well in his great admonitory address to his sister. In Q₁ Laertes blurts out what he has to say in an extremely awkward, even coarse manner.

Observe especially, iii. 9, 10 : ll. 338, 339 :

“ Belieu’t *Ophelia*, therefore keep a loofe
Lest that he trip thy honor and thy fame ;”

to which Ophelia answers even more bluntly still, iii. 11, 12 :

“ Brother, to this I haue lent attentīue eare,
And doubt not but to keepe my honour firme.”

(28) The carelessness and haste with which Q₁ was got up (I have already observed that X seems never to have read over his work after its completion), appears very plainly from the following words of Ophelia in Q₁, iii. 13—20 : ll. 342—348 :

“ But my deere brother, do not you
Like to a cunning Sophister
Teach me the path and ready way to heauen,
While you forgetting what is said to me
Your selfe, like to a carelesse libertine
Doth giue his heart, his appetite at ful,
And little reckes how that his honour dies.”

(29) In Polonius’s paternal exhortations (Q₂, I. iii. : ll. 55—81 ; Q₁, iii. 27—41 : ll. 351—370) we meet with the usual omissions, with no independent addition of X’s manufacture, but with a striking concurrence in a curious reading :

Q₂ : “ But doe not dulle thy palme with entertainment
Of each new hateht vn fledg’d courage.”

Q₁ : “ But do not dulle the palme with entertain,
Of euery new vn fledg’d courage.”

F₁ very plausibly reads *Comrade* for *courage*, which has been generally adopted. It has been suggested that X was aided in his dishonest work by some unscrupulous actor or lower official of the theatre, who furnished him with copies of parts of the stage-manuscript. If this could be proved to have been the case, espe-

cially with regard to this speech of Polonius, nobody would hesitate to declare *courage* in Q₁ and Q₂ to be owing to a mistake of the Q₂ compositor, as well as of the stealthy purloiner of the copies for X. This supposition, however, is strongly discountenanced by the circumstance that even in the best passages in Q₁ there are variations which cannot be accounted for by the hurry of such an individual; and besides we must ask, is it at all probable, and does the Q₁ text give us any right to suppose, that X would have taken so great pains and sacrificed a sum of money to bribe such a person? Is he at all likely to have let out his secret to anybody connected with the stage. It appears at once that any such supposition contrasts very strangely with what we actually find in Q₁.

It is true, there are certain *longer* speeches in Q₁ (for such alone are we concerned with here) bearing a close resemblance to those in Q₂ (*e. g.* see iv. 17—35 : ll. 415—433 : “Angels and Ministers of grace,” &c. ; and vi. 31—51 ; ll. 729—749 : “Most faire returnes,” &c.), but they are never without some alteration, omission, or addition, which clearly betray the hand of X. Perhaps X was assisted by one of his friends, who also wrote down as much as he could during the representation, and afterwards X compiled his *Hamlet*, Q₁, from the united notes. This supposition not only explains why we find some tolerably complete passages in Q₁, but also accounts for diplomatic blunders in it. But we cannot shut our eyes to another circumstance, namely, that *courage*, at and before Shakspeare’s time, had a euphuistic meaning (see collation of Q₂ and F₁, p. 123), which had probably grown too unknown by 1623, and was altered, therefore, into *Comrade* by H. C. Their *emendation* was not a very happy one: the word “Comrade,” is far too tame and weak after such extraordinary epithets. “Courage,” in the meaning of “gallant” as proposed by Ingleby, is the right word in the right place : but “Comrade” offers sufficient external similarity with “courage” to account for H. C.’s hitting just on this word. At all events we need not admit *courage* as conclusive evidence of X’s having had parts of the stage MS. at his command. We have seen that similar coincidences, which are laid so much stress on by the advocates of the First Sketch theory may be explained as well in several other ways.

(30) The rest of the scene exhibits the usual features of X's more independent work. His notes must have been rather confused again. Mommsen (*Proleg.* p. 166) has already called attention to the fact that X is fond of using certain beautiful or striking expressions, even whole verses, more frequently than Q₂. (See iii. 50, 62 : ll. 378 and 389, and compare iv. ll. 493 and 508.)

(31) How awkwardly X sometimes distorted the meaning of some passages may be seen from iii. 59—63 : ll. 386—390 :

“Springes to catch woodcocks,
What, do not I know when the blood doth burne,
How prodigall the tongue lends the heart vowes,
In briefe, be more scanter of your maiden presence,
Or tending thus you'l tender mee a foole.”

Besides, the last line of this speech shows again that X did not reject fragmentary and disconnected notes, but used them occasionally to fill up some gap or other, not caring whether they suited the context or not.

(32) V. 58-9 : ll. 690-691. (Q₂, II. i. 108—110 ; see also II. ii., 143) :

“I did repell his letters, deny his gifts,
As you did charge me.”

These words, coupled with some poor reminiscences of Polonius's speech, seem to have prompted X to make Corambis speak the following words, iii. 65—70 : ll. 392—397 :

Ophelia, receiue none of his letters,
“For louers lines are snares to intrap the heart :
“Refuse his tokens, both of them are keyes
To vnlocke Chastitie vnto Desire :
Come in *Ophelia*; such men often proue,
Great in their words, but little in their loue.

According to Q₂, Polonius may have continued his exhortations to his daughter after their *exeunt*. Anyhow, Ophelia must have been told by her father not to accept any more of Hamlet's letters and presents. X, not finding this piece of Polonius's warning in his notes, came across Ophelia's words (v. 58, 59 : ll. 690, 691), and knowing the incompleteness and imperfection of his notes, very

naturally imagined that something was wanting, and added iii. 65—70 : ll. 392—395.

The metre of Q₁ is remarkably regular here, and the meaning quite clear, whereas the passages which X found in his notes, show his endeavours to preserve the words and phrases of Shakspeare as faithfully as possible, even if sense and metre were injured by them (see Mommsen, *Proleg.*, p. 172).

I. iv.

(33) The hurry in which X's notes were jotted down, did not always leave him time enough to mark the rubrics, or even to notice that different characters had spoken. Hence we meet with cases where short speeches, even of different characters, are drawn together into one, and attributed to one character only. The beginning of this scene iv. shows this :

“*Ham.* The ayre bites shrewd ; it is an eager and
An nipping winde, what houre is't ?”

See also v. 56, 57 : ll. 688, 689, and Q₂, I. iv. 84, 107. But sometimes X seems to have proceeded thus intentionally. See vi. 57—62 : ll. 755—760.

[34]. After iv. 15 : l. 413, ‘in the obseruance,’ we observe the same lacuna¹ as in F₁ (I. iv. 16—38).

(34) iv. 8 ; l. 406 :

Q₁. “And as he dreames, his draughts of renish down.”

Q₂. “And as he draines his drafts of Rennish down.”

(35) After iv. 42 : l. 440, there is a transposition of several speeches (see No. 17) which, trifling as it may seem in itself, is worthy of remark, inasmuch as it shows how X, finding some incompleteness and obscurity in his notes, changed the order of the speeches rather than the words themselves. We shall meet with something similar below (No. 44), though it is not single speeches, but whole parts of scenes, that are transposed there.

I. v.

(36) Some of the short introductory speeches in the scene between the Ghost and Hamlet are wanting in Q₁. Perhaps the excitement

¹ About drunkenness. ‘This heauy headed reueale,’ &c.

and impression of the scene were too keen to let X and his assistant think of their business at once. In like manner we may trace the increasing interest of the plot in the increasing deficiency of Q₁ in the later acts.

(37) Of the Ghost's long speech (iv. 102—127: ll. 500—525), which is kept in tolerable condition in Q₁, I shall only give six lines, iv. 122—7:

“ Thus was I sleeping by a brothers hand
Of Crowne, of Queene, of life, of dignitie
At once deprived, no reckoning made of,
But sent vnto my graue
With all my *accompts* and sinnes vpon my head.
O horrible, most horrible!

These lines, as well as the whole speech, exhibit the usual traces of X's hand, *e. g.* Q₂, I. v. 79: “sent to my *account*.”

(38) iv. 144: l. 542:

“ Yes, yes, by heauen, a damnd pernitiuous villaine.”

X had not caught the substantive belonging to *pernitiuous*, and so put this adjective to *villaine*: Q₂.

“ O most pernicious woman,
O villaine, villaine, smiling damned villaine.”

(39) iv. 196: ll. 593-5:

“ Ha, ha, come you here, this fellow in the sellerige,
Here consent to sweare.”

We observe that *this fellow in the sellerige* stands utterly without connexion with what precedes or follows. Q₂ shows very plainly how this came to pass:

“ Ha, ha, boy, say'st thou so, art thou there trupenny?
Come on, you heare, this fellowe in the Sellerige,
Consent to sweare.”

The whole variation rests upon omission, and a mistake of the ear—*here* for *heare*.

Act II. i.

The dialogue between Polonius and Reynaldo has already been spoken of above. (See No. 14.)

(40) Referring the reader to the remark made under No. 32, I subjoin two speeches of Ofelia, in which she imparts to her father the news of Hamlet's madness, v. 33-6, 38-55:

"O my deare father, such a change in nature,
So great an alteration in a Prince,
So pitifull to him, fearefull to mee,
A maidens eye ne're looked on."

(Compare vi. 201: l. 898). After a short interruption she continues:

"O yong Prince *Hamlet*, the only floure of *Denmark*,
Hee is bereft of all the wealth he had,
The Iewell that adorn'd his feature most
Is filcht and stolne away, his wit's bereft him,
Hee found mee walking in the gallery all alone,
There comes hee to mee with a distracted looke,
His garters lagging downe, his shooes vntide,
And fixt his eyes so steadfast on my face,
As if they had vow'd, this is their latest obiect.
Small while he stoode, but gripes me by the wrist,
And there he holdes my pulse till with a sigh
He doth vnclaspe his holde, and parts away
Silent, as is the mid time of the night:
And as he went, his eie was still on mee,

For thus his head ouer his shoulder looked,
He seemed to finde the way without his eies:
For out of doores he went, without their helpe,
And so did leaue me."

It is hard to imagine how it could ever be believed that Q₁ was merely a bad print of a juvenile work of Shakspeare. The above speech was certainly not paid attention to by those who held that opinion. Nobody can reasonably deny that these speeches cannot have come in this condition from Shakspeare or any other poet's mind as original compositions. But, on the other hand, it is impossible not to see how easily and satisfactorily all their trash and crudeness, as well as their evident connexion with the corresponding speeches in Q₂, are accounted for if we suppose X to have jotted down some notes in the theatre, and afterwards used them for his imitation of this scene. His chief source in this case was his

memory. Who could forget such a scene, and such a tale, especially when told by such a character?

(41) v. 60—6 : ll. 692—698 :

“Why that hath made him madde :
By heau'n 'tis as proper to our age to cast
Beyond our selues, as 'tis for the yonger sort.
To leaue their wantonnesse. Well, I am sory
That I was so rash ; but what remedy ?
Lets to the King, this madnesse may prooue,
Though wilde a while, yet more true to thy loue.”

It is easy in these lines to distinguish what X found in his notes, and what he added to fill up the gaps. How shortsighted and careless he was in doing so, may be seen from the words : *to leaue their wantonnesse*. The last two lines seem to be strangely different from those in Q₂. But if we consider that X had probably made a mark in his notes to remember that *loue* rhymed with another word which he had lost, and that the rhyme is exactly the same here as in a former passage where X had been obliged to work rather independently (see No. 32), it is plain that X wrote these lines merely for the sake of the rhyme, regardless of the plot. By them we are led to think that Polonius entertained ambitious hopes to see Ophelia become some day the wife of the Prince.

In vi. 82-4 : ll. 780—783 :

“Now when I saw this letter, thus I bespake my maiden :
Lord *Hamlet* is a Prince out of your starre,
And one that is vnequall for your loue,”

the same Corambis speaks as his original, Polonius, does in Q₂.

Act II. ii.

(42) vi. 1—8 :

“*King*. Right noble friends, that our deere cosin Hamlet
Hath lost the very heart of all his sence,
It is most right, and we most sory for him :
Therefore we doe desire, euen as you tender
Our care to him, and our great loue to you,
That you will labour but to wring from him
The cause and ground of his distemperancie,
Doe this, the King of *Denmarke* shal be thankefull.”

Apart from the leading idea that the King wishes Rosencrans and Guildenstern to act the part of spies near Hamlet, this speech is entirely the work of X.

The metre is remarkably smooth again, which reminds us of a similar case (see No. 32).

(43) The amusing silliness of Polonius requires more skill and 'finesse' to be properly imitated than X can be allowed to have possessed. Hence we find the following poor ruins of Shakspearean splendour (vi. 57—62 : ll. 755—760) :

"This busines is very well dispatched.
Now my Lord touching the yong Prince Hamlet,
Certaine it is that hee is madde : mad let vs grant him then :
Now to know the cause of this effect,
Or else to say the cause of this defect,
For this effect defectiue comes by cause."

It is hard to imagine that X had any other original for these lines than Q₂, especially if we consider what has been observed under No. 33. The whole scene in Q₁ is very free and independent as regards words and phrases, and would be equally so in its contents if it had not been so very easy to remember it with tolerable completeness, especially when aided by a few notes.

(44) The remarkable fact that the famous soliloquy of Hamlet and the following dialogue with Ofelia stands in Q₁ where in Q₂ we have Hamlet's Fishmonger dialogue (sit venia verbo), with Polonius, has been explained in different ways (see *New Var. Hamlet*, II. pp. 20, 29). In the latter place we read the following remark of Grant White : "And yet according to the imperfect, as well as the perfect, text, Ophelia is not upon the stage." White, in making this objection, must have forgotten the stage-direction—*Enter Corambis and Ofelia*, after vi. 18 : l. 716. There is not only a transposition here, but also a difference concerning the characters that make their appearance in this scene. If we bear in mind what has been said (Nos. 35, 17), about the transposition of speeches, and (No. 32) about the mistake of X in adding (iii. 65—70 : ll. 392—395), "Ofelia receiue none of his letters," &c. ; if we further observe, how incomplete notes and in-

exact reminiscences induced X to let Corambis speak the following words (vi. 104—110 : ll. 802—806):

“Mary my good lord thus,
The Princes walke is here in the galery,
There let *Ofelia* walke vntill hee comes :
Your selfe and I will stand close in the study,
There shall you heare the effect of all his hart,
And if it proue any otherwise then loue,
Then let my censure faile an other time,—

we need not look any further for the reason of this transposition.

The above lines do not express, as they do in Q₂, that the Prince walks *only sometimes* in the gallery, but, “The Princes walke is here in the gallery,” i. e. he walks there *regularly*. They do not say that Polonius is going to “loose his daughter to him ‘*at such a time*,’” but they show Corambis’s intention of carrying out his design without delay :

“There let *Ofelia* walke vntill hee comes.”

X was thus driven into a corner by his own improvidence, and had to transpose, or rather insert, the scene in question (together with a portion of the short dialogue between the King and Corambis consequent upon it), so as to make it follow immediately after Corambis’s proposal.

Apart from this insertion and from viii. 24—40 : ll. 1161—1177 (“Madame, I pray be ruled by me,” &c.), which clearly consist partly of X’s own interpolation (compare viii. 26-7 : ll. 1163—1165 with viii. 1-2 : ll. 1138, s.) and partly of the rest of the just-mentioned dialogue between the King and Polonius (the lines at the end of Q₂, III. i.) which X simply *left in its proper place*, and which proves better than anything else *that the original of Q₁ cannot have differed from Q₂ in the order of scenes*: apart from these two exceptions, we find that the succession of the different scenes is the same in Q₁ as in Q₂. For this reason we had better call the present case an *insertion*, and not a *transposition*, for the “Fishmonger dialogue” does *not* stand in the place of the transposed scene in the third Act.

After X had once begun to depart from his original, he saw himself obliged to make certain other alterations closely connected with

this one. When the dialogue between Hamlet and Ofelia had come to an end, X could not make Corambis "board" him immediately after. Therefore, he lumped together fragments of the dialogue between the King and Polonius, and some lines of his own manufacture, to effect a kind of transition.

vii. 1—6 : ll. 902—906 :

"*King.* Loue? No, no, that's not the cause,
Some deeper thing it is that troubles him.

Cor. Wel, something it is : my Lord, content you a while,
I will my selfe goe feele him : let me worke,
He try him euery way : see where he comes,
Send you those Gentlemen, let me alone,
To finde the depth of this, away, be gone."

This is followed by the "Fishmonger dialogue." The words :—

"*Send you those Gentlemen*"

may be a stray note of the first part of the scene (III. i.), where Ros. and G. are commissioned to sound Hamlet.

(45) vii. 26—31 : ll. 927—932 : show again, how X melted together the ruins of separate speeches. (Compare No. 33) :

"How pregnant his replies are, and full of wit :
Yet at first he tooke me for a fishmonger :
All this comes by loue, the vemencie of loue
And when I was yong, I was very idle,
And suffered much extasie in loue, very neere this :
Will you walke out of the aire my Lord ?"

With this compare Q₂, III. i : ll. 206, ss. ; 187, ss. : and l. 204.
The same thing is to be said of vii. 36-8 : ll. 937—939 :

"You can take nothing from me sir,
I will more willingly part with all,
Olde doating foole" (Q₂, II. ii. 220-4).

(46) There are few passages so illustrative of the deficiency of X's notes, and of the awkwardness and bluntness of his work consequent upon it, as vii. 40—60 : ll. 944—961 :

"*Gil.* Health to your Lordship.

Ham. What, Gilderstone, and Rossencraft,
Welcome kinde Schoole-fellowes to *Elsanoure*.

Gil. We thanke your Grace, and would be very glad
You were as when we were at *Wittenberg*.

Ham. I thanke you, but is this visitation free of
Your selues, or were you not sent for?
Tell me true, come, I know the good King and Queene
Sent for you, there is a kind of confession in your eye:
Come, I know you were sent for.

Gil. What say you?

Ham. Nay then I see how the winde sits,
Come, you were sent for.

Ross. My Lord, we were, and willingly if we might,
Know the cause and ground of your discontent.

Ham. Why I want preferment.

Ross. I thinke not so my lord.

Ham. Yes faith, this great world you see contents me not,
No nor the spangled heauens, nor earth nor sea,
No nor Man that is so glorious a creature,
Contents not me, no nor woman too, though you laugh."

It is quite inconceivable that any poet should have written this dialogue in the above form, and it is equally hard to imagine that any other version than that of Q₂ should have been its source, considering how completely and satisfactorily the Q₂ version accounts for all the points of resemblance, and the supposition of imperfect notes for the omissions and additions.

Hamlet's words: "Why I want preferment," bear only in their fundamental idea of *ambition* some resemblance to the corresponding lines in the authentic text (F₁, II. ii. 246—259). The outward form of this answer is perhaps due to Q₂, III. ii. 354—"Sir, I lack advancement." In Q₁ this is wanting in the right place, *i. e.* after ix. 188: l. 1360. With quite a similar case we meet in vii. 110: l. 1070—"Stil harping a my daughter!" Q₂, II. ii. 390—"Still on my daughter!" X had found the disconnected exclamation: "Still harping a my daughter," in his notes of the preceding part of this scene (Q₂, II. ii. 188), but not being able to make any use of it there, and unwilling to reject it altogether, besides, thinking perhaps he had left out a word in "Stil on my daughter," he used it as a corrective, and wrote vii. 110: l. 1010.

(47) vii. 78—88: ll. 978—988:

"*Ham.* I doe not greatly wonder of it,
For those that would make mops and moes
At my uncle, when my father liued,

Now giue a hundred, two hundred pounds
 For his picture: but they shall be welcome,
 He that playes the King shall haue tribute of me,
 The ventrous Knight shall vse his foyle and target,
 The louer shall sigh gratis,
 The clown shall make them laugh
 That are tickled in the lungs, or the blanke verse shall halt for't,
 And the lady shall haue leaue to speake her minde freely."

Here again, two separate speeches have been lumped together, Q₂, II. ii. 80 and 332 (see Nos. 45, 33).

(48) As a specimen of the nonsense that X sometimes produced out of his poor notes, when they treated of things he did not quite understand, I subjoin the words of Corambis (vii. 100-5: II. 1000—1005):

"The best Actors in Christendome
 Either for Comedy, Tragedy, Historie, Pastorall,
 Pastorall, Historicall, Historicall, Comicall,
 Comicall historicall, Pastorall, Tragedy historicall:
Seneca cannot be too heauy, nor *Plato* too light:
 For the law hath writ those are the onely men."

For similar instances of X's indifference to the sense or nonsense of his imitations see iv. 14, vii. 154, vii. 133-6, vii. 187, ix. 167: II. 645, 1054, 1033—1036, 1087, and 1330.

(49) vii. 125: l. 1025: "French Falconers" (Folio 1). Q₂: "friendly Fauknars" (see No. 26).

(50) vii. 144: l. 1044: "th' arganian beast." Q₂: "Th' irceanian beast." II. ii. 472.

vii. 155: l. 1055: "Rifled in earth and fire." Q₂: "rosted in wrath and fire." II. ii. 486.

vii. 173: l. 1073: "with tongue inuenom'd speech." And Q₂: "with tongue in venom steept." II. ii. 533. See *New Var. Hamlet*, ii., p. 61, footnote.

(51) Of the Player's declamation (first part) X has only saved the first six lines, yet Corambis exclaims (as Polonius does in Q₂):

"Enough, my friend, 'tis too long." vii. 164: l. 1064.

Evidently a considerable number of lines must be wanting to explain and justify this objection of Corambis. Again, we must conclude

that the original of Q₁ cannot have differed essentially from Q₂, as regards the contents as well as the length of the speeches.

(52) vii. 195, 196: ll. 1095 and 1096 are particularly worthy of remark:

“*Ham.* Come hither maisters, can you not play the murder of *Gonsago*?”

Now compare ix. 139—141: ll. 1311—1313:

“ . . . this play is
The image of a murderd one in *guyana*, *Albertus*
Was the Dukes name, his wife *Baptista*.”

X had not understood that *Gonsago* was the Duke's name, nor does he seem to have been aware of the fact, that “the murder of *Gonsago*” (vii. 196: l. 1096) was the play acted before the Court, or, if he knew thus much, that he had already mentioned the Duke's name before; and so he simply substituted the name of *Albertus*, as he had done before with that of *Montano*.

If X had not been so thoughtless as he was, the name of *Albertus* might also be believed to be one of the supposed remnants of “the older play.” Fortunately X himself has rendered such a view impossible, and we may safely use this case as a support of what has been asserted in No. 14.

(53) As a last specimen of X's style, I give *Hamlet's* soliloquy (2nd Act) in full (vii. 207—237: ll. 1107—1137):

“Why what a dunghill idiote slaue am I?
Why these Players here draw water from eyes:
For Hecuba, why what is Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?
What would he do and if he had my losse?
His father murderd, and a Crowne bereft him,
He would turne all his teares to droppes of blood.
Amaze the standers by with his laments,
Strike more then wonder in the iudiciall eares,
Confound the ignorant, and make mute the wise,
Indeede his passion would be generall.
Yet I like to an asse and Iohn a Dreames,
Hauing my father murderd by a villaine,
Stand still, and let it passe, why sure I am a coward:
Who pluckes me by the beard, or twites my nose,
Giue's me the lie i'th throate downe to the lungs,
Sure I should take it, or else I haue no gall,

Or by this I should a fatted all the region kites
 With this slaues offell, this damned villaine,
 Treacherous, bawdy, murderous villaine:
 Why this is braue, that I the sonne of my deare father,
 Should like a scalion, like a very drabbe,
 Thus raile in wordes. About my braine,
 I haue heard that guilty creatures sitiing at a play,
 Hath, by the very cunning of the scene, confest a murder
 Committed long before.
 This spirit that I haue seene may be the Diuell;
 And out of my weaknesse and my melancholy,
 As he is very potent with such men,
 Doth seeke to damne me, I will haue sounder proofes,
 The play's the thing,
 Wherein Ile catch the conscience of the King."

There is nothing in these lines—as little as in the whole of the first two acts—that points to another original than Q₂, and nothing that could not be easily and satisfactorily explained by means of our supposition, that X's notes, though better here than in many other places, were imperfect, and sometimes unintelligible, so that we find omissions, additions, and other alterations, owing to the evident care and attention with which X endeavoured to give a kind of connexion to the different parts of this soliloquy.

We have thus arrived at the end of the second act. The general feature of the remaining acts is, that they are considerably more garbled, and much more unscrupulously botched up from scanty notes, than the first two acts; so much so, in fact, that their wretched condition has given rise to the theory that Q₁ represents the tragedy of *Hamlet*, not after its complete revision and amplification by Shakspeare, but in a transitory state, Shakspeare not having gone "much beyond the second act" in his remodelling the piece! I shall have occasion below to examine this theory.¹ I have compared the whole of Q₁ with Q₂, and the impression I have received is, that the growing interest of the plot, coupled with the increasing tiredness which X and his companion very naturally were seized with, together, perhaps,

¹ See my refutation of it in my Forewords to Griggs's *Facsimile of Hamlet*, Q₂.—F. J. F.

with some *gêne* or other in the theatre, induced X and his friend to note down less than they had done during the first two acts.

They were content to secure so much, at least, as would enable X to glean the general development of the action from their notes. Besides two acts of the piece, reproduced with tolerable faithfulness, were quite sufficient, according to X's policy, to take in the public. Whatever may have been the true cause of the bad condition of the latter and greater part of Q1, we shall see that we have no occasion to recur to so artificial and far-fetched a supposition as that of a partial remodelling of the piece by Shakspeare. We have not yet come across any serious obstacle to our view of the matter, nor shall we meet with any such in the last three acts, but shall find numerous points supporting our opinion.

That Q1 is a garbled and mutilated edition of some more complete text, and that it is more imperfect towards the end than in the beginning, I take for granted. The question can only be this :

Is it necessary to suppose that any other version than the stage-version of Q2 was the original? Or :

Does our supposition concerning the nature and origin of Q1, and its relation to Q2, sufficiently explain all the differences between Q1 and Q2?

In giving above copious specimens of the first two acts of Q1, and comparing them with the corresponding passages in Q2, I had two objects in view : first, to enable the reader to form an idea of X's style of writing, of his manner of proceeding in puzzling circumstances, and of what might be expected of a man, who, even when taking no small pains as he did in the first two acts of Q1, did not reproduce anything better than those two acts ; secondly, to gain a firm stand-point for examining the last three acts.

I need not dwell on the general likeness of the action in Q1 and Q2. See Furness's Reprint of Q1 (*New Var. Hamlet*, vol. II.), with marginal references to the corresponding passages in Q2.¹ I shall call the reader's attention to particularly striking passages, and to such details as may serve as a complement to Furness's¹

¹ Also Griggs's *Facsimile* of Q1, with my marginal references to the Globe edition of *Hamlet*.—F. J. F.

references. But my chief object will be to show that the differences between Q₂ and Q₁, in the last three acts, arose in the same way as those in the first two. For this purpose I shall have continually to refer the reader to the different observations made above, of which I subjoin a systematic summary to facilitate the necessary references.

(a). X's ignorance (nonsense in Q₁): No. 48. His indifference, negligence, and want of circumspection: Nos. 13, 15, 28, 41, 52.

(b). X's principle, to use as many of his notes as possible (though often in the wrong place) and to avoid alteration, if it was not absolutely necessary. Hence the "Shakspearean air" of many passages otherwise quite miserable: Nos. 6, 16, 19, 20, 25, 31, 37.

(c). X's work is characterized by—

I. Nonsense, absurdities, and many vulgarisms: Nos. 31, 32.

II. Repetition of the same phrases: No. 30.

III. Expletives (words and phrases), too frequent to require any quotation.

IV. Expressions formed after other models: Nos. 12, 22.

V. Comparatively smooth metre in independent passages: Nos. 32, 42.

VI. Shallow and unpoetical diction: Nos. 1, 4, 8, and very frequently throughout Q₁.

VII. Keeping or imitation of rhymes: Nos. 18, 32, 41.

VIII. Alterations in the order of speeches and scenes, together with frequent attempts at adapting such displaced passages to their new context: Nos. 17, 35, 44.

IX. Neglect and obliteration of characteristics: Nos. 15, 17, 27, 43.

(d). Consequences of the incompleteness of X's notes, and of their having been written during the representation of the piece.

I. Simple omissions: Nos. 15, 36, 51.

II. Omissions together with contractions, which are sometimes very awkward: Nos. 8, 33, 38, 45, 47.

III. Omissions coupled with injurious effects upon sense and connexion (see *a* and *c* ix.): Nos. 2, 3, 11, 23.

IV. Mistakes of the ear: No. 15 (impudent).

V. X has heard aright where Q₂ exhibits a typographical error : Nos. 7, 10, 26, 49.

VI. Q₁ shows the same abbreviations as F₁ : Nos. 9, [34].

Nos. 14, 29, 40, 46, and 53 must be considered separately.

Act III. i.

viii. 1—4 : ll. 1138-41 : *b*. See Q₂, II. ii. 10—12 ; III. i. 1—4.

viii. 9—12 : ll. 1146-49 : III. i. 18—20 and 22 ; *d*. II.

viii. 15-16 : 1152-53 ; *c*. I.

viii. 18 : 1155. See viii. 6 : 1153 and vi. 9 : l. 706 ; *c*. VI. and IV.

viii. 22 : 1159. See viii. 9 : 1146, and viii. 14 : 1151 Q₂. III. i. 25, *c*. II.

viii. 24—29 : 1161-66. Compare viii. 1, 2 : 1138, 1139 ; *c*. I., II., IV.

viii. 31-6 : 1168-73. See vi. 103 : l. 802 : *b*.

viii. 37 : 1174. See 1150 ; II. ii. 80 ; *c*. II.

viii. 38—40 : 1175-77 ; *c*. I. and VII.

Here ought to follow the famous soliloquy, "To be," &c., which in Q₁ fills vi. 117—139, ll. 815—837. It affords instances of most of the peculiarities of Q₁ pointed out in the summary. Observe that ll. 832, vi. 134, 125, and 823, "But for a hope of something after death," and "But for this, the ioyfull hope of this," contradict a considerable portion of the Q₁ speech. Instead of *hope* and *ioyfull hope* above, *fear* is required to make sense.

vi. 140—161 : ll. 838—858. On the whole, this dialogue between Hamlet and Ophelia is remarkably complete in Q₁, but it shows unmistakable proofs of having passed through X's hands : *c*. VIII. and IX. ; *d*. III.

vi. 160-1 : 857, 858 : *c*. VII.

vi. 165—200 : 862—897 ; *c*. II. In Q₂ Hamlet advises Ophelia *five* times to go to a nunnery ; in Q₁ *eight* times.

vi. 201-4 : 898—901. See 664, 1660 : *c*. II. ; *d*. I.

vii. 1—7 : 902—908. This part, properly belonging to the conclusion of III. i., has already been spoken of above, *c*. I. ; *d*. I.

Act III. ii.

ix. 1—13: 1178—1189. Compare 1180: ix. 4; ix. 12, 13: 1188-89; *c.* I.; *d.* I., II. For bellowed, see ix. 20: 1195.

ix. 24-5: 1199—1200; *c.* VIII.

ix. 26—32: Though ll. 1201—1207 are tolerably well kept, they do not deny their origin.

ix. 27: 1202: "I can tell you," *c.* III. It must have been glaring abuses, generally known and blamed, that induced Shakspeare to take the field against bad actors. If X only managed to note down that there was some expostulation against bad players, he cannot have been at a loss what to write,—indeed, ix. 33—43: ll. 1208—1218, show that he surpassed even Shakspeare himself in blaming and ridiculing bad actors:

"And then you haue some agen, that keepes one sute
Of ieasts, as a man is knowne by one sute of
Apparell, and Gentlemen quotes his ieasts downe
In their tables, before they come to the play, as thus:
Cannot you stay till I eate my porrige? and, you owe me
A quarter's wages: and, my coate wants a cullison:
And, your beere is sowre: and, blabbering with his lips,
And thus keeping in his cinkapase of ieasts,
When, God knows, the warme Clowne cannot make a iest,
Vnlesse by chance, as the blinde man catcheth a hare:
Maisters tell him of it."

Hunter (*New Var. Haml.* I. p. 230, notes) finds that this addition is "not without marks of the hand of Shakspeare"; but I must object first, that X, meddling so much with Shakspearean phrases, could not help acquiring as much of 'the tune' and 'outward habit' of Shakspeare as we find in every caricature; and then, there are internal reasons which lead me to think that these lines are an independent addition of X's own manufacture. We must remember that Shakspeare, himself an actor, cannot be supposed to have contended against what he knew to be a necessary evil, an inevitable theatrical calamity, viz. repetition of jests. Are not our best modern comics "known by a sute of jests," which is but rarely varied or replaced by a new suit? As long as the jests were tolerably good, the actor Shakspeare is not likely to have objected to so natural a drawback. But the public?

We all know with what uneasiness and even repugnancy we listen to the same pun a second or third time, and how impatient we are of persons who always tell the same stories over and over again. X, one of the public, shared the common feeling in this respect, and probably considered the repetition of the same jests as a greater inconvenience than all the other abuses criticized by Shakspeare. Besides, how should we account for the absence of the lines in question from Q₂ as well as from F₁? But there is also external evidence supporting our supposition. In ix. 33—35: ll. 1208—1210: plural verbs end in *s*; in ix. 41: l. 1216, the slang application of *warm*; the feeble *point* in ix. 41-2: ll. 1216, 1217. Compare, moreover, *Maisters* in ix. 43: l. 1218, to "Come hither, maisters," vii. 195: 1095 (II. ii. 562). If any one should doubt X's ability to compose such an independent passage, let him examine the rhymed *Play* in the play, where we likewise observe great independence in the details, though the upshot of the dialogue is the same as in Q₂. Most of the absurdities in Q₁ arise from X's leading principle stated under (b), and from the circumstances mentioned under *d. I.—IV.*, and we should indeed wrong X if we considered ix. 33—43, ll. 1208—1218, to be beyond his abilities.

ix. 46: l. 1221: "*Hor.* Here, my Lord." Hamlet does not call Horatio, as he does in Q₂ (III. ii. 52—57), yet Horatio enters as if he had been called; *d. I.* and III.

ix. 50—64: 1225-39; *d. I., II.*; *c. I., II., VI.*

ix. 65—67: 1240-42; *c. VI.*

After ix. 68: l. 1243 (*d. I.*), Q₂ adds: "I must be idle." Nevertheless X makes Hamlet talk *sheer nonsense*, showing thus that he took *the feignedness of Hamlet's madness for granted*. We also have a case of *c. IX.* here: in Hamlet's seeming nonsense there is usually a deep hidden meaning, which is entirely lost in Q₁: see *e. g.* ix. 71: l. 1246; *d. I.*; *c. IX.*; III. ii. 101, 104 (?); *d. I.*

ix. 82-3: 1256—59; *d. V.* In Q₂, accidental omission, but mark ix. 82: l. 1256: '*and so forth,*' which looks as if X had thoughtlessly allowed an "&c." to pass from his notes into the Text.

The description of the dumb-show after ix. 85: l. 1259, answers to what we are entitled to expect according to our supposition.

For *Lucianus*, see ix. 145 : l. 1317.

ix. 86 : 1261 ; *d.* V. (myching Mallico) and *d.* IV. (my chiefe).

ix. 100—131 : 1274—1304. The dialogue between the Player-king and Player-Queen numbers 32 lines in Q₁, and 75 lines in Q₂.

ix. 103-5 : 1277—79 : '*straines* Of musicke,' &c., is simply owing to X's wish to find a rhyme for *veines*.

Furness's Reprint of Q₁ here points out the corresponding passages in Q₁ and Q₂ with sufficient completeness. The differences are accounted for by *d.* II. ; *c.* I. ; *b.*

ix. 149 : 1320—1331 ; *c.* VIII.

ix. 176 : 1346 ; *d.* II.

ix. 177—183 : 1347—1354 (See F₁) ; *d.* V. and II., III. ii. 298, 308, 314, 318 (?) ; *d.* I.

ix. 183 : 1355 ; *b.*

ix. 188 : 1360 : III. 12. 323 ; *b.*

ix. 212—221 : 1383—1392 : Q₂. IV. ii. 12—20 ; *c.* VIII.

ix. 136. (Compare Q₂, 1368 and IV. ii. 27 and 29 ; *b.*)

In both cases the displaced passages have left no trace in their proper places.

ix. 238-9 : 1409-10 ; *c.* VIII.

III. iii. 1—45 : omitted in Q₁, a case of *d.* III., because III. i. 166—175, 185—187 (? 170—182, 198—221), III. iv. 200—211, are also wanting in Q₁ ; yet the King speaks to the Queen (xi. 124—131 : ll. 1563-70) as if she had known his intention long ago.

xi. 129-130 : ll. 1568-69 point to III. i. 171—173 (?) ; *c.*

x. 1—13 ; 1411—1423 ; *b.* *d.* I. X's notes must have been very poor here, as this speech exhibits a little more independence than usual. Yet it is not hard to point out some of the expressions which he surely gleaned from his scanty notes : 'When I looke vp,' (III. iii. 150), 'murder of a brother'—'white as snow' (this very naturally suggested to X what we read in x. 8 : l. 1418).

x. 6. 1416 ; *c.* IX.

x. 10 : 1420 reminds of Q₂, III. 353.

x. 12 : 1421 (*c.* I.) is X's own addition.

x. 14—29 : ll. 1424-39 are kept in a tolerable condition.

x. 21-2: 1431-32: Q₁ and F₁ afford the same sense and prove Q₂ to be wrong; *d.* V.

x. 30, 31: 1440-41; *c.* VII.

xi. 16—18: 1457-59; *d.* III. In Q₂ Hamlet asks. 'Is it the King?' and his disappointment is expressed by the words: 'Rash intruding foole, I took thee for thy better.'

xi. 23-6: 1464-67: III. iv. 88—91; and 19, 20; *c.* VIII. and *b.*

xi. 27: 1468: III. iv. 39, 40; III. iv. 40—52; *d.* I.

xi. 28—46: 1469-87. X's notes were again very scanty; to make up for their deficiency, he inserted fragments of other passages.

xi. 30, 32: 1472 and 1474; vulgarisms; *c.* I.

xi. 34-5: 1475-76; see I. v. 49, 50; *c.*

xi. 38: 1479; see III. ii. 79; *b.*

xi. 39—41: 1480-82; absurdities; *c.* I.

Before and after xi. 43: l. 1484, we have two cases of *d.* VI. (see Q₂ III. iv. 71—76, and 78—81).

xi. 46: 1487; III. iii. 90; *b.*

xi. 47: 1488: For the rest of this broken-up speech see xi. 25-6: 1466, 1467; *c.* VIII.

xi. 48-9: 1489-90: III. iv. 102; *c.* VIII.

xi. 51-3: 1492-94: III. iv. 91—94; *c.* I.

xi. 55-8: 1496-99: III. iv. 68, 69; 82—88; *c.* VIII.

xi. 59, 60: 1500, 1501: III. i. 156; *c.* I. ('thou cleaues,' *Vulg.*).

Through the transposition the beautiful construction of the scene has been seriously injured. How cleverly Shakspeare makes the Ghost enter when Hamlet is at the very height of his excitement, raging against the 'King of shreds and patches,' and how awkwardly the Ghost appears in Q₁.

xi. 62-4: 1502-4; *c.* I ('powers with . . . wings'); Q₂ reads *guards* for *powers*.

xi. 67—70: 1507—1510: III. 4, 125—130; *d.* II.

xi. 71—77: 1511—1517; *c.* I. Compare Q₂, III. iv. 112, 'looke, amazement,' and x. 74-5, ll. 1514-15.

xi. 82: 1522: III. iv. 133; *c.* VIII.

After the Ghost's *exit*, the dialogue continues through 21 more lines in Q₁ ; in Q₂ through 82.

xi. 90-5 : ll. 1530-35 offer a fine specimen of X's work ; *c.* I. (See III. iv. 137.)

In xi. 90-1 : lines 1530-31, the Queen tells Hamlet that he is mad, yet in xi. 92-3 : ll. 1532-33, she thinks it necessary to protest her innocence of 'this most horrid murder,' and in xi. 94-5 : ll. 1534-35, she returns to the subject of xi. 90-1 : ll. 1530-31. The lines xi. 91-5 : 1531-35, are an addition of X's own making, for Hamlet, as in Q₂, takes notice only of xi. 90 : l. 1530. A similar instance we observed in ii. 28-32 : ll. 168-172, and in the speech of Hamlet following it.

xi. 96-103 : 1536-43 ; xi. 98 : 1538 : I. v. 23 ; *c.* IV.

Before xi. 99 : l. 1539 ; *d.* VI. (Q₂ III. iii. 161-164).

xi. 102-3 : ll. 1542-43 are meant to make up for the omission (*d.* I.) of III. iv. 181-196. X only found in his notes that the Queen promised secrecy, and he extended that promise in his usual broad and awkward manner ; *c.* IX. The last two lines of this speech are important because they certainly contributed to making X compose the independent scene, xiv. 1-36 : ll. 1747-82.

xi. 109-110 : 1549-50 ; *c.* VII. ; Q₁, *graue* (L. *sepulcrum*), mistaken for Q₂, *graue* (L. *gravis*).

For a similar blunder see iv. 196 : l. 593 (No. 39).

Act IV. i.

Q₁ concurs with F₁ in not making the Queen enter with the King. The scene goes on in the same room where Polonius was killed ; *d.* VI.

xi. 121 : 1560 : Q₂, IV. i. 14, 15.

xi. 122 : 1561 ; *d.* III. : How does the King know that Polonius is no longer lying behind the arras ? In Q₂ he had been told that Hamlet had gone 'to draw apart the body.'

After xi. 131 : l. 1570 ; *d.* VI. ; Q₂, IV. i. 40-44.

Act IV. ii.

is entirely wanting in Q₁, except what is preserved in ix. 211-221. ll. 1382-92.

Act IV. iii.

ll. 1—11 wanting in Q₁. The scene, therefore continues in the same room, and X is obliged to insert xi. 165-6 : 1605, 1606.

xi. 135—143 : 1574-82 ; *d.* II.

xi. 148—151 : 1587-90 ; *d.* III. ('within a month').

xi. 155—165 : 1594—1604 : IV. iii. 39. ss. ; *d.* II.

xi. 171-4 : 1610-13 ; *c.* VII.

Act IV. iv.

xiii. 1—6 : 1614-19 ; *d.* VI.

Act IV. v.

xiii. 1—14 : 1620—1633. These lines are due to notes of IV. v. 1—20, 83—87, 94—104.

For l. 1627 see l. 672 ; *c.* II. ; *d.* I. ; *c.* VIII., VI., (III.).

xiii. 15—25 : 1634—1644 ; *c.* VIII. ; *d.* II.

xiii. 27—40 : 1646-59 ; *c.* VIII. ; *d.* II.

xiii. 41-5 : 1660-64 ; see ll. 664, 898 ; *c.* II. ; Q₂, IV. v. 92 ; *b.*

xiii. 46—68 : 1665-87. That these lines depend on a more complete version of the scene is too obvious to require further proofs. Observe how inappropriately and awkwardly xiii. 69-1 : ll. 1679-80 are drawn to what precedes : *c.* VIII., *d.* II. and I.

xiii. 63-4 : 1682-83 ; IV. v. 142, 143 (bloud).

xiii. 68 : 1687 ; see vii. 3 : ll. 904 ; xiii. 117, 119 : 1736, 1738 ; *c.* IV.

xiii. 73—113 : 1692—1732 ; *a.*, *b.*, *c.*, VIII. ; *d.* II. ; *c.* IX. (xiii. 89 : 1708 ; *a.*, *d.* III.).

xiii. 114—127 : 1733—1746 ; *c.* V. and IV.

xiii. 117 : 1736 : see xiii. 68 : 1687.

xiii. 119 : 1738 : see x. 16 : 1426.

xiii. 127 : 1746 : IV. vii. 33—35 ; *c.* VIII.

Scene VI., wanting in Q₂ and F₁.

xiv. 1—36 : 1747—82 : Furness (Reprint of Q₁) does not give any marginal references to Q₂ for this scene.¹ It exhibits the usual

¹ See the parallel passage with references in my edition of Griggs's Facsimile of Q₁.—F. J. F.

marks of X's hand : vulgarisms (*e. g.* xiv. 3, 33 : 1749, 1779 ; see Mommsen, *Rom. and Jul. Proleg.* 163, s. ; for almost all of those vulgarisms and archaisms, instances might easily be adduced from Q₁), contradictions (the Queen, who has made herself an accomplice in Hamlet's designs of revenge, and knows all about the "most horrid murder" of her first husband, xi. 93 : (1533), ought not to say what she says in xiv. 10 : l. 1756) ;¹ weakness of diction, xiii. 18—21 : 1764-67 : xiii. 16 : 1762 : "the east side of the citie." ² X evidently thought of London and its "Tower" when he wrote this ; xiii. 22-6 : ll. 1770-72 are superfluous and absurd, for the Queen is represented as fully aware of the King's treachery ; xiii. 27—36 : ll. 1773-83 are due to V. ii. 38—56 ; similarly, ll. 1747-53 to Hamlet's letter to Horatio and to V. ii. 12—25.

xiv. 34 : l. 1780 : contains nonsense.

The sixth scene of the fourth act and parts of V. ii., therefore, furnished the materials for this scene in Q₁, which was probably suggested to X by his finding the rubrics of the *Queen* and *Horatio* in his notes (see IV. v. 1—20 entirely wanting in Q₁), which seem to have been too fragmentary to be worked out in their proper place. Thus we have here cases of *d.* II. ; *c.* VIII. ; *c.* IX. ; *a. b.* and indirectly also of *d.* VI. ; (inasmuch as the Queen and Horatio are brought together once, though in different scenes). It is moreover not unlikely that X should have been influenced by his having made the Queen an accessory in Hamlet's plans of revenge, as he had been influenced by the alterations in vi. 104—110 : ll. 802—808 (see No. 44).

IV. vii.

xv. i : 1183 : the first fifty lines of this scene are wanting in Q₁ ; *d.* I. ; *d.* II.

xv. 8 : 1790 : IV. v. 133 ; *b. c.* VIII.

xv. 11 : 1793 ; *d.* II. ; compare Q₂, IV. vii. 101—103.

xv. 15 : before 1797 ; *d.* VI. ; see Q₂, IV. vii. 115—124.

xv. 15—21 : 1797—1809 ; *c.* VIII.

¹ This refers to the fresh attempted murder of Hamlet the son, of which she knew nothing.—F. J. F.

² See "the Tragedians of the City," vii. 69 : 969.—F. J. F.

xv. 30-6 : 1812—1818 : Q₂, IV. vii. 103 and 132, 152—162 ;
d. II.

xv. 39—55 : 1821-37 : d. III. ; for the Queen, instead of telling the King and Laertes at once what has happened (IV. vii. 166), gives first the long description of the details, and only in the last line of her speech (xv. 50) do we learn that the clothes “Dragg’d the sweete wretch to death.”

xv. 55 : 1837 : IV. vii. 165, 166 ; c. VIII.

Act V. i.

xvi. 1—31 : ll. 1838—1868 : d. I. II. ; c. IX. It would not be hard to recognize that X’s original must have been more complete in this scene than Q₁ is, even if X had not betrayed it himself. Observe the absurdity and contradiction in xvi. 19—31 : ll. 1856—1868. Instead of asking as the Clown does in Q₂ : “What is he that builds stronger than either the mason, the shipwright or the carpenter?” to which V. 156 gives a logically right answer, he asks in Q₁ (l. 19, 20) : “who buildes strongest, Of a mason, a Shipwright or a Carpenter?” Quite sensibly X makes the second Clown suggest first, a Mason, then a Carpenter, and he ought to have been right at last in guessing a ‘Shipwright;’ but as in Q₂, the final answer is ‘a Graue-maker,’—clearly a case of *a. b.*

xvi. 32-5 : 1869-72 : The nonsense contained in these verses arises from X’s having misheard *fit* for *pit* (of clay) ; d. IV.

The same nonsense returns, even worse, in xvi. 40-3 : ll. 1877-80 ; c. II.

xvi. 44—55 : 1881-92 : V. i. 93, ss. ; d. II. and I.

xvi. 59 : 1896 : V. i. 81 ; c. VIII.

xvi. 62—66 : 1909—1913 : *excellent and absolute* (V. i. 129), can easily be confounded at some distance : d. IV.

xvi. 85—88 : 1922-5 ; c. VIII. The same may be said of the whole scene. We easily see that xvi. 85 : l. 1922 ought to effect the transition to the talk of Yorick’s skull. Compare Q₂, V. i. 162, ss.

xvi. 89—100 : 1926-37 ; c. VIII.

xvi. 101—124 : 1938—61 : not quite bad, but d. I., II.

Observe xvi. 104 : 1941 : "This was *one* Yorickes skull."

And yet he asks : "Why do you not know him ?" Shakspeare's intention of representing Yorick as a generally known character was thus in part disregarded by X.

xvi. 111—24 : 1955-61 ; *d.* II. ; *c.* VII. (Q₂, V. i. 203-4 ; *d.* I.).

xvi. 128—165 : 1965—2002 : Only V. i. (?) 212, 223—228, 231—234 are omitted (*d.* I.) without leaving a trace behind. V. i. 235—237 is traceable in xiii. 116 : l. 1735 ; xvi. 144 : l. 1981, ought to be given to Hamlet, and is worthy of remark, because it shows the verb *conjures* : V. i. 244.

xvi. 147—159 : 1984-96 ; *d.* II. ; *c.* VIII.

xvi. 160 : 1997. Compare V. i. 260, 272-76, and Q₁, xi. 113 : l. 1552.

xvi. 162 : 1999 : "Therefore awhile," V. i. 273, completed by X.

xvii. 1 : 2003, s. : V. i. 272.

xvii. 3—7 : 2005-9 : V. i. 282-3 ; *c.* V.

xvii. 8—11 : 2010-13 : written under the influence of V. ii. 212, and Q₁, xviii. 1—4 : ll. 2014—2017.

V. ii.

Parts of this scene had already been used in xiv. 1—36 : ll. 1747—1782.

xviii. 5—43 : 2018—56. The mere words *Bragart Gentleman* prove that the source of Q₁ must have been more complete than Q₁ itself ; for what does the 'Bragart Gentleman' say in Q₁ to deserve this epithet ?¹ Does he not behave rather sensibly ? There is hardly any trace here (except in the term *Bragart G.* itself) of the provoking euphuism of Ostrick in Q₂.

Before xviii. 15 : l. 2028 ; *d.* VI. (Q₂, V. ii. 106—138).

xviii. 32-4 : ll. 2043-45 seem at first sight to remind us of the second Lord (V. ii. 185—196) ; but *ib.* ll. 166—170 not only mention the 'hall' (Q₁ : '*outward palace*'), but imply also that the duel is going to be fought presently. The "best judgement" is to be traced to V. ii. 266 (wanting in Q₁, xviii. 61 : l. 2074). Thus Q₁ shows the same abbreviation as F₁ ; *d.* VI.

¹ Plenty. 'Bragart' was us'd of 'affected talk,' as in Armado's case in *L. L. Lost.*—F. J. F.

xviii. 29 : 2040 : see xvii. 6 ; l. 2008 ; c. IV.

xviii. 44—47 : 2057—2060 : V. ii. 248 ; c. VIII.

In xviii. 47 : l. 2060, "We doubt [= fear] it not," we should expect : "We fear it not" (Q₂, V. ii. 270 : "I do not feare it").

xviii. 48—82 : 2061—2095 ; d. I., II., III. (xviii. 61-3 : 2074-76).

Henceforth Q₁ does not offer any more than slight excerpts from its source. Its occasional crudeness and obscurity are easily explained by means of Q₂.

The rapid course and bustle of the last scene sufficiently account for the deficiency of its reproduction in Q₁.

xviii. 80 : l. 2093 contains nonsense, owing to c. VIII. and d. II. Compare xviii. 81 : l. 2094, and Q₂, V. ii. 282—287.

xviii. 90 : 2103 ; d. V. (Q₂ wrongly : in my hand).

xviii. 96, 8 : 2109-2111 ; d. III. ; c. IX. Laertes talks as if he had only to forgive, and not to crave Hamlet's pardon as well.

xviii. 129-30 : 2142-43 ; c. VII.

I now repeat the question put in p. 124 :

Does our supposition concerning the nature and origin of Q₁, and its relation to Q₂, sufficiently explain all the differences between Q₁ and Q₂ ?") and I trust that those who have gone through the above list carefully and impartially will answer me : "Yes, it does."

§ 2.

To the evidence of the first section of this Part we must add the arguments alleged by other critics, especially by Tycho Mommsen.

His opinion of the general negligence of surreptitious editions (*Rom. and Jul.* Proleg., p. 157) is perfectly correct, as far at least as the Q₁ of *Hamlet* is concerned. Here the reader is referred to an article of his in the *Athenæum*, Feb. 7th, 1857, p. 182,¹ where he states in a very plausible manner the several reasons for which he considers Q₁ of *Hamlet* and *Rom. and Jul.* to have been obtained and published surreptitiously. It will be seen that M.'s conclusion differs from mine in some details, but chiefly in what he says under No. 5. I

¹ Reprinted in Furness's *New Var. Hamlet*, ii. 25-6.

have not discovered anything in Q₁ requiring another explanation than that afforded by my supposition, viz., that X, an individual more speculative than clever, assisted by a friend, took down the notes in the theatre, and worked them out at home. He probably cheated "N. L[ing] and John Trundell," the publishers of Q₁, as well as the public, by pretending that his was the true *Hamlet*, for the publishers are indeed not likely to have known what a wretched mutilation of the authentic text they possessed in X's *Hamlet*, and when, after Q₁ had been put forth, they became aware of their having been taken in, N. Ling (See Q₂'s title-page) may have applied to Shakspeare himself for the genuine MS., to make amends for his former blunder. Thus the singular circumstance that Ling had a hand in the publication of both the surreptitious and the authentic copies would be easily explained, whereas it would otherwise remain an obstacle not easy to be removed.

X himself, as well as his companion, was liable to mistakes of the ear, and to wrongly eking out the abbreviations which, no doubt, were found in abundance in their notes.

I have mentioned above (Introduction) the names of the most eminent critics supporting either Collier's or Knight's theory. I need not enter upon a refutation of Knight's arguments (given almost in full by Furness, *Var. Haml.* ii. 14—18): his theory and those of his followers, together with all the ingenious illustrations of Shakspeare's artistic development based upon them, fall to the ground of themselves, unless the arguments put forth in this Paper be disproved. I have only to add a few remarks on those details in which I cannot help differing from the opinions of some critics who, on the whole, advocate the same theory as I do.

Grant White's observations (see Furness, *Haml.* ii. 26—30) are excellent on the whole, and he is evidently right in saying (p. 27):

"To minds undisciplined in thought, abstract truth is difficult of apprehension and of recollection; whereas, a mere child can remember a story. And in addition to this very important consideration, there is yet a more important fact, that some of the most profoundly thoughtful passages in the Play—passages most indicative of maturity of intellect and wide observation of life—are found essentially complete, although grossly and almost ludicrously corrupted in the

first imperfect version of the tragedy." (See Mommsen, *Rom. and Jul. Prol.* p. 162.)

As regards the fourth scene of the fourth Act, however, I must oppose Grant White's opinion. I utterly fail to see that the introduction of Fortinbras and his army without the subsequent dialogue and soliloquy "is a moral impossibility, which overrides all other arguments." (See Furness, *Hamlet*. ii. 28.) Grant White himself calls our attention to the fact, that *FR* exhibits the same mutilation of this scene as *Q1*. The very circumstance that puzzles Grant White affords a noteworthy confirmation to my belief, that Shakspeare himself had made the abbreviations in the stage *Hamlet*. Had another actor been commissioned to shorten the piece and adapt it to the requirements of the stage, he would have been sure to drop the whole of this scene. Shakspeare knew better. He remembered that the Norwegian affair was, as it were, the background, or rather, the frame surrounding the whole action, and the link between the internal troubles of the Danish Court and the outer world. What would the critics have said if, after the "pass" through Denmark for the Polish enterprise had been so well introduced and explained in Acts I. and II., we did not hear anything about the future King of Denmark until, like a "deus ex machina," he appeared at the close of the piece? The beginning of IV. iv. is absolutely necessary for the artistic development of the action. Shakspeare may have felt all the pangs of a disappointed author when he found himself obliged to suppress the grand soliloquy, but we must think him a sufficiently good critic to have recognized that, though the dialogue and the soliloquy were of the greatest consequence for the delineation of Hamlet's character, they were not nearly so closely connected with, and important for, the development of the general action as those "half dozen lines of commonplace" spoken by Fortinbras. The only argument that Grant White adduces in support of his view is founded on a superficial examination of the *Q1* text; xii. 3: l. 1616.

"Tell him that *Fortenbrasse*, Nephew to old *Norway*,"

is said by White to be an unmistakable reminiscence of *Q2*, IV. iv. 14:

"The Nephew to old Norway, *Fortenbrasse*."

Grant White seems to have overlooked that the Q₁, II. i. 2 : ll. 141, 142 are quite sufficient to account for xii. 3 : l. 1616 :

“Lordes, we here haue writ to *Fortenbrasse*, nephew to olde
Norway.”

Another difference results from Grant White's opinion that the strange names of Corambis and Montano, and the scene between the Queen and Horatio (Q₁, xiv. 1—36 : ll. 1747-82), are remnants of a previous piece on the same subject (Furness, *Var. Haml.* ii. p. 30). I have sufficiently explained in the foregoing pages the view I take of this question, and only add here that xiv. 16, 17 : ll. 1762—63, “To meete him on the east side of the cittie to-morrow morning,” cannot be allowed to be so decisive evidence as Grant White seems to think them. I have already observed that X, living in London, is most likely to have thought of the London ‘east side,’ and I cannot discover anything in this interpolation necessitating the supposition of its being due to a previous piece.

From my comparison of Q₁ and Q₂, it appears that several lines in Q₁ were added by X quite independently (see, for instance, l. 2021 : “foh, how the muskcod smells !”); why not this ‘Cittie’ line too ? Besides, we must ask whether we are entitled to infer from the general condition of X's work that he took the trouble of seeking other sources than his notes and his memory ; and how should lines be accounted for that bear a striking resemblance to certain Q₂ lines, although they stand in such supposed remnants of the old play ? See, *e. g.*, xiv. 10 : l. 1757, and Q₂, III. i. 47—49 ; xiv. 19 : ll. 1765-66, and Q₂, III. i. 121.

Clark and Wright, in the Preface to the Clarendon Press *Hamlet* (Furness, *Haml.* II. p. 31 ss.), reject the theory of Knight, and may be said to be followers of Collier, although, in one respect, their conjecture is quite original. Furness introduces it as “a solution of the mystery which will . . . commend itself the more thoroughly it is understood, and the more closely the play is studied.¹” The whole

¹ I, on the other hand, have shown in § 3 of my *Forewords* to Griggs's Facsimile of Q₂, that this Clark and Wright theory of Q₁ needs only the slightest study to ensure its scornful rejection. It leaves Shakspeare the mere ‘painter and glazier’ of *Hamlet* and *Hamlet*, and not their creator, as *all* the main lines of Q₂ and the character of *Hamlet* are in Q₁.—F. J. F.

of my foregoing investigations may be considered as an attempt at disproving what is new in their theory, but I cannot conclude this treatise without mentioning at least some of their statements.

Their theory is that "there was an old play on the story of Hamlet, some portions of which are still preserved in Q₁; that about the year 1602 Sh. took this and began to render it for the stage, as he had done with other plays; that Q₁ represents the play after it had been retouched by him *to a certain extent*, but before his alterations were complete; and that in Q₂ we have for the first time the *Hamlet* of Sh." It is plain that the comparatively good condition of the first part of the Q₁ text has given rise to this theory, which, however, suffers from a serious defect; it does not explain how the materials for Q₁ were obtained by X—at least I cannot imagine that Clark and Wright seriously believed that *Hamlet*, in such a state of transition, a centaur-like monster, was ever acted on the stage;—and I find no other plausible explanation of the existence of Q₁ than X's having written down his notes *during the representation*, an explanation, moreover, which is approved of by Clark and Wright themselves (Furness, *Var. Haml.* ii. 31). Of course they call in the names of Corambis and Montano and the transposition of Hamlet's soliloquy and of his following dialogue with Ophelia to support their theory, but those considerations ought not to be used as arguments at all. Whoever sets on foot a new conjecture about our *Hamlet* question must somehow or other get clear of these difficulties before he can come to any opinion about the matter in dispute; hence such arguments would serve anybody's turn, and consequently serve nobody's.

Clark and Wright observe a little further on: "The madness of Hamlet is much more pronounced, and the Queen's innocence of her husband's murder much more explicitly stated, in the earlier than in the later Play." I have tried above to show that such differences in the delineation of characters are natural consequences of the mutilation which the authentic *Hamlet* had experienced in the notes of X. So coarse a treatment as *Hamlet* suffered when being handled by X could not but distort or efface those delicate features which distinguish several of the characters in the real *Hamlet*: and it seems quite astonishing that critics who, in general, acknowledge the fact of X's

having obtained his materials for Q1 in haste and secrecy, his very poor poetical abilities, his carelessness and unscrupulousness, should shrink from owning the most natural and inevitable consequence of all those circumstances, namely, that the well-known external mutilation and corruption in quantity and diction necessarily involved internal mutilation and corruption in the delineation of some, if not of all, characters in Q1.

Such insufficiencies would render it rather hard to accede to Clark and Wright's opinion, even if their theory were less strained and artificial than it is. If we consider the abundant evidence gained in the foregoing pages, that the text of Q2 combined with our supposition concerning the origin of Q1, and the inevitable differences consequent upon it, are quite sufficient for a thorough understanding and explanation of Q1, and that this supposition is not disproved by any of the arguments of other critics, it seems no longer doubtful that Q2, in its adaptation to the stage, was the only source of Q1.

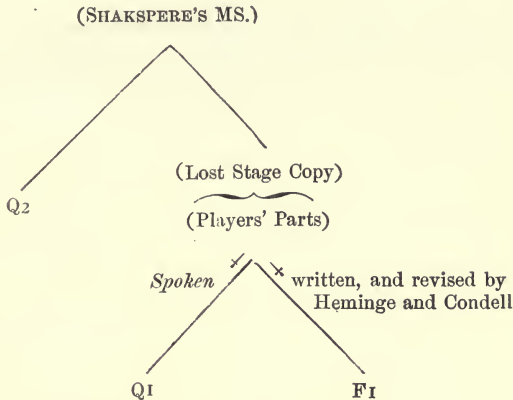
If I were to state the conclusion at which I have thus arrived, it would be as follows :

The *Second Quarto* was badly printed from the poet's own MS. A copy of Shakspeare's MS. was made for the stage, and from this copy the actors obtained their parts. It must remain doubtful whether the abbreviations of the piece—which must be supposed to have been made by Shakspeare himself before *Hamlet* was publicly acted—were also marked in the stage-copy, or only in the single parts of the actors.

The *Hamlet* of the *First Folio* was derived from the parts of the actors (only the description of Dumb-Show and a few stage-directions seem to have been furnished by a book containing the stage-directions without the full text), and contains not only their arbitrary interpolations, but also the blunders of copyists and compositors, and the marks of Heminge and Condell's criticism. I cannot acknowledge any passage in F1 to be a later addition from the hand of Shakspeare, as there are reasons to believe that such passages were simply left out by the Q2 compositor.

The *First Quarto* is nothing but a mutilated, garbled, and inter-

polated reproduction of the authentic *Hamlet*, such as a speculative individual had been able to elaborate from notes which had been taken down during the representation of the adapted Q₂ version for the purpose of putting forth a surreptitious edition of the successful tragedy.



DISCUSSION :—MR FURNIVALL. We all join gladly in the formal vote of thanks to Dr Tanger for the great pains and care that he has taken in compiling and writing the able Paper that he has laid before us to-night, and which our Committee has shown its opinion of by printing it before the Meeting, so that its full details might be in Members' hands. We all join with him in rejecting the theory that Q₁ is not merely a revis'd old-*Hamlet*, for we at least hold Shakspeare to be the creator, and not the mere adapter, of his *Hamlet*. We all, I hope, agree with Dr Tanger, in thinking that Q₂ is a truer *Hamlet* than F₁ is, and that F₁ does not contain any later revision by Shakspeare. All these conclusions we have some time reacht; but we are most grateful for Dr Tanger's confirmation of them.

Our differences begin on the theories of our German friend, that Q₂ was printed from Shakspeare's MS. ; that F₁ was printed from the actors' parts ; and that Q₁ is not a garbled First Sketch, but a garbled Q₂. On none of these points can I agree with Dr Tanger. As to Q₂ : Setting aside the unlikeliness of Burbage's company parting with the original MS. of their best play to a printer as early as 1604, I think the omissions and mistakes in Q₂ are more than printers' doings¹;

Printers didn't, in and about 1604, so far as I know their work—though copiers of at least earlier MSS. often did—leave out long passages like II. ii. 244—276, 352—379, V. ii. 68—81, or criticise and alter to the extent that Dr T. makes them. And I say this, while recollecting the accidentally left-out scene, and the reset sheet E, in the Quarto of the Second Part of King *Henry IV*.

its 'copy' must have been 'maimd and deformd' by a transcriber at least, and not given by 'N. L.' to 'I. R.' 'perfect of its limbes.' As to its Stage-directions being Shakspeare's, see my note on p. 111.

As to the possibility of *Fi* having been printed from the Players' parts, the following letter from Mr A. W. Pinero of the Lyceum Theatre,—a well-known actor in several admirable plays of his own writing, &c.—shows that Players Parts are returned to the prompter, so that, if a prompt-copy were lost, and the Parts kept—? not a likely occurrence—a text might be made up from the Parts :—

*London, October 12th, 1880,
Lyceum Theatre, W.C.*

"MY DEAR SIR,

"It is the custom now-a-days—and it has been the custom as far back as the memory of any living actor extends—to extract the parts from a play, and to deliver them to the actors for study. After the production, or at the end of the run, the parts are returned to the prompter, marked with such alterations, cuts, or interpolations, as may have arisen during the rehearsals of the piece.

"The prompter's and stage-manager's copy (generally the same thing) differs as a rule from the author's private MS., inasmuch as it is marked with the stage business and alterations which the exigences of stage production have rendered necessary. When a piece is published after performance, the publication is always prepared from the stage-manager's copy, never from the author's MS.

"In cases of illicit publication—procured, for instance, from shorthand notes taken by a member of the audience—the result is often a publication differing both from the stage-manager's copy and the author's MS., since it frequently contains alterations, interpolations, or 'gags,' which have grown gradually, and have perhaps never found their way into the official prompt-book.

"My dear Sir,

"Very truly yours,

"ARTHUR W. PINERO."

"F. J. FURNIVALL, ESQ."

But Dr Tanger's supposed 'Book of Stage-Directions without the full text' is surely a monstrosity unheard of in theatres, and has been (as a friend suggests) projected from the writer's consciousness (like the camel of old) to fit his theory.¹ Why do we want this Book, and the loss of the Prompt-copy, except for Dr T.'s theory? What ground is there for the theory? If we look at the few

¹ Mr. Pinero says of it, under date October 15, 1880 :—"I have certainly never met nor heard of a Book of Stage Directions prepared apart from the Prompt Book : nor do I believe in the theory of the existence of such a thing."

daggers (†) in the list of different readings, we see that the changes attributed to the Actors are a few repetitions of phrases that spoil the metre, and a few changes of words that Dr Tanger does not choose to attribute to Heminge and Condell or the compositors. Now even if these changes were due to the Actors, why may not the changes have been entered in the Prompt-copy, as being the words actually used on the stage? Or if Actors A, B, D, made the changes, why may not actors H, C, (Heminge and Condell) have made them too, seeing that they may themselves have played in two of the parts changed? Wherein must H. & C. have differed from their fellows A, B, D, that they couldn't have made the changes? Dr Tanger says that H. C. extended (and spoiled) the line "Which haue solicited, the rest is silence," by "O, o, o, o" (p. 144, l. 369); but when the line "Fie on 't, ah fie, tis an vnweeded garden" is extended (and spoiled) by putting "Oh fie, fie" for "ah fie," he says the Actors did it, or rather the actor who played Hamlet [? R. Burbage]. Again, when the Q2 "ô God, God" of I. ii. 132 is changed into "O God, O God" in F1, Dr Tanger says this is the Hamlet-Actor's change? Surely this repetition of the O may just as well have been H. C.'s. Once more as to changes of words: that of "compulsatory," I. i. 103, to "compulsative," is declared to be H. C.'s, while that of "Eastward" I. i. 167, to "Easterne" is set down to the actor who played Horatio. According to Dr T. the Actor who played Hamlet [? R. Burbage] made 19 changes of text; the Actors of the Ghost, Laertes and Ophelia, 3 each; of Horatio, the Queen and Polonius, 2 each; of Marcellus, Claudius and the 1st Gravedigger, 1 each. Osric and the Players, the parts we should have expected to be most gagged (except the Gravediggers) have no changes assigned to them. On the whole I would rather suppose F1 printed from the Prompt-book altered by H. C.—or an imperfect copy of it—than from the Actors' parts supplemented by Dr Tanger's invention, the 'Book of Stage-Directions without the full text.' As to Q1: the way in which Dr Tanger jumps the fences in the way of his theory excites my wonder. But it's steeple-chasing, rather than steady going in the path of criticism. If *Corambis* and *Montano* are but mishearings of *Polonius* and *Reynaldo*, if the Shakspearean 'cinkapase of ieasts,' 'warne Clowne,' 'foh, how the muske cod smels,' &c., are due only to the X who has given us the inanities of Q1, then anything may be anything else, at the critic's will. The scrappy and mistaken state of the text of Q1 shows that it cannot have had an editor in the proper sense of the term; and yet we are asked—not for the 1st or the 50th time, I admit—to put down to X all those changes of character, name, scene, &c., that some of us believe to have been due to Shakspeare's First Sketch. Still, this question is one of probability. That theory will be finally adopted which in the common sense of most real workers reconciles most difficulties. I have in my Forewords to the Q1 and Q2 Facsimiles given the reasons

that induced me, from such study as I had been able to give them, to believe in a First Sketch; and after going carefully through Dr Tanger's quotations, references, and arguments, I believe in a First Sketch still, as does Doctor Nicholson. But no authority should be accepted on the point: every man must work at the two Quartos and Folio for himself, and get an opinion of his own on the point. In his work, he will find Dr Tanger's array of the evidence of great use to him. I again thank Dr Tanger for the very valuable Paper he has given us.¹

DR B. NICHOLSON was also grateful to Dr Tanger for his collection of differences between the *Hamlet* Quartos and F1; they would be of the greatest use in confuting some of Dr T.'s theories. Dr T. seemed to have almost at the first made up his mind, and thenceforward fitted his facts to his theory. His *Corambis-Polonius*, *Montano-Reynaldo* transformations are like pieces out of *Punch*, and worse than Fluellen's likeness of *Monmouth* to *Macedon*, for there each name did begin with an *M*. X was endowed with imagination at one time, and made a goose at another, as the theory required. On the Q1 speech "let not your Clown" his opinion had already been expressed in the reprint of that Quarto. Also, if Q2 was printed from Shakspeare's MS., why was Ostricke, who was named four times in it, only called a "Courtier" at first? Could it be supposed that Shakspeare didn't give him a name when he introduced him, but, after making him speak nineteen times under that appellation in V. ii, suddenly bethought him of fitting him with a name after his departure! The change of *union*, pearl, to *vnice* and *onyxe* was much more probably an actor's or copier's change than a compositor's. As to the Stage-Directions: was it likely that Shakspeare, who was said to have put in an unimportant 'flourish of trumpets,' &c., which F1 left out, would have left out a vital 'In scuffling they change Rapiers' which F1 put in? He could not accept Dr Tanger's theories as to Q1, nor as to Q2 being direct from Shakspeare's MS.

MR C. H. HERFORD thought that Q1 clearly contained lines that were beyond X, and that necessitated another original than Q2.

¹ To make the references more usable by English folk, I have set before Dr T.'s references to Furness's print of Q1, (which is line-numbered throughout,) other references to my Nos. in Griggs's Facsimile of Q1. And before Dr T.'s quotations from Q2, I have put their line-Nos. from the Facsimile of it. Dr T. had finished his paper (he says) in the spring of 1879, before seeing my Forewords to Q1 (out on 14 March, 1879) or Q2 (out, July 1880).

painted cloth: 1 *Hen. IV.* IV. ii. 28. "*Tapis*: m. Tapistrie, hangings, &c., of Arras. *Sourd comme vn tapis*. As deafe as an Image in a *painted cloth*." 1611. Cotgrave.

clammer, v. t. silence: *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 250. Compare Harsnet's *Popish Impostures*, 1603, p. 34—"All must be mum; *Clum* quoth the Carpenter, *Clum* quoth the Carpenters wife, and *Clum* quoth the Friar." These words are [Chaucer's, *clum* meaning 'silence, hush!'] 'Now, *Pater noster*, *clum*,' quod Nicholay, and 'clum' quod Jon, and 'clum' quod Alisoun. Jon being the Carpenter, Alisoun the Carpenter's wife, and Nicholay, the gay and gentle Oxford clerk, degraded by Harsnet into a friar. The form *clom* occurs in the *Ayenbite of Inwyty*, 1340 A.D., and must have passt into a later *clam*.—F.]—B. N.

to ~~mo~~^z and ~~mow~~. Tempest, "to ~~mo~~^z, ~~mow~~." Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.* 1603, p. 38.—B. N.

Mops and Mows. "Bicause wee doe not tumble, wallow, foame, howle, scribe, and make mouthes, and mops as the popish possessed vse to do." p. 30. "Loe here the Captaine of this holy schoole of Legerdemaine tells you * * * what was the perfection of a scholler of the highest form, to wit, to *frame* themselues iumpe and fit vnto the Priests humors, to **mop**, **mow**, iest, raile, raue, roar, commend and discommend, and as the priests would haue them."—Harsnet's *Popish Impostures*, p. 38, 1603.—B. N.

Limb, sb. "Antony a **limb** of Cæsar," *J. Cæsar*, &c. &c. "*Weston* as a **limb** of the same body." Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.* 1603, Preface.

Pluck, v. t. pull by force. "What, **pluck** a dainty doe to ground." *T. Andron.* This and the frequent use of "pluck" are illustrated by this phrase in Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.* 1603, p. 65, [the devil] "purposing to try a **pluck**¹ with the priest." It also suggests that in the phrase "pluck a crow with" there is no allusion to plucking its (limbs or) feathers.—B. N.

Bucklers, sb. pl. "I give the **bucklers**." *Much Ado*, V. ii. 17. Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.* 1603, p. 146, speaking of the supposed effects of the exorcisms, says—"Here Church *Anthemes*, as you see, carried away the **bucklers**" [won the victory]. The origin of the phrase still requires explanation.² (See Nares, and the *Variorum*, vii. 159.)—B. N.

"*myself and skirted page*." *Merry Wives*, I. iii. 93—"he was else of the new Court cut, affecting no other traine then two crasie fellowes, and an urchin butter-flie boy." Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.* 1603, p. 48.—B. N.

¹ 'Pluk or plukkyng. *Tractus*.' Promptorium Parvulorum, ab. 1440. 'I'll try a *pull* with you' is still used in Wrestling.—F.

² The cognate phrase 'to carry away, lurch, &c., the garland' is of course derived from the Olympian games.

quiddity, sb.: *Hamlet*, V. i. 107. "*Quolibet*: m. A quirke or **quidditie**; also, a ieast or by-word." 1611. Cotgrave.

"*Whose mother was her painting*:" *Cymb.* III. iv. 52. "If Madame *Newport* should not be link't with these *Ladyes*, the *chain* wold never hold; for shée is sister to the famous Mistres *Porter* . . . and to the more famous Lady *Marlborough* (whose Paint is her *Pander*"). *Newes from the New-Exchange, or the Common-wealth of Ladies*. Printed in the yeere of Women without Grace, 1650, p. 9.

Compare: "Finally, hee would thou his equalls, and those which knew him very well, with marvellous arrogancie; and said that his Arme was his Father, his works his Linage." Shelton's Transl. of *Don Quixote*, 1652, f. 133.—*R. Roberts*.

Caviare, sb. "'Twas caviare to the general." *Hamlet*, II. ii. 457. "This [a Porpose Pye] was one of your fine dishes. Another a great Lady sent him, which was a little Barrell of **Cauuary**, which was no sooner opened and tasted, but quickly made vp againe, [and] was sent backe with this message, Commend me to my good Lady, and thanke her honour, and tell her we haue black sope enough already; but if it be any better thing, I beseech her Ladyship to bestow it vpon a better friend, that can better tell how to vse it." *The Court and Country* . . . Written by N. B[reton], gent. 1618. *Chertsey Worthies*, Libr. reprint, p. 14.—B. N.

Roarer, sb. noisy scoundrel: *Tempest*, I. i. 18. "Bowling-allies, Dicing-houses, and Tobacco-shopes, be the Temples, which Hee, and his Fraternity of **Rorers**, haue erected to *Mercury* and *Fortune*: In the two first he doth acknowledge their Deity; in the last hee offers smoking incense to them both; in recompense of booty, gotten by Chance and cheating." 1615. John Stephens. *Satyrical Essays*: Character xxi. A *Pander*, p. 320.

bite my thumb. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 49, &c. [In Paul's Walks] "What swearing is there: yea, what swaggering, what facing and out-facing? What shuffling, what shouldering, what lustling, what leering, what **byting of thumbs** to beget quarels, what holding vppe of fingers to remember drunken meetings, what brauing with Feathers, what bearding with Mustachoes?" 1608. T. Dekker. *The Dead Terme*. sign. D 4.

A month's mind, sb. longing: *Two Gentlemen*, I. ii. 137. "One, Seignior *Lodovico*, that has a **moneth's mind** to your pretty Daughter." 1670. Ric. Rhodes. *Floras Vagaries*, p. 61.

birding, sb.: *My Wives*, III. iii. 247. "*Aucupium*, Cicer. **Birdyng** or fowlyng. Aucupor, to goe a **birdyng**, fowling, or hawkyng." 1584. Cooper. Latin Dict.

foining: 2 *Henry IV.* II. iv. 252. "*Punctio*, Plin. A **foynninge**, prickyng, or stinginge." 1584. Cooper.

X. ON FOUR PASSAGES IN *HENRY V.*

BY BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

(Read at the 64th Meeting of the Society, Nov. 12, 1880.)

1. GUARD : ON (IV. ii. 60).

THE Constable, himself impatient, and urged by those around him, cries, according to the folio text—

“I stay but for my Guard : on to the field,¹
I will the Banner from a Trumpet take,
And use it for my haste.”

But Dr Thackeray and an anonymous critic have both changed “guard : on” to “guidon,” thus—

“I stay but for my Guidon : to the field,”

and this change has been received with as much applause as, and more lasting favour than, Collier’s celebrated—“Who smothers her with painting.” There are, however, three objections to this change, each more decisive than the one preceding.

1. First, it is unnecessary. It seems to have been thought that because the Constable in his third clause speaks of the want of his banner, therefore he must of necessity speak of it in his first. There can be no such necessity. If Scott made a knight speak of his want of a sword, and afterwards of the want of his shield, we should be bound to accept this portraiture, unless it were inconsistent with what had gone before or follows. But our correctors, without showing such an inconsistency, would have us delete the first word

¹ In the Folio the lines are wrongly divided, “on” ending the first line, while “To the field” begins the next one.

"sword," or the second one, "shield," it matters not which, and substitute the other. Or, to take another instance, one must not mention the sun and moon, according to their canons of criticism, in the same sentence! Such instances show the ridiculousness of the change, even by their mere statement. But in Shakspeare everything ridiculous is to be allowed, provided it give some one the opportunity of dragging out, or rather in, a new reading.

Here the want of his guard, and his hurrying without them to the battle, is a proof of his over-haste and confidence. The want of his banner is another proof of the same. Besides, the two wants are not only not inconsistent, but the second is so dependent on the first, as almost to require the mention of both. The Constable's banner was borne before him by his guard; their absence, therefore, involved the want of his banner.

2. Secondly, the text simply repeats in substance the words of Shakspeare's authority—Holinshed. He says, "They thought themselves so sure of victorie, that diverse of the noblemen made such hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their servants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once staie for their standards; as amongst other the duke of Brabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner [being square like his own] to be taken from a trumpet, and fastened to a speare, the which he commanded to be borne before him." Shakspeare preserved both incidents, but attributed them to the commander-in-chief, on the principle of—Like Master, like man. The Constable thus hasty, rash, and over-confident, we at once conceive how his subordinates behaved, and in what disorder they rushed pell-mell on the embattled English few.

3. The use of "Guidon" and "Banner" as synonyms is an impossibility in Elizabethan, or indeed in any English. Such a use would in any Englishman be at the very least a gross blunder, and one at variance also with the most ordinary and known rules of heraldry. Thirdly, the giving of a Guidon to a Montmorency, Lord High Constable of France, the Deputy of the king, and therefore in the king's absence the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of France, under whom the Dauphin served, as well as the Feudal Sovereigns, the dukes of

Burgundy and Brabant, is an equal violation of heraldic rules. A Guidon, in shape long, narrow, pointed, and double-peaked, was the lowest of all armorial ensigns ; the banner is square, and, except the standard, the highest in rank.—See Grose, *Mil. Ant.*, vol. ii. p. 52, *et seqq.*

In Elizabethan days heraldic distinctions were the study of every man and woman of gentle blood, and known to all who had the slightest pretensions to culture, or who had but a smattering of warlike exercises, or had even seen a tilting match. Such a blundering lapse therefore would, in any dramatist, have been most improbable. In Shakspeare, who, besides a cultivated intelligence and a minute knowledge of the meanings of words, had special personal reasons for being cognizant of heraldic distinctions, it was impossible. Or had he made such a blunder, or called Mars, the god of heaven and earth, or the Triune Jehovah, the one phrase like the other would have been the signal for loud and derisive laughter, if not for cat-calls and hisses. It may be remembered that he was tried to be ridiculed at another theatre by Ben Jonson, Marston, and Chapman, for allowing Ophelia, even at her maddest, to call for "her coach."

Aware of the absurdities of the emendation, I waited for a passage that would illustrate and prove this particular absurdity, and my friend, Mr W. G. Stone, crying peccavi, has given me one from Grose's *Mil. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 268. Aided by his note I found Grose's authority almost verbatim in G. M.'s (not, I believe, Gervase Markham's, as sometimes stated) *Soldier's Accidence*, 1623, pp. 46-7 :—

"And here it is to be noted that the difference betwixt the Cornet and Guydon is much ; for the Guydon is the first Colour that any Commander of horse can let flie in the field ; This Guydon is of damaske fringed, and may be charged either with the crest of him that is the owner therof, or with other devise at his pleasure ; It is in proportion three foote at the least deepe in the toppe next the staffe, and so extendeth down narrower and narrower to the bottome where the ende is sharpe, but with a slitt divided into two peaks a foote deepe, the whole Guydon is sixe foote long, and should be carried upon a Launce staffe. If the Captaine (owner of the Guydon) shall do a good dayes service, or produce from his vertue somthing worthy advancement, so that he is called to a better command, as to lead Hargobussiers or Cuirassiers, then the Generall or officer in chiefe, shall with a

knife cut away the two peaks, and then it is made a Cornet which is longer one way than another; If (after that) he do anything worthyly, whereby he is made by the king or Supream, either *Banneret* or *Baron*, then shall his Cornet be made Iust square in forme of a Banner, which none may carrie in the field on horsbacke under those degrees; "

Merely calling attention *en passant* to the difference of rank required in the bestowal of the Cornet and Banner respectively, I need say no more than sum up by returning to my first statement, thus:—The change is wholly unnecessary; it does not agree with the historical authority followed by Shakspeare; and thirdly, the use of Guidon and Banner as synonyms is in defiance of English and Heraldry, and the bearing of a Guidon by the Lord High Constable of France, commanding in the field, an impossibility.

2. CALMIE CUSTURE ME (IV. iv. 4).

These words in the Folio, Malone and Boswell altered into "callino custure me," they having found that an Elizabethan tune was so called, its refrain consisting of these words. All editors since—Staunton and the Cambridge editors, (the latter both in their Cambridge and Globe editions) excluded—have, I believe, followed their lead. I now recur to the subject partly because these two sets of editors—editors whose opinions are of weight—have rejected the emendation, but chiefly because the reasons why Pistol at this juncture contemptuously recurs to the song have not, I think, been sufficiently understood.

The at present given explanation is this: Though Pistol had picked up "coup le gorge" even in England, and while in France had learned the meaning of "oui," and probably also of "non," yet the Frenchman's words were to him an unintelligible jargon of sounds, their tone alone conveying a plaintive meaning. The sound, therefore, that he had last heard—"Qualité"—was one that suggested to him the refrain commencing, "Callino," for both commence with the same sounding syllable, "Cal," and both are words of three syllables. So far the ordinary argument. Admitting, however, that, had Shakspeare trusted to this association of sounds merely, Pistol's words would have been brought in too unnaturally, and by a *tour de force*

quite unworthy of him, I would adduce other reasons, that is, other associations. Thus a second one was, that in Pistol's true time, *i. e.* in 1599, the date of the production of the play, this tune "Callino" was a new, and in all probability—I think, indeed, I may say certainly—a popular, air. It was new, because it was entered in the *Stationer's Registers* on the 10th March, 1581—2. "J. Aldee. Tollerated to him twoe ballades whereof thone intituled Callin o custure me and thother," &c. That it was popular is shown, First, by its having been used as a dance tune in the so-called Queen Elizabeth's Virginal book; Secondly, by the adaptation of fresh words to it, as in A Handfull of Pleasant Delites, 1584; Thirdly, by its use in a similar manner to Shakspeare's by Dekker in his *Satiromastix*, where Horace-Johnson, stung by a nettle wreath clapped on him, cries, "O, oh," and Tucça, a relative, if not a lineal descendant of Pistol, answers, "Nay, your O, ohs, nor your Callinoes cannot serve your turn"; Fourthly, by its preservation by Playford in his *Musical Companion*, 1673, showing that the tune was sufficiently popular up to that year; Fifthly, by the illustration derived from it by Davies of Hereford, circa 1610, to be presently more particularly mentioned. Hence both words "Qualité" and "Callino" were new to Pistol, and Callino was ready to both his and Tucça's memories by being, it may be said, in everybody's mouth.

A third probable cause for this association of Qualité and Callino was, that the Frenchman's love of plaintiveness was very likely under the above circumstances to have suggested this plaintive air. The burden given in Q. Elizabeth's Virginal Book is not indeed plaintive, and is in Mr W. Chappell's opinion English. And here, without binding Mr Chappell's opinion to mine, I would acknowledge his great kindness and readiness of information on this and other matters. But a burden is not a tune, and the tune in Playford is most certainly plaintive. The same suggestive plaintiveness is seen in the quotation from the *Satiromastix*, one not improbably suggested to Dekker by Shakspeare's allusion to it, for the *Satiromastix* was written in 1601, or possibly in 1600.

A fourth cause of suggestion was the unintelligibility to Pistol of the French words, an unintelligibility suggestive—the other associa-

tions assisting—of the unintelligible refrain, "Callino custure me."—Davies of Hereford, in his *Scourge of Folly*, 1610-11, epigram 73, has—

" But it was like the burden of the song
Call'd Callino, come from a forraigne Land,
Which English people do not understand."

Proof, I take it, that the non-understandableness was a subject of question and comment.

Thus we have not one but three, and in all probability four, reasons why Pistol and his audiences would at once associate "Callino" with "Qualité"—the sameness of the first sound "Cal"—the novelty and popularity of the song, the plaintiveness given to both sets of words, and their unintelligibility. Another striking instance of Shakspeare's attention to both art and nature.

Hence I am led to notice the preceding word used by Pistol. Its form in the first folio, "Qualtitie," and its repetition without change in the second and third folios, rather suggest that this stood for, and was taken to stand for, some uncommon or unknown word rather than for the well-known Quality, though all editors, from the fourth folio onwards, have so written it. Besides, as Pistol knew no French, and as the Frenchman's "Qualité," coming at the close of two lines of unintelligibility, only suggested to him the equally unintelligible "Callino," there was no possible reason for his using the word "Quality." Had he so shown that he understood the Frenchman's "Qualité," the chief reasons for his contemptuously repeating or humming "Callino custure me" are destroyed. Pistol, who can only understand "moi" as the measure "moy," and "bras" as "brass" can merely have repeated the last syllables of the to him jumble of sounds, not according to their spelling, but according to their sounds. He must therefore have repeated some such representative word as Caletay or Kaletay, and Mr W. G. Stone now agrees with me that the word should be so represented.

No musician, and not an Erse scholar, I must, except to say that "Callin" seems to be our "Colleen," leave the still vexed question of what Irish words "Callino custure me" represent, sub judice.

3. DOLL OR NELL (V. i. 74).

According to the old texts (Qq and Ff) Pistol says of Nell Quickly,

"Newes have I that my *Doll* is dead i' the Spittle."

I had read the Cambridge edition note, yet so carelessly that long afterwards I had lazily believed with the general run of editors, either that Shakspeare had here made a slip of memory in calling Nell, Doll, or that the copyist had accidentally written one for the other. But on reading the play with a would-be editorial care, I, without entering into the question of the priority of either the Q. or F. versions, saw, as had the Cambridge editors, that we had the same apparent mistake in two distinct versions of the play. Moreover, each succeeding Q. or F. had printed Doll without alteration or amendment. Thus, on the supposition that Shakspeare made the slip, we have to admit that he did this in one particular passage on two different occasions, though on the same occasions, in two other passages, he had called her Nell (II. i. ll. 17, 19), and also named Doll Tearsheet in l. 73. We have also to admit that he had invented, written, and also repeatedly heard the names Nell and Doll both in one version of this play, and in the other previous plays in which they appear. Take a similar case: can any one suppose him on two different occasions in one and the same passage, and in no other, calling Doll Tearsheet "Nell"? Nor is this all: we have also to suppose that neither the players nor any of his audiences, nor his readers, were acute enough to discover and tell him of his blunder. Take a second example: suppose Scott, having had to re-write his MS. of *Rob Roy*, and first, having written in one particular passage in both copies Johnnie Campbell instead of *Rob Roy Mc Grigor*; and secondly, neither he nor his printers nor his readers discovering his error through the various editions through which the book ran, and we then have an idea of the probability of this Shaksperian supposition. I need say nothing of two different copyists making the same blunder at the same spot, and nowhere else.

Hence I am obliged to conclude that Shakspeare purposely made Pistol call Nell Quickly his Doll in this place; nor can any counter-arguments convince me against the facts, not even were a spiritualist to raise Shakspeare from the spirit world. But, accepting the fact,

can we explain the apparent difficulty raised by this apparent misnaming? I think we can, though here I am ready to throw up my own views if sufficiently cogent reasons can be found against them, or better and more probable ones suggested. There were then, I think, one of two, if not two, reasons, the one obvious and Pistolian, the other a Shaksperian and more subtle reason for giving Nell this nick-name.

First, as to the Pistolian reason. Every one, I suppose, must have heard or known that Doll or Dolly is even now a nick-name of endearment given to one (especially to a young child), whether her baptismal name be Mary, or Ann, or Mary Ann, or Mary Jane, &c. If Pistol had adopted this habit, it can easily be conceived that he, who had parted with his hostess before the honeymoon was out, would, through force of habit, have unconsciously used it when speaking of her. Not that I seriously suggest that it was with him a term of true love endearment. The fellow had no love except for himself: he married not for love, but for lucre and self-profit, for, as he himself says, a rendezvous for himself, now cut off. But this self-interest made his use of this endearing term of affection the more constant during his courtship and honeymoon, when bent on obtaining from her all the material good that he—now a waif and stray since Falstaff's death—could obtain. The buxom old fool, as she with all wickedness is depicted by Shakspeare, was just the one to be complacently tickled by the frequent use of "dear Doll," "my darling Dolly," or, if occasion required, "my darling, ducksy Doll," and the like. I say, of course, nothing of her material view of the marriage transaction, for though she probably thought she wanted a bully and his companions for her dozen or fourteen gentlewomen, such considerations are at present out of our subject.

The above explanation, however, leaves unexplained why Shakspeare should have decided on making Pistol use this particular nick-name in this particular place. I therefore pass on to my second, or Shaksperian cause. All are aware of his love for puns and *double entendres*. But another of his peculiarities, allied to his love for these, and one, I think, of his excellencies, is not so often alluded to, though patent to all careful readers. This is his frequent choice of

a word which, while exactly expressing his primary meaning, suggests to the hearer, by its sound or by a secondary meaning, a second phrase opening out another vista of thought. Now Dolly is still used in Northumberland, and Doll, as I am obligingly informed by Mr Hetherington, in Liverpool, and both probably in the neighbouring counties, for their Doll Tearsheets, and that Shakspeare was aware of this use of the word is shown, I think, by his choice of it for Tearsheet's Christian name. But not only was Dame Quickly, as appears by the cause and place of her death,—for "the Spittle" was not a hospital like St. Thomas' or Guy's, but the ordinary name for Bridewell hospital, the house of detention, and corporal and other corrections for the Doll Tearsheets of the day;—not only was she a Doll, but, as Shakspeare would here show us, Pistol had married her perfectly aware of her character, or rather no character, just as he was aware of her lodging and boarding some dozen or fourteen gentlewomen, who lived—as honestly as herself. He speaks of the news of her death, its mode and place, in the most matter-of-fact way, without a word of regret or surprise. Now, as Shakspeare gradually develops Pistol before us, so he increases his opportunities of exposing and making him unblushingly expose his utter baseness, notably here, when, like Fluellen, he finally kicks him off the stage. By this one word, and the general tone of the passage, he would reveal to us that Pistol has been of like baseness throughout, and that he married his dame open-eyed, knowing thoroughly what she was, and what he would tamely be—the receiver of her gains. If the student reader will turn to the parallel editions, he will find in the Quarto (II. iii. 46) a sentence in the farewell scene between Pistol and Quickly which no editor has introduced into his revised edition, and whose omission by Shakspeare in his Folio version confirms this view, for such a wish was inconsistent with the utter vileness of the creature.

I come, therefore, to the conclusion that Doll should be retained in the text, first, because of the fact that its continued recurrence in the Quarto and Folio versions is proof that the author wittingly placed it there; secondly, because, as I think, I have shown that we can give one if not two, to say the least, very probable reasons which induced him to place the word in Pistol's mouth.

4. A' PARTED E'EN IUST BETWEEN TWELVE AND ONE, E'EN AT
THE TURNING O' TH TYDE (II. iii. 12, 13).*Staunton's Explanation Examined.*

The previous explanation of this passage was founded on the popular belief that death, other than a violent one, occurs much more commonly during the ebbing than during the flowing tide. I have, I believe, heard this myself during my boyhood, and it is to be remarked at the very outset that Staunton, in offering his new view in the *Athenæum* of the 9th Nov., 1873, does not attempt to disprove the fact that this was a popular belief, known to the Dame Quickly class, but, on the contrary, admits it unreservedly. It is, therefore, plain to anyone of ordinary reasoning powers that, even if he proves the possibility of another explanation, he does not necessarily prove that Shakspeare made use of it, and not of his tidal one; and that if he does not prove his a more likely cause for her form of speech, the old one is not moved from its rock foundation. But, so far from his offering a more likely explanation, it may be said that, while he confidently asserts his theory, there is not one word that can be called proof, while there are several that render it unlikely. That I may not overlook any of his so-called arguments I take his statements seriatim in his own order.

He commences by an objection to Dame Quickly making use of the tidal theory, saying,—“No one has pointed out the extreme improbability of the hostess knowing that the death of poor Sir John and the turn of the river tide were exactly coincident.” Staunton shows his animus by substituting for “even at” the word “exactly,” for “even at” is here equal to “just about.” Secondly, I answer that though Staunton would not be likely, especially in our day, to know the times of tide, yet that, of all the land-living characters in Shakspeare, none was more likely even at ordinary times to have known these tidal turns than Dame Quickly, the vintner at Eastcheap. She lived before omnibuses, cabs, hackney coaches, trams, and rails, and the almost universal fashionable or business way of getting from one part of London to another, or to any place in its neighbourhood, was by horse or wherry. Hence there was nothing she would be more

likely to have at her fingers' ends than whether the tide served for a trip up or down. Besides, even if this were not so, she was just the character of woman, a fussy, talkative busy-body, who, believing in this superstition, and hourly expecting Falstaff's death, would have enquired as to the time of ebb, even if she did not happen to know it.¹

Secondly, Staunton continues, "No one, too, has asked . . . why the coincidence should be a source of consolation?" The reply to this is—No one has asked, because no one, Mr Staunton excepted, has ever suspected that she was then seeking a source of consolation. Let any one read the passage, and say whether she had not plainly left the "Arthur's bosom" question, and gone on to a wholly different subject. Staunton has blundered, apparently quite unaware of the habits and manners of the Dame Quicklies, and indeed of those of the majority of the lower classes at a certain age. They narrate a tale with all its accessory circumstances, as though they were essentials. Had she given Sir John a posset or caudle, she would have added, "and by the same token, it was in my best chany bowl, the red one with white stars, that he always loved; but, poor soul, it was no use." I stared, re-read it, and then laughed outright when I came upon this astounding objection.

He then proceeds—"the tide she meant was the *tide of time*. From a fanciful analogy between the alternations of light and darkness, and the tidal ebb and flow, it was customary in Shakspeare's age to speak of the day (*i. e.* the twenty-four hours) as divided into two tides of twelve hours each, one beginning at midday, the other at midnight." Now, first, I would observe that I think it would have been a very "fanciful" and unlikely analogy on the part of our practical and nature-viewing ancestors to compute the double change between the twelve hours of darkness and the twelve hours of light, by taking as the type and basis of that computation the ebb and flow of the sea, which occurs four times in the twenty-four hours, or just twice as often. Secondly, though the solar and mariner's day commences at noon, and our civil day at midnight, it is surely more than

¹ I would here call special attention to the illustrative anecdote given by Mr Hetherington (p. 218) as affording strong corroboration of my argument.

extraordinary that persons taking the alternations of light and darkness as the intent and basis of their reckoning should fix upon the first second past noon as the beginning of their night-tide, and the first second past midnight as the commencement of their day-tide. They must have had more than cat's eyes. Thirdly, that this computing of the commencement of the day from immediately after the stroke of midnight, &c., must have been completely contrary to their previous conceptions of the subject, as evidenced by the very terms midnight and midday, then common in their mouths—terms curiously enough employed by Mr Staunton himself when engaged in setting forth this new theory.

But, setting these three objections aside—if numbers two and three can be set aside—there remains this fourth, and, as I believe, decidedly fatal one. Mr Staunton confidently asserts his proposition, but does not give one single proof. Nor do I believe that it was evolved elsewhere than from his inner consciousness. At least I have never met in the course of my reading with a single passage in proof, nor, so far as I can learn among literary friends, have they. Hence I can but apply the old monkish rule, "*De non apparentibus, et de non existentibus, eadem est ratio.*" To things which do not appear, may be applied the same rule as to those that do not exist.

He then goes on to say, that he is at a loss to determine whether noon-tide derives its origin from this [his] peculiar mode of computation; and having answered his doubt in the negative by quoting Christmas-tide, Shrove-tide, &c., and not noting that noon was no tide in his sense, but the lull between two tides, he, notwithstanding, continues, "To me it seems highly probable that by noon-tide was understood the time of tide from noon to midnight, and by night-tide the flow of time from midnight to midday." I need not return to the argument against the supposition, that night-tide commenced, in the opinion of our ancestors, immediately after twelve, noon; but I challenge anyone to prove, or produce an example showing that noon-tide ever meant the time from noon to midnight, or was, as Staunton would insinuate, the opposite of night-tide, or ever meant anything else than, in a slightly vague way, the time about midday. Similarly I affirm that night-tide was never used to express the twelve hours between

midnight and noon. Staunton seems entirely to have lost sight of the cognate terms, morrow-tide, even-tide, morning-tide, &c., and also the Saxon sense of the original Saxon word "tid." Never indeed have I seen a case of more surprising ignorance and impudence caused by an over-zeal for a novel theory.

Mr Staunton then goes on to say that, "what more particularly bears upon the subject of Mrs Pistol's speech is the fact of a belief once prevalent, that of all hours in the two tides the most propitious time was the period of lull between the ebb of night and the flow of day. To this I merely reply, first, as before, where is the proof that our ancestors, who used even-tide and night-tide, ever called the time between 12 P. M. and 1 P. M. the flow of day? Secondly, where is the proof that such time was considered most propitious for death? The rule "de non apparentibus" applies again.

While, however, as I said, Staunton has not attempted to give, nor have I been able to find, any proof or example of his first statement—that it was "customary among the people" to speak of the twenty-four hours as divided into two tides, the night-tide commencing immediately after midday, and the day-tide commencing immediately after midnight;—and though, as I have endeavoured to show, all argument from custom and analogy is against such a theory, he at the close attempts to give three examples from the *poets* of the time. His first example is from Donne, who, addressing the dead Lord Harrington, says—

"Thou seest me here at midnight : now all rest
Time's dead low water ; when all minds divest
To-morrow's busyness."

Grosart, *Fuller Worthies, Lib.* Donne, vol. ii. p. 115.

A pretty and poetic thought, but not one that in itself proves any popular custom or mode of computation, any more than the words "Thou seest me" prove that Donne was a modern spiritualist, and had only to call on Lord Harrington to be heard and seen. It would have been as germane to the purpose to have quoted from Shakspere "the tide of business," or "a tide in the affairs of men." I need hardly add that there can be no intent of alluding to Mr Staunton's second belief, that the lull between the two tides was

the most propitious time of death, for Donne is not speaking of the time of Lord Harrington's death, but of himself sitting and meditating at midnight in his study

2. He next gives a quotation from John Norris of Bemerton :—

“ 'Twas when the tide of the returning day
Began to chase ill forms away,
When pious dreams the sense employ,
And all within is innocence and joy.”

Grosart, *Fuller Worthies Misc.*, vol. ii. p. 171.

Here Staunton imagines or assumes that the tide of the returning day is coincident, according to his theory, with midnight. Let us not assume, but enquire. Norris gives us no other hint of the time. But Shakspeare,—an authority who never goes contrary to received beliefs,—what does he say? In *Hamlet* the ill form, the ghost, does not disappear, but appears, the clock then beating one, and

“ It was about to speak when the cock crew ;
And then it started like a guilty thing
Upon a fearefull summons.”

He goes on—

“ The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,
Awakes the god of day ; and at his warning,
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
Th' extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine.”

So Puck, *Midsummer Night's Dream* (III. ii.), tells Oberon—

“ My fairy Lord, this must be done with haste ;
For night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast,
And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger ;
At whose approach, ghosts, wandering here and there,
Troop home to church-yards : damned spirits all,
That in cross-ways and floods have burial,
Already to their wormy beds are gone ;
For fear lest day should look their shames upon,
They wilfully themselves exile from light,
And must for aye consort with black-brow'd night.”

And this notoriously is a popular belief to this day. Hence there can be no doubt

“ That when the tide of the returning day
Began,”

is merely a poetic phrase for the approach of morn, for the time of which another well-known character speaks, when she says—

“And morning dreams, they say, come true.”

With the comment, that no such thing is said of waking dreams, I leave it.

3. Staunton's third example is from Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, iv. 2, where Bossola, compassing and preparing the duchess's death, recites or sings,

“Hark, now every thing is still

* * * *

'Tis now full tide 'tween night and day,

End your groan, and come away.”

Here I would simply ask, First, how the *full* tide 'twixt night and day corroborates Staunton's assertion, that midnight was reckoned the time when the ebb'd tide of night began to turn, or, as Donne, whom he quotes, expresses it, “Time's dead *low* water”? Secondly, how the strangling of the Duchess, which then takes place, shows that it was the most propitious time of death?

I conclude, therefore, as I began. First, that the superstition that death, other than violent, was coincident with the ebbing tide was, as allowed by Staunton himself, prevalent among the vulgar. Secondly, that this counter-theory, so far from over-riding the other in probability, is not proved, nor attempted to be proved, except by assertion. Neither that part of it which says, that they popularly spoke of the twenty-four hours as divided into two tides, the night-tide commencing immediately after twelve noon, and the day-tide immediately after midnight; nor the second part, that the most propitious time of death was the period of lull between the ebb of night and the flow of day, that is, about midnight. In a word, his theory is not, I believe, less absurd than the change in the text of *Henry V.*, with which he concludes his letter. In the easily understood and poetic line (I. i. 49),—

“And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,”

he would make the villainous change,

“And the mute wand'rer lurketh in men's ears.”

I call it villainous, because it is not nearly so poetical, and because it is not sense. Fancy Shakspeare, who had heard the rustle of the leaves in Warwickshire, calling the air that "wanders"—"mute"! ¹

[NOTE ON THE "THE TURN OF THE TIDE."]

On the coast of Cumberland the belief that people die only during ebb-tide is very common, and extends for some distance inland. A relative of mine was once in a cottage, about six miles from the sea, where an old woman lay a-dying; several people who were there declared that the old woman would linger on till the "turn of the tide," and one man asked for an almanack to determine the exact hour of high-water. It is well to note that these were not sea-faring people. This superstition is not confined to any particular districts, but may be found all over England. Most readers of David Copperfield will remember that Mr Barkis "went out with the tide."

J. N. HETHERINGTON.

NOTINGS TO MY PAPER ON *HEBENON*, pp. 21—31.

From W. Topsell's *Historie of Serpents*, 1608, p. 176. There be also Serpents called Elephants, because whomsoever they bite, they infect with a kind of a leprosie, &c.

Daily Telegraph, 18 November, 1880. From a leading Article. [According to Mde La Barca]. "The person to be inoculated [in Mexico] is pricked with the tooth of the rattlesnake on the tongue, in both arms, and in various parts of the body, and the venom is injected into the wounds. An *eruption* ensues, and when this has passed off, the inoculated person is believed to be snake-proof. . . . The moment the tiny teeth [of the snake when biting] have scratched the skin, the message of death has been conveyed, . . . and the *curdling* or *decomposing blood* has already confessed the power of the reptile's secretion."

It is needless to point out how these extracts apply. But I would remark that both Shakspeare and the writer in the *Daily Telegraph* appear to use *curdling* as equivalent to *decomposing*, because the former is known to be the first change from the fluid and normal state of the blood—the first step towards decomposition, though in reality it precedes decomposition, properly so called.

"The child 3½ years old—two hours after eating the [yew] berries, was observed to look ill, . . . and became affected with *lividity* and heaviness of the eyes, as if he was about to fall asleep. Vomiting followed without any pain; and he died before a medical man, who was sent for, could arrive. . . . The dead body presented *many livid spots* . . ." Christison on Poisons, 1845, p. 915. *Lancet*, 1836-7, i. 394. (The italics, as in the previous quotation, are mine.)—B. N.

¹ See note on Doll, page 226.

XI. MR SPEDDING'S PROPOSED ARRANGEMENT OF ACTS IN *KING LEAR*.¹

BY PETER BAYNE, LL.D.

(Read at the 65th Meeting of the Society, Friday, Jan. 21, 1881.)

It may seem unnecessary on my part to controvert Mr Spedding's proposed modification of the construction of *Lear*, if he adopts, as I understand him now to do, substantially the same view as mine touching Shakspeare's main purpose and supreme achievement in the play. But his proposal cannot be separated from the reasons by which he commends it; and those reasons, as quoted by Dr Furness in his Variorum edition of *Lear*, from the *Transactions* of this Society, appear to me to be founded on a misconception of the highest excellence of the drama, the serenest perfection of its ideal beauty, the soul's soul of its transcendent pathos and immortal pain.

As I read *Lear*, the interest culminates in the fourth and fifth acts, specifically in the fifth. In the three earlier acts, the supreme interest is in the king; in the two later acts, the supreme interest is in the relation between Lear and Cordelia: and I hold that, magnificent as is the climax reached in the three earlier acts, it becomes but a minor climax when the final issue of the tragedy, not in the madness of Lear, not in the defeat of the invading army, but in the death both of Lear and Cordelia, is made apparent.

My task divides itself into two parts: first, to show that there is a real and important difference between my position and Mr Spedding's; and, second, to prove, or at least to touch on the proof, that, on the merits, my position is tenable and his untenable.

¹ See above, p. 16—19. *Spans: 1844-9.*

I. Before proceeding a step I must request the Society to consider with careful attention Mr Spedding's statement of his case. It is known to me only as quoted by Dr Furness, vol. v. of his Var. ed. of Shakspeare: from *New Sh. Soc. Trans.*, Part I. p. 15, 1877-79. [Mr Spedding's statement is here supposed to be read.]

Let me place my finger on a few of those expressions which, if I have been misled as to Mr Spedding's meaning, were the means of misleading me, and ask whether they are not fitted to convey to others the impression they conveyed to me.

He thinks that, under the accepted arrangement, "in the last two acts the interest is not well sustained." I think that the interest is perfectly sustained in both, and that, in the second, it reaches a loftier height of sustainment than that of any other drama in the world.

He holds, and I deny, that, as things stand, "Lear's passion rises to its full height too early, and his decay is too long drawn out." Lear's passion, to my mind, does not reach its full ecstasy of pathos until he has the dead Cordelia in his arms, and, after that, it certainly is not long drawn out.

Mr Spedding "saw that in Shakespeare's other tragedies we are never called on to sympathize long with fortunes which are desperate. . . . The interest rises through the first four acts towards some great crisis; in the fifth it pauses for a moment, crests, and breaks; then falls away in a few short, sad scenes, like the sigh of a spent wave. But it was not so in *Lear*. The passion seemed to be at its height, and hope to be over, in the third act." I maintain, on the contrary, that, as the play now stands, we have in all essentials the same distribution of interest which we have in *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*. The death of Macbeth, the death of Hamlet, the death of Desdemona, occur in the fifth act of the respective dramas; the deaths of Lear and Cordelia occur, in like manner, in the fifth act; and there is not much more said after the death of Hamlet than there is after the death of Cordelia and of Lear.

Mr Spedding, after the close of the first three acts, "felt the want of some coming event, some crisis of expectation." Yes; and is it possible not to feel that the gist of his theory is to supply this want, to answer this expectation, with the battle? I acknowledge

that, after the insanity scenes, some coming event, some crisis of expectation, is required ; but I urge that, throughout the fourth act, and even from the moment when Cordelia first appears on the stage, Shakspeare has been preparing us for a crisis that will thrill us with infinitely finer and keener anguish than could arise from the mere feeling that the battle was over, and that Cordelia and Lear were prisoners.

"I cared," says Mr Spedding, "only about Lear." The words form a whole sentence. The preceding sentence is, "The fate of Edgar was not interesting enough ; it seemed a separate thing, almost an intrusion upon the proper business of the play." If we understand Mr Spedding to say, as he now suggests, "I cared only about the fate of Lear," the addition makes no difference that I can perceive in his meaning. The climax and crisis which he wanted were supplied for him by the battle, if only the battle could be so placed that the audience might appreciate its momentous character, and could feel that what followed was but the "sigh of a spent wave." I confess that his reference to Edgar and Edmund, and the immediately following words, "I cared only about Lear," convey to my mind quite irresistibly the conviction that he did not, at the time of writing them, realize that the climax and transcendency of the fifth act, and of the play as a whole, depend upon the death of Cordelia. If Cordelia was in his mind, why did he not speak of her ? Why did he speak of Edgar and Edmund instead ? His references to Cordelia, which are meagre in the extreme, give no hint of any transcendency of importance attaching to what occurred to her *after* the battle. "The business of the last act," says Mr Spedding, "is only to gather up the issues of these unnatural divisions, and to close the eyes of the victims." I can devise no words more expressly fitted to say that, when the battle has been fought, the main work of the drama is over. My explicit contention is, that the catastrophe in the last act does not depend in this direct way upon the battle. The death of Cordelia arises from a cause independent of the battle, to wit, Edmund's wish to advance his own schemes, and actually occurs through the forgetfulness of Albany and the chance that Edmund's messenger executes his commission promptly.

In one last word, and that word Mr Spedding's, his alteration is proposed as a means of assisting the audience to realize that the battle is a "final crisis" in the fortunes of Lear. This I deny. Lear could have been perfectly happy with Cordelia, and the "final crisis" in his fortunes occurred, not when the battle was lost, but when she was dead.

To put it, then, as modestly as can be required, I have, I think, made it plain that I had reasonable grounds for concluding, from Mr Spedding's statement of his proposal, that he regarded the battle as the incident of supreme interest in the second half of the play, and that he intended to concentrate upon it the attention of the audience. For this purpose, having placed the battle in the interval between the fourth and fifth acts, he suggests that the pause might be "filled with some great battle-piece of Handel." I maintain that, if Shakspeare had thus fixed the attention of the audience on the battle, he would have done something—he would have done much—to impair the effect on their minds of what he really intended to be the "final crisis" in the fortunes of Lear.

II. It is indisputable that Shakspeare, in placing a battle in a mere pause in a scene, as we now have the battle in *Lear*, departs from his usual way of dealing with battles. We have, indeed, the announcement that the event takes place, and this announcement suffices for all purposes of information. Edgar leaves the stage; alarum and retreat are heard behind the scenes; Gloucester remains listening in silence to the tumult; then Edgar returns, and says that King Lear hath lost. The fact is thus distinctly embraced in the evolution of the play, but, as Mr Spedding says, no impression is made on the imagination of the audience. Just so. And if the "final crisis" in the fortunes of Lear is something quite different from the battle, there was the best reason why Shakspeare should not permit it to impress the imagination of the audience.

The interest of the drama, apart from the personal relations of Lear and Cordelia, reaches its climax at the end of the third act. It might well appear that no language could be more moving or terrible than that in which Lear curses his daughters and raves amid the lightnings, no pathos more heart-rending than that of the mad and

houseless king. I suppose that, in virtue of those earlier acts alone, Shakspeare might challenge comparison with, if not claim superiority to, Æschylus, Sophocles, Dante, or any other master of terror, pity, and sublimity that ever lived. But those scenes form after all but a prelude to the pathos that follows, the pathos arising out of the meeting and the parting of father and daughter. When at last Shakspeare has shown us his whole power, we feel that the loss of Lear's kingdom, and even of his reason, was a small matter compared with the agony of his final separation from Cordelia. We then know that the drama of *Lear*, whatever else it may be, is first and supremely a *domestic and personal tragedy*. And if this is so, Shakspeare will interest his audience in the battle as little as he reasonably can.

Observe, Shakspeare cannot ignore the battle. In the first place, it is one of his characteristics to display a reverent respect even for the shadow of history passing across his page. The historical legend of Lear and his daughters included a French invasion and a defeat of the French army. With these Shakspeare could not and would not dispense. In the second place, the battle is one of several incidents that contribute, when duly subordinated, to heighten the general effect. But he meddles as little with the battle as possible,—skimming lightly over it like a deft skater over a quaking spot in the ice. Apart from the risk of concentrating the attention of the audience upon the conflict, and exhausting it before the “final crisis” in the personal relations of Lear and Cordelia has arrived, there was, I believe, another motive to induce Shakspeare to hurry over the battle. The English of Elizabeth's time were eminently patriotic, sensitively alive to the warlike fame of England, keenly jealous of the French. The mere fact that the historical plays were popular is sufficient to prove this. Shakspeare, therefore, in placing his battle, had a ticklish problem to solve. A French army was to be defeated by an English army, and yet all the emotions which Shakspeare was bent upon exciting in his audience would have been thrown into confusion if any enthusiasm had been felt by them for English victors in a battle fought between French invaders and English defenders of the soil. He meant to bespeak, in the immediate sequel, their measureless pity for Lear and Cordelia. Had there been even a wavering in the appor-

tionment of their sympathies by the audience, the simplicity of the effect would have been destroyed, the unity of the passion would have been broken. To all this Shakspeare was vividly alive; he could not dare to let his audience dwell on the battle; and accordingly he does little more than curtly announce that a battle has been fought.

It is doubtless true that, in the fourth act, there are a good many references to the French army and camp. It is true also that we are told that "the arbitrement is like to be bloody." But what impresses an audience is not what they hear, but what they see; and though a considerable number of places may be enumerated in which Shakspeare makes us aware that the French army has landed and is advancing, little, nevertheless, of the pomp and circumstance of war is set before the eye. The fourth act, apart from the anticipated battle, terminates in intense and sacred joy. Every resource at the command of Shakspeare, whether in the way of living picture presented on the stage or in that of most moving words, is put into requisition with a view to deepen the impression of serene bliss attained to by Lear and Cordelia when their misunderstandings are removed, and there is nothing between them but perfect reconciliation and perfect peace. The death-weary old king had sunk into a stupor-like sleep. He had been carried into a tent and laid on a bed. Cordelia had ordained that soft music should play. The doctor signifies that it is time for him to awake, expressing a wish that, when he opens his eyes, the first object on which they will rest may be Cordelia. Then follow upwards of fifty lines, spoken while the dumb show of the musical awakening has been going on, in which all the power of Shakspeare's genius is brought to the task of concentrating our attention upon Lear and Cordelia, isolating them from all the world, making us feel that they are all the world to each other. The impression of this unspeakable scene is still fresh upon us when the act closes.

Had the battle, which necessarily ensued about this point, directly caused the death of Lear and Cordelia, it would without question have been the "final crisis" of the drama, and Shakspeare would have found means to impress it upon our imagination even more effective than those which Mr Spedding suggests. But the battle, as Shak-

spere knows well, has only an indirect and indecisive effect upon the "final crisis." Huddling his battle over, he pointedly informs us, by the mouth of Lear, that, since it has not parted between Lear and Cordelia, it has *not* brought the catastrophe of the drama.

"Come, let's away to prison ;
We two alone will sing like birds i' th' cage."

They are taken to prison. Edmund sends after them an order for their execution. Then, when Edmund has got his death-wound, and Albany bethinks himself of Lear and Cordelia, Edmund makes an effort to save them, and Edgar hurries off to stay their death. He is too late. Now, and not till now, do we reach the climax, the "final crisis" of the tragedy. Lear enters with Cordelia hanging senseless in his arms. Albany's momentary lapse of memory,—Edgar's slowness of foot,—whatever might be the accident, the chance, that occasioned the death of Cordelia,—represents, to my mind, an infinitely greater and more mysterious terror and horror than the blackness of night, or the fury of storm, or even the ingratitude of daughters. And in the words spoken by Lear when he has the dead Cordelia in his arms, or when he hangs over her with looking-glass or feather, Shakspeare attains a grander though simpler pathos, a higher display of dramatic and poetical genius, than he reaches in those scenes in which Lear declaims against the thunder.

"*Lear* : Howl, howl, howl ! Oh, you are men of stones !
Had I your tongues and eyes, I'd use them so
That heaven's vault should crack ! She's gone for ever !
I know when one is dead and when one lives.
She's dead as earth ! Lend me a looking-glass ;
If that her breath will mist or stain the stone,
Why, then she lives !

Kent : Is this the promised end ?

Lear : The feather stirs ! she lives ! If it be so,
It is a chance which does redeem all sorrows
That ever I have felt.

Kent : O my good master !

Lear : Prithee, away

Edgar : 'Tis noble Kent, your friend.

Lear : A plague upon you, murderers, traitors, all !
I might have saved her ! now she's gone for ever !—
Cordelia, Cordelia ! stay a little. Ha !

What is't thou say'st?—Her voice was ever soft,
Gentle and low, an excellent thing in woman.—
I killed the slave that was a-hanging thee.

* * * * *

And my poor fool is hang'd. No, no, no life!
Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life,
And thou no breath at all? Thou'lt come no more,
Never, never, never, never, never!—
Pray you, undo this button. Thank you, sir.
Do you see this? Look on her,—look,—her lips,—
Look there!—look there!—[*Dies.*]

If these lines represent the “sigh of a spent wave,” or the “closing of the eyes of the victims” after the main business of the tragedy is over,—if this anguish is a mere corollary or *addendum* to the battle,—then Mr Spedding’s alteration of the received division of acts in *Lear* is to be commended; if the crisis depicted in these lines corresponds to the death of Desdemona, the death of Hamlet, the death of Macbeth, in the respective dramas, and is in fact the climax of the whole, then it seems to me that it were better to leave the received text alone.

[NOTE TO MY PAPER “ON FOUR PASSAGES IN *HENRY V.*,”
p. 203-218.]

Mr W. G. Stone has kindly reminded me of Doll Common in the *Alchemist*, which I had stupidly forgotten. The importance of the instance lies in this. Shakspeare evidently intended to give Tearsheet as a significant name. Jonson was the writer of that day who habitually and on principle gave significant names to his characters—Brainworm, Downright, Wellbred, Macilente, Fastidious, Brisk, Volpone, Mosce, Sir Politick Would-be, &c. &c. Hence the fixing by both upon the one prænomen ‘Doll’ in both instances, or I may say in the three instances, is proof that it also was considered significant.—B. N.

Taste your legs, sir. *Tw. N.* III. 1. 75. This phrase, used by Sir Toby, and as I take it a cut by Shakspeare at one of the fashionable cant or affected phrases of the day, I found used by a Devonshire carrier to his horse in R. D. Blackmore’s tale of Christowell in *Good Words*, 1881. On enquiry, that gentleman informs me that he has not borrowed it from Shakspeare, but that ‘taste’—which he is inclined to think is, in its provincial use, a variant of ‘test’—is in common use in Devonshire both in this phrase and in others.—B. N.

XII. NOTES ON *ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL*.

BY J. G. A. DOW, M.A. LUKE FELLOW, GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.

(*Read at the 73rd Meeting of the Society, Friday, November 11, 1881.*)

ALL'S WELL is a drama of the temperate zone. There is neither meridian sunshine nor northern storm. We do not feel the warm breath of the south wind: we do not listen to the moan of the north sea. But we stand looking on what some might call a tame landscape, rather deficient in colouring, with a gray English sky over it all. There is an afternoon air about the piece. The sun has gone westward, and the very title of the drama suggests a quiet English sunset in September. The midday blaze of Romeo's passion is over, and we have yet to hear the howl of the winds that burst at midnight on Lear's head. But the afternoon is passing: we are in a transition stage. We have left the luxuriant efflorescence of Titania's bower and the 'golden world' of the Forest of Arden. We have lost for ever the burning cheeks of Juliet and the roguish amorous eyes of Rosalind. Youth is gone with its affectuous capriccios. And we are yet to witness the Soul's Tragedy of the Poet, the gloom of night descending on him as it must descend on each who endeavours to rede the riddle. By the anguish of fierce lightning we shall see him sitting in the Valley of the Shadow. We are here between the burning sunshine and the tragic gloom. It is as if we were just come into the more serious affairs of life. Shakspeare has begun to be earnest, to realize that "the web of our life is of a mingled yarn," to speculate upon the human soul as a compound "of good and ill together," to beat out of his heart a key to the mystery. He sits down by the Gateway of the Valley, and reflects. He is so full of thought that he can call up little more of his late exuberance of joy than a sober smile. He is begun to be "wrapt in dismal thinkings." Nay he even inclines to be caustic. "Sharp stings are in his mildest words."

So much is this the case that it is hardly correct to call the play a comedy. Both the comic characters and the comic scenes are suffused with such a light from the dramatist's grave eyes, as renders them almost serious. Perhaps the most humorous touch in the play is observed in the merry twinkle of Diana Capulet's eye when she is bewildering both king and lords with her evidence. She knows she is in no danger, that the end will show that all is well. She has a taste for humour that makes her enjoy the spectacle of Bertram wishing to hide. She speaks with a 'malicious mockery' that reminds us of the naughty wench whose trickery carried the heart of Sir Toby Belch. We enjoy her suppressed laugh when she sees the king and old Lafeu staring at one another helpless with astonishment, and Bertram divided between distraction at his own shame and confoundment at the holy-cruel virgin's hardihood. But the scene is not comic. The humiliation of Bertram is not laughable because it is not single-sided. There is the injured wife waiting at the door to be admitted, and we look forward to the closing impression of the piece. We are to have the satisfaction, if we can, that Bertram's vagaries are over; we are to leave him in the arms of brave little Helena who has watched and guarded him, has won him, and is pleased with him, who is confident, let us hope, of his development into genuine manliness. We are to believe that the bitter is past and 'all is well ended.'

The only characters in the drama that can lay claim to a comic rôle are Parolles and the clown—both of them original introductions of Shakspeare into Boccaccio's story. But Lavache has an instinct towards domesticity and seriousness that remove him from the companionship of Touchstone. "He is a shrewd knave and an unhappy." He is a genuine growth of Shakspeare's mind at this stage of his life, for Shakspeare had begun to see the world "wanton sicke as one surfetting on sinne." The fool is at all times an element in Shakspeare's reflex of life. Perhaps this is because folly is a principal element in life itself, and so much of the world's wisdom is only a wise folly. Perhaps it is because we relish folly even when we are most inclined to seriousness, for even the staid countess can "play the noble housewife with the time and entertain it merrily

with a fool," and even Olivia with the ache in her breast can pass a while bandying light chatter with her clown "for want of other idleness." Perhaps it is because Shakspeare must have outlet for that fountain of humour that was bubbling up within him, because the grotesqueness of life's relations bore in upon him so irresistibly, that while he was writing he must either have a fool or a separate notebook. Perhaps he had a suspicion that the vote between the world and the fool is in many cases like that between the world and the madman, merely the vote of the majority. Perhaps he saw the sick world, "leaning on her elbowe, devising what doctour may deliver her, what phisicke may free her," and this is the anodyne, the sugared pill, the feather in the ear that makes each ass forget his load a little. What are we to make of this?—"I am a woodland fellow, sir," says the clown to Lafeu, after declaring that he serves the Black Prince, the Prince of Darkness, "that always loved a great fire; and the master I speak of ever keeps a good fire. But sure he is the prince of the world: let his nobility remain in's court. I am for the house with the narrow gate, which I take to be too little for pomp to enter: some that humble themselves may; but the many will be too chill and tender, and they'll be for the flowery way that leads to the broad gate and the great fire." Whatever Shakspeare felt when he wrote that speech, we should hardly call it comic, however comical we might consider the subject.

Parolles is the other. He is provided by the dramatist as a means to the development of Bertram and to the more natural consummation of the plot. He is so life-like that we cannot endure him. The only thing comic about him is the shadow he casts. It is not himself we laugh at: it is the mirth he affords to the merry soldiers. It is not the target: it is the marksmen that supply us the fun. He is a mere butt, this Parolles, the parlant, who knows German, French, Italian, Dan'sh, Low Dutch, who "loves not many words—more than a fish loves water," who is "ready to speak that which you will wonder at," an if he do not, damn him. He is utterly different from genial Jack Falstaff. He has no cleverness, no humour, no metal in him. He is not only "a notorious liar," but he is "a great way fool, solely a coward," one that "lies three-thirds

and uses a known truth to pass a thousand nothings with"—a jackanapes, "flaunting in scarfs and bannerets, with his arms gartered up, his sleeves like hose"—whom to look at is to ask "who's his tailor?" and if, according to the authorized diagnosis of dandies, that look satisfies him, it also is enough to satisfy us that "the soul of this man is his clothes." We look at this "window of lattice" and we look through it. Even his outward manners are "scurvy courtesies." He disgusts everybody—but Bertram. We, too, with the clown, hold our noses, and say to him "Prithee get thee further." He is more like the creation of a satirist than that of a comic dramatist. I have no doubt Shakspeare meant him to be a comic character, but there are features of this creation which prevent us from regarding him merely as such. He is not created merely to be comic. The very position which he is introduced to occupy, the part which he is made to take in the development, has a meaning other than ludicrous. Even John Drum's entertainment is depicted not for our amusement so much as for the edification of Bertram. This 'very tainted fellow' is created in order to be utterly and unsparingly humiliated. Such a picture of innate worthlessness, for a time successful, finally covered with mud, once having "held familiarity with fresher clothes," at last flung into "an unclean fish-pond," might have been sketched by Thackeray. But towards the close the heart of the poet relents. He has laid him stript in the kennel, what says he there?

"If my heart were great,
 'Twould burst at this. Captain I'll be no more ;
 But I will eat and drink, and sleep as soft
 As captain shall. Simply the thing I am
 Shall make me live.
 Rust, sword ! cool, blushes ! and, Parolles, live
 Safest in shame ! being fooled, by foolery thrive !
 There's place and means for every man alive.
 I'll after them."

This "snift-taffeta fellow" is not worth being angry with. It was Lafeu first found him: and though the old lord, endeavouring to unmask him, does him the "most insupportable vexation," and finds him "scarce worth taking up," yet in the end, when he sees him

"cruelly scratched of fortune," he says to the ragged, dirty dandy, "Though you *are* a knave and a fool, you shall eat : go to, follow."

There are the comic characters. This 'Comedy' has almost the tone of a man who is beginning to discover that his honeymoon is spent. More seriously, it is the work of one who has turned away from watching the last gleam of youth vanishing, and whose experience makes him sad : it is a comedy written by Jaques. There is no resemblance between it and the *Taming of the Shrew* or *Love's Labour's Lost*, except in some mechanical details of playwright work. I can understand Shakspeare selecting this subject when he was younger to make a comedy out of it. It is also easy to understand that he should resume it with a riper experience, and recast it into what the subject will alone bear to become within the limits of delicacy—a serious drama. A comedy out of this plot was more befitting Wycherley than Shakspeare. He seems to have taken up sorrowfully the work of his youth, and felt while remoulding it that "we would be young again if we could."

It does not appear to me that there is any central idea in this play such as generates volumes of German criticism. It appears idle to attempt with Gervinus et hoc genus omne to reduce any one of Shakspeare's plays to a single element, to babble about the idea of the play, the moral centre of the play, the spiritual centre of the play, from which all the rest is to radiate off. Such an attempt reminds us of the essayist in Natural History who retired into his study to evolve, from the depths of his own consciousness, the *idea* of a camel. It looks much like the workings of that children's toy known as the Wheel of Life. Take anywhere in life a combination of individuals such as you see in one of Shakspeare's plays : is there any moral or spiritual centre to which all may be said to converge, any philosophastrian 'idea' by which all may be explained ? There is no single character in life that can be explained in this way except perhaps a fanatic or a philosopher ; much less can any combination of characters. Granted that Shakspeare selects, and that he has a plot : that is far from saying that he selects and plots from a spiritual centre, and still further from saying that his men and women are to be explained with his plots and his selection from some

pre-conceived central idea. Walter Scott selects and has plots, and the full moon exhibits not a greater perfection of roundness and unity than his work : but to explain the characters and action of any of his novels by dyspeptic jargon about spiritual centres and the idea of the piece, would hardly occur to any one short of a German professor.

For as dull as a first cursory reading might lead one to consider this play, there burns through it a glow of life which we miss in the vivacity of Shakspeare's earlier performances. There is an under-breathing intensity, a strength of passion not unlike that which carries us through the seemingly dull pages of *Wuthering Heights*. At the very beginning our interest is centred in the sensitive girl who but for a few words stands silent while the adieus are being spoken, the fervour of whose feeling prevents her even from saying a word when, with tears in her eyes, she shakes hands, we may say, with him of whom her heart is too sorrowfully filled. Then when all are gone she waits beside us and thinks aloud, drawing us toward her with sympathy for that grief which she not merely affects, revealing a heart that has experienced the passion of love,—not the amusement, not as a sweet slight pleasure, but as a terrible reality which has become for her the whole meaning of life. Like Giglietta of the tale, she has fallen fervently in love with Bertram, more than is meet for a maiden of her age. Even the image of her dead father is driven out by Bertram's. Her imagination carries in it no favour but Bertram's. There is no living, none, if Bertram be away. Yet—

“Twere all one
That I should love a bright particular star
And think to wed it, he is so above me.
.
.
.
The hind that would be mated with the lion
Must die for love.”

The love of this woman's heart bears us through the play.

When Bertram goes, Helena has at first no thought of seeing him again. Her only thought is in her idolatrous fancy to sanctify his relics ; the only compensation she has for the plaguing prettiness of seeing him every hour and drawing “his archèd brows, his hawking

eye, his curls" in the too capable tablet of her heart. In the infatuation of her passion she loves even Parolles for Bertram's sake, and all but unbosoms the fulness of her feeling in his ears. It is perhaps because she knows he is too dull a fool to comprehend, that she eases the throbbing of her heart in a whirl of passionate utterance, speaking of "a thousand loves." But the inspiration of her love is embodied in such wisdom and clear insight as reveal that it is no "blinking Cupid gossips" in "that world of pretty fond adoptious Christendoms," but a strong divinity that looks into Bertram's need of "a guide, a counsellor, a friend." Her passion is not blind like Juliet's or Olivia's, demanding only possession. She sees what Bertram requires, and she is conscious of her own strength to prove herself his goddess and his sovereign. "I'll never do *you* wrong for your own sake," she says afterwards to one of the French lords, but some of her Christendoms here show that she was prepared to do Bertram an outward wrong for his own sake. She even says that he will find in her 'an enemy.' But she knows that if he will take her, by making his ambition humble, she will convert his humility into something proud. She has a rare confidence that she will be

"His jarring concord and his discord dulcet,
His faith, his sweet disaster."

When Shakspeare's characters feel poetry, they utter it. They are given to expression. They are passionate, and they speak their passion. What we mortals in life feel, they express. Their tumult of the heart is given utterance in multitudinous metaphors. So Helena speaks here. This is one of the necessities of dramatic representation. Miss Evans¹ could maintain a running commentary of analysis: Shakspeare has no parallel column. His characters have to do all for themselves. We do not consider them unreal in this. Perhaps we should not express ourselves in such terms, but it is only through outward expression that their emotion can be revealed to us, and having felt this we at once grant its truth and genuineness. We know that the language in their mouth is a reflex of their state of mind, and the confusion or exaggeration of figures is but the

¹ George Eliot, Mrs Cross.

intermixture or intensity of their feelings made outward. A similar dramatic necessity produces the soliloquies. That we may follow their thoughts, it is necessary that they should think aloud. Overlooking this mechanical necessity, all the rest is truth. Their soliloquies are always their natural thoughts: sometimes they are ours, if the circumstances are parallel. Not a few have lived through Hamlet's "To be, or not to be."

It is from one of these soliloquies, the one spoken when Parolles leaves her, we gather that Helena's decisive strength has beaten her passion into a resolve: she has made up her mind to go after Bertram. It is interesting to notice how Shakspeare has here varied the course laid down for him in the original story. The project itself is taken from Giglietta, who "being verie pensife" for Beltramo's departure, longs "only to see the young counte," but cannot find "a lawfull occasion to goe to Paris." But Helena is swifter in resolve; and circumstance is altered to suit her speed. Giglietta has to wait until she "refuses many husbandes." She can find no convenient way to accomplish her journey, "being diligently looked to by her kinsfolke." It is only after she has heard that Beltramo is "grown to the estate of a goodly young gentleman," that the desired occasion is furnished by report of the king's disease. In the play the fistula is spoken of in the opening scene, and the scene closes with Helena's resolution to provide her own remedy. For the improbability of the story Shakspeare is not accountable: his supreme own merit is that by force of heart-love he has rendered improbability probable. Here, as in every spot where his creative touch has rested, we have living human beings, with their passions, their inconsistencies, their mystery. He has taken up a mechanised lascivious story and transformed it into a creation of the most genuine artistic delicacy, and shown us how it might have been realized in actual life. He has breathed the breath of his own life into the personages. We see that they have hearts and minds, and we are interested in them for their own sakes, just as we are interested in one another. Giglietta in the tale is "wonderfull glad" when she hears of the king's disease: she sees in it "an occasion, if the disease were suche, easily to bryng to passe that she might have the counte Beltramo to

her husbande." Helena is preserved to womanhood by not seeing so far : she merely tells us that "her intents are fixed, and will not leave her." She has in view the winning of Bertram, indeed ; but she does not "follow him by any token of presumptuous suit." She will not have him "until she does deserve him." She is not a black-and white husband-seeker like Giglietta. She is so human that she cannot be put down in a single sentence. All we can read of her at this stage is that she cannot be away from Bertram, and she is determined to risk the journey to Paris, "striving against hope," "knowing she loves in vain," yet vaguely endeavouring to know "how her desert should be." She "loves dearly" and "wishes chastely," but her utterance is "in the most bitter touch of sorrow." It is only when she is strengthened by the benign Countess's "leave and love,"—a touch of Shakspeare and of nature added to Boccaccio's picture—that she is fortified to the "strange attempt" which she accomplishes in presence of the king.

She is a lovely woman, this Countess, saddened and made sweet by sorrow. Her stateliness and calm are derived, not from nobility of birth and rank, but from "many quirks of joy and grief." Her experience has filled her heart with sympathy. She too has bled from the thorn that belongs to our rose of youth. Her own "remembrances of days foregone" are awakened at sight of "the distempered messenger of wet" in Helena's eye. Sweetly human, she recognizes "the show and seal of nature's truth" in the love's strong passion of Helena for her son : and she favours this, because she disbelieves in titles that are not of nature's creation. She believes with the king that "good alone is good without a name." And she sees that Helena with her fair gifts "without other advantage may lawfully make title to as much love as she finds." When she learns of her rash and unbridled boy's repudiation of Helena's "dear perfection," having the image of her dead lord in her memory, she is ready to wash Bertram's name out of her blood, and say to Helena, "Thou art all my child." For

"that is honour's scorn
Which challenges itself as honour's born
And is not like the sire."

But withal she has a great love for her boy. She believes there is nothing in France too good for him, save only Helena. Her heart is divided in the endeavour to keep them both. Which of them is dearest to her, she has "no skill in sense to make distinction." She "loves her gentlewoman entirely": though Helena had partaken of her own flesh, she says she could not have owed her a more rooted love. Afterward though she thinks Bertram had been the death of the "most virtuous gentlewoman that ever nature had praise for creating," she pleads his excuse with the king, beseeching his majesty to "make it natural rebellion, done i' the blaze of youth."

Very likely the fond mother spoilt this son of hers. When we know him first, he singularly resembles a spoilt child. He has all the unthinking selfishness of one accustomed to gratify every whim, all the froward pride and moral helplessness of one unaccustomed to look beyond himself. He imagines himself a superior being to Helena because his father was called a count. With boyish disdain he exclaims to the king: "A poor physician's daughter my wife! I know her well: she had her breeding at my father's charge." Then with the weakness of a spoilt child he recants, and when he considers what "dole of honour" flies where the king bids it, finds "the praised of the king so ennobled as she were born so." He takes her hand. He has not courage to persist in his refusal. But he shelters himself behind deceit. The two-faced imbecile does what the king tells him, in order that he may get outside and run away. Nor does he stop here. He sends a lying message to Helena to excuse himself with her, and turning to characteristic account her faith and ingenuous nature, he commands her to go and tell a lie to the king that he may excuse himself with him. He is desperate to get away, and he will stick at no deceit until he does get away. Then when he is out of reach he can afford to send his pusillanimous impudence in letters. Parolles is the fit companion of such a creature.

It is Helena upon whom Shakspeare has lavished his idolatrous care: she is the Drama. Coleridge has called her "the loveliest of Shakspeare's characters." All, except Bertram, she captivates.

Her "wisdom and constancy" carry old Lafeu's head, and he can scarcely contain himself when he thinks that the lords are refusing her hand. The king declares, with some warmth, "all that life can rank worth name of life have estimate in her"—

"Youth, beauty, wisdom, courage, all
That happiness and prime can happy call."

All the lords are willing to marry her. Her praise is everywhere.

"Her beauty did astonish the survey
Of richest eyes, her words all ears took captive,
Her dear perfection hearts that scorned to serve
Humbly called mistress."

Diana and the widow conspire for her, follow her to France, and declare—

"Let death and honesty
Go with her impositions, and they are hers
Upon her will to suffer."

But we are impatient of others' praises of this maiden with her loveliness of form and soul, her sweetness and delicacy, her wise words falling from lips so young and fair, her fervour and her sadness, her soft invincibility, her strong submissiveness. The single flaw in her "dear perfection" is her love for Bertram. Yet it is to this that all her action and her feeling have reference. It is this infatuation that "goads her by most sharp occasions," and carries her through circumstances where her tenderness without her strength would shrink so summarily to "lay nice manners by." She will risk anything for the creature of her adoration; but her tender womanhood, notwithstanding her courage, feels the blushes on her cheek when she is to choose from the assembled lords. But she is staking her whole existence on this hazard: if she is refused "let the white death sit on her cheek for ever." Unlike Giglietta, she has not a thought of turning to mercenary matrimonial account the king's obligation to his preserver by securing his kingly command that Bertram shall marry her. When Bertram says that he cannot love her, and will not strive to do it, she turns with a pang of resignation to the king, as though all were ended, and her existence had lost its meaning:—

“That you are well restored, my lord, I’m glad :
Let the rest go.”

She is not, indeed, a woman like Viola, who will let concealment feed on her damask cheek. But she is from pole to pole removed from that growth of modern ‘civilization’—a strong-minded female. That willingness of hers to retire wounded, with only blackness and blank before her, is the very flower and coronation of her womanly nature. In this single touch of the master’s hand all the difference between her and Giglietta, all the difference between Shakspeare and Boccaccio is consummated.

The perfection of that love which casts out fear is revealed in her satisfaction when Bertram at last agrees to take her—we might almost say, it is that folly of passion which brings blindness. She never suspects that he is deceiving her : she is willing in everything to wait upon his will. She has given herself and service, ever whilst she lives, into his guiding power. Her penetration, so acute in all else, finds no employment when she is speaking with Bertram. When he makes explanation about his departure she is not doubtful of his intention : she is trustfully resigned. With her heart in a flutter, she timorously ventures a hint that he might kiss her before he goes : let us hope that he had not the courage to perpetrate a refusal which would have crushed her opening bud of joy. She retires, and the pair, Bertram and Parolles, are left to mutual praiseworthiness—the Parolles, the Bertram—a pair that might properly have been hooted and pelted off the stage.

At last Helena learns the truth, terrible to her. In broken utterances she can only say, “My lord is gone, for ever gone,” “This is a dreadful sentence,” “’Tis bitter.” The stinging pathos of her brief words pierces the more acutely, coming from one whose plenitude of thought and feeling has grown with no habit of full expression. She is at all times a woman of few words, and she seems to be one who has found life too serious for indulgence in trivial things. That we encounter her in the complete ardour of that passion, which has entered into the very core of her being, and transfuses every part of her existence with its intense earnestness, favours, by its revelation of that to which her passion develops her, instead of

precluding, our generalization that she is a woman the look of whose eyes forbids us to expect from her the charm of a sportive wit and fancy. Granting to the full her continuous tension of soul as we observe her, we can imagine none of the frolic merriment of girlhood in Helena, even at her natural ease as she may have been before she merged her personality in Bertram. Adorned in her ingenuous nature with all the graciousness and grace of womanhood, she has none of the brilliance of Beatrice or the beautiful sweep of Cleopatra's glory. Her present resemblance to her foster-mother indicates that one day, when the play is closed and perhaps Bertram dead, she will be another Countess of Rousillon, only wiser, stronger, shrewder, than the previous one.

Though Bertram were to slay her, yet would she trust him. Even in her desertion when she has been cheated, insulted, and cast off by him, with an exquisite unselfishness beside which her husband is irredeemably black, she only upbraids herself for the injury she has done him in "chasing him from his country, and exposing those tender limbs of his to the event of the none-sparing war." The thought is too cruel to endure: she will steal away, like a poor thief, and let rumour be carried to him of her flight "to console his ear," and let him return to the possession of his own. She does not quit her home with a scheme for the accomplishment of his conditions: she goes, a despairing wanderer, and it is only after she has gone, giving up all, that matters become clearer to her, and she is enabled to resolve and act once more. She never flinches in her faithfulness to him. Even when she finds him revelling with all a soldier's license in Florence, she appears as one whose vision of eventual felicity has drawn her eyes beyond present unseemliness and the misery of mistrust. Even in the final scene when he has been utterly exposed and overwhelmed with shame, she has no word of reproach for him: her perfect truth can imagine nothing more grievous than "deadly divorce" from her beloved.

This is the one flaw in Helena—her love of Bertram. We find no fault in her, except that she can be fond of such a creature. He is no doubt a handsome youth: he has inherited a goodly face and shape from his father. But he gives no evidence of having a mind,

unless what is revealed in the beastly appetite for fighting. It is inexplicable that Helena should so entirely lose herself in contemplation of such a cruel, cunning, deceitful, selfish animal, however perfect the lines and curves of his figure. The case is infinitely worse than that of Maggie Tulliver and Stephen Guest,¹ or of Dorothea and Will Ladislav.² Towards the Stephens of actual life we are usually indifferent: things like them have not the force to move our feelings. They are worthless, but they are commonly harmless. It is only against Stephen as the accepted of Maggie, that our indignation rises. And for Will Ladislav, we almost like him, if Dorothea would not. But Bertram is more than completely worthless; he is corrupt. Apart from Helena's love for him and his rejection of her, we cannot suppress into indifference our angry disgust that such a being should live and prosper. It is said that he is brave: his bravery is merely that of a lower animal, a bulldog, a fighting cock. Where is his courage when he is brought face to face with Diana Capulet whom he meant to seduce and to abandon? That is the same bravery as he showed towards Helena and the king, when he made himself a jest for the Clown by telling lies and running away. We wonder what Helena sees in him to love, just as we look at Dorothea, and wonder, and at Maggie Tulliver, and wonder. But Shakspeare understood the mystery of love as intimately as did Miss Evans, and we evidently speak his mind as well as hers when we repeat the commonplace of Adam Bede's Diana, that "it is mysterious how one draws to another." Helena is successful. Her Love's Labour has won. But what, after all, *has* it won? Bertram!

¹ 'Mill on the Floss.'

² 'Middlemarch': George Eliot.

Buttery-bar, sb. *Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 74. "Come to the **Buttery bar**, stitty stitty stammerer, come honest constable, hey the watch of our towne, we'll drinke trylill I faith." 1600. *Looke about you*, sig. C 2, back

fico, sb. a fig: *My Wives*, I. iii. 33. "*Fica*, a figge . . Also a flurt with ones fingers giuen in disgrace; *fare le fica*, to bid a figge for one." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.

XIII. SHAKSPERE AND EUPHUISM. *EUPHUES* AN ADAPTATION FROM GUEVARA.

BY DR. F. LANDMANN.

(Read at the 76th Meeting of the Society, Friday, Feb. 10, 1882.)

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| <p>§ 1. <i>Influence of Lyly on Shakspeare, and of the Renascence on European Literature.</i></p> <p>§ 2. <i>The 4 Styles parodied in Love's Labour's Lost, p. 244.</i></p> <p>§ 3. <i>Characteristics of Euphuism, and Shakspeare's parody of it, p. 250.</i></p> | <p>§ 4. <i>Euphuism and Euphuism adapted from the Spaniard GUEVARA, p. 252.</i></p> <p>§ 5. <i>The successors of Euphuism:</i>
 1. <i>Sidney's Arcadianism, p. 260;</i>
 2. <i>Gongorism, p. 262;</i> 3. <i>Dubartism, p. 264.</i></p> |
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§ 1. JOHN LYLY'S influence as a dramatic writer upon Shakspeare is now universally acknowledged. There is none of all the predecessors of our great poet that was in comedy the master of our great Master in such a degree as the author of *Euphuism*. Lyly's nine plays, all written before 1589, were very popular when Shakspeare began to write, and it is to them that he owes so much in the liveliness of his dialogues, in smartness of expression, and especially in that predilection for witticisms, quibbles, and playing upon words which he shows in his comedies as well as in his tragedies and historical plays.(1) Seven of Lyly's comedies were written in prose, and exhibit mostly the same style as his *Euphuism, or the Anatomy of Wit*, 1578. That Shakspeare was quite familiar with this curious book has been proved by Rushton, and is a matter of course, considering the popularity which it gained, so that it was printed eight times during Shakspeare's life. This was principally due to the fact that Lyly did not merely introduce by his novel the style which we call 'Euphuism,' but that he adopted one of the fashionable extravagances already existing, and caused this particular affectation to become the universal manner of courtly conversation, so that "all our Ladies were then his Schollers; and that Beautie in Court which could not parley Euphuisme was as little regarded as

she which now there speaks not French," as Ed. Blount remarks in 1632. I say that it was one of those fashionable extravagances; and I wish at once to make a distinction between Euphuism and some other analogous affectations, all of which were the offspring of a too servile imitation of foreign contemporary or ancient literature, but differed altogether from each other in their characteristic elements. Indirectly we must of course trace all these affectations of exuberant fancy and imagination to the revival of classical literature in Europe. In every country—in Italy as well as in Spain, France, Germany, and England—we find, after the beginning of the sixteenth century, the same contempt of the "base vulgar," the same servile imitation and translation of the masters of antiquity, as the first sign of a new literary era; and, as the second, the desire to hear finer speech than the native language will allow. We very soon find in every country the high priests of refined speech trying to correct the vulgar tongue after the Latin and Greek or foreign contemporary languages. In every foreign literature of that time we find a representative of an exaggerated hyperbolical style or quaint metaphorical diction, who has stamped this extravagant taste with his name, although he only followed the tendency common to the whole civilized world up to the middle of the seventeenth century. In Spain we have Guevara's *alto estilo*, and later on, the *estilo culto* of Gongora; in Italy the conceits of the Petrarchists, and Marini and the Marinists; in France we meet Ronsard and his school, Dubartas and the *Précieuses*.

"Marot et de Mornay pour le langage François :
 Pour l'Espagnol Guevara, Boccace pour le Toscan :
 Et le gentil Sleidan refait l'Allemand :
 Greene et Lylli tous deux raffineurs de l'Anglais."—JOHN ELIOT, 1588.

In England John Lyly is decidedly the most gifted author that followed this tendency of his age, and the hero of his novel has given the name to that style which Lyly adopted; but, using this term, we must bear in mind that 'Euphuism' is only one of many eccentricities, all of them due indirectly to the same tendency, tho' individually different, and showing different elements altogether.

Euphuës is a book written for ladies and for the court of Queen Elizabeth. It is a most important coincidence of circumstances that,

just when the literary life in England began to be stirred for the first time, not only in an exclusive set of people, but in the wider circle of educated men and women, a Woman stood in the centre of that society, which always sets the fashion, not only for the court, but also for the most eminent representatives of the nation. This involved a great influence on taste in general; and the peculiarities of this taste we are able to study now-a-days only in the literature belonging to that period. The *politesse* of gentlemen towards ladies was certainly not always artificial and affected; there is much nature and delicate feeling in many of those Elizabethan sonnets, and much wit in the conversational intercourse of this period, but it was overdrawn, and became affected from different causes. The influence of the antique was yet fresh; it was only an outward acquisition; and the adoption of this new world of ideas was at first only a very mechanical imitation, and must have been a very superficial one, because a critical study of the classical world was then impossible. When we see how classical mythology was abused to furnish flattering comparisons to the queen's loveliness, in what an absurd manner the gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome had to kneel before the all-surpassing beauty of Queen Bess, how porters and pies had to appear in an antique shape, we can understand it all by the tendency of the Renaissance. That the sovereign of England, just about this time, was a woman, appears to me a very important fact, not only for the formation of the taste governing society, but for the whole development of literature and language. I don't only mean the gross adulation of poets and writers, but an element which we find at its height in the society connected with the Elizabethan court—the cultivation of a finer language in the presence of ladies. If we look for the greatest extravagances and the greatest mischief done in these times in taste, diction, and style, we always find it in connection with the works written for ladies, written on the beauty of the fair sex, written with intent to show a dainty wit to the delicate mind. The cause of this was certainly not a want of genuine imagination, but an exuberance of fancy and a tendency misled for a time, until a stronger mind arose to smile at the surrounding eccentricities. Besides, we must bear in mind that

Elizabeth's was a time of revolution for the poetical world, and that those unaffected by it directly, decidedly owe much to the stirring influence of it. There sprang up a rage to create a startling diction, and a new style surpassing everything in existence; and the influence of this tendency on the development of the English language was certainly very great. It was a leap leading first into mistakes and errors, but not without its happy result when cool reason and common sense gained the upper hand again. Another very important influence on this taste was exerted by the much greater facility with which new things, new ideas, new works, were made known to the reading and writing public. The intellectual intercourse of the different European nations was suddenly augmented by the invention of printing. We note its influence at once in the fact that the sixteenth century was the first century in which the art of translation flourished excessively. Thus foreign literatures, which showed similar eccentricities at this time, helped very much to strengthen the English deviation in taste and style. We find the complaints of this outlandish fashion in manners, dress, and diction, as well in Wilson, Ascham, and Puttenham as in Lyly and Shakspeare. But besides this, the discovery of new worlds, with all their treasures and new things, gave a new impulse and stir to fiction. Thus we can explain the favour with which Lyly's fabulous natural philosophy was met, only by the circumstance that these things were then commonly believed, since his wonders did not exceed those which were related by adventurous navigators.

§ 2. THE FOUR STYLES PARODIED IN *LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST*.

Shakspeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* we may call the English *Précieuses ridicules*, because Shakspeare in this play evidently breaks with the fashionable extravagances of taste flourishing about that time at the Elizabethan court and in good society. If we suppose this play written about 1589, we have just the time when that sickness—as noble Sidney called it, of which he himself, as well as his fellows, felt sick—was at its height, but when Euphuism was already declining. But in *Love's Labour's Lost* not only one particular affectation is ridiculed, but four different extravagances of speech, of the first of which, Don Adriano de Armado, of the second, the king

and his courtiers, and of the third and fourth, the pedantic school-master Holofernes, are the representatives.

I. That in Armado Shakspeare ridicules—shortly after the defeat of the Spanish Armada—a Spaniard, is not to be attributed to his intention to ridicule *Euphuës*, although, as I shall soon show, Euphuism took its origin in Spain, and was the style of a very popular Spanish author. Those elements which Armado exhibits in his speech are essentially different from Lyly's peculiar style.

The king says of Armado (I. i. 163-179)—

“——our court, you know, is haunted
With a refined traveller of Spain;
A man in all the world's new fashion planted,
That hath a mint of phrases in his brain:
One who the music of his own vain tongue
Doth ravish, like enchanting harmony;
A man of complements, whom right and wrong
Have chose as umpire of their mutiny:
This child of fancy, that Armado hight,
For interim to our studies, shall relate,
In high-born words, the worth of many a knight
From tawny Spain, lost in the world's debate.
How you delight, my lords, I know not, I;
But, I protest, I love to hear him lie,
And I will use him for my minstrelsy.

Biron. Armado is a most illustrious wight,
A man of fire-new words, fashion's own knight.”

Armado's bombastic style is best seen in the letter which he wrote to the king in I. i. 221-280—

“Great deputy, the welkin's vicegerent, and sole dominator of Návare, my soul's earth's God, and body's fostering patron,—So it is, besieged with sable-coloured melancholy, I did commend the black-oppressing humour to the most wholesome physick of thy health-giving air; and, as I am a gentleman, betook myself to walk. The time when? About the sixth hour; when beasts most graze, birds best peck, and men sit down to that nourishment which is called supper. So much for the time when: Now for the ground which; which, I mean, I walked upon: it is yeleft thy park. Then for the place where; where, I mean, I did encounter that obscene and most preposterous event, that draweth from my snow-white pen the ebon-coloured ink, which here thou viewest, beholdest, surveyest, or seest: But to the place where,—It standeth north-north-east and by east from the west corner of thy curious-knotted garden. There did I see that low-spirited swain, that base minnow of thy mirth, that unletter'd small-knowing soul, that shallow vassal, which as I remember hight Costard sorted, and consorted, contrary to thy established proclaimed edict and continent canon, with—with,—O with—but with this I passion to say wherewith—with a child of our grandmother Eve, a female; or, for thy more sweet understanding, a woman. Him I (as my ever-esteemed duty pricks me on) have sent to thee, to receive the meed of punishment, by thy sweet grace's officer, Antony Dull; a man of good repute, carriage,

bearing, and estimation. For Jaquenetta, (so is the weaker vessel called, which I apprehended with the aforesaid swain), I keep her as a vessel of thy law's fury ; and shall, at the least of thy sweet notice, bring her to trial. Thine, in all compliments of devoted and heart-burning heat of duty,—DON ADRIANO DE ARMADO."

High-flown words, bombastic quaintness, hyperbolical diction, far-fetched expressions for simple plain words, form the main ingredients of the inflated style of this boasting Spanish knight. He does not 'laugh,' but 'the heaving of his lungs provokes him to ridiculous smiling'; he speaks of "the posteriors of the day, which the rude multitude call the afternoon." These are no elements of Euphuism ; besides, we know that such a Monarcho, a mad Italian, was quite a popular person, whom Barnaby Rich, in his *Adventures of Brusanus*,—published in 1592, but written eight or nine years before this date,—had ridiculed in Gloriosus, where we find in chapter xii. the following passage :

"Gloriosus accuseth Castus.

" 'I shall not neede (gratious Prince) to traveil much by circumstances, or use many wordes, to make my prooffe the better against this wretched worme of the worlde, my credite beeing such here in the court, the testimony might seem sufficient, that Gloriosus having spoken the word, it should not bee gainesayde: to come to the purpose, as mine eare then glowed to heare, so my hart now panteth to thinke, what hatefull speeches were pronounced by this unhappy man Castus, so exclaiming of the lawyers, so cryinge out against the maiestrate, so slaunderinge of them both, as though there were neither law nor justice to be hadd within the whole dominions of Epirus.' "

That this boasting bombast has nothing to do with Euphuism, we shall see soon.

II. The king himself and the courtiers, as well as the ladies, exhibit a style and taste entirely different from that of Armado. They pour their love into dainty sonnets ; and sharp repartees, witticisms, and word combats show their conceit. Biron says of Boyet (V. ii. 315-16)—

"This fellow pecks up wit, as pigeons peas,
And utters it again when Jove doth please."

And he confesses openly of himself (V. ii. 394-413)—

"Thus pour the stars down plagues for perjury.
Can any face of brass hold longer out ?—
Here stand I, lady ; dart thy skill at me ;
Bruise me with scorn, confound me with a flout ;
Thrust thy sharp wit quite through my ignorance ;
Cut me to pieces with thy keen conceit ;
And I will wish thee never more to dance,

Nor never more in Russian habit wait.
 O ! never will I trust to speeches penn'd,
 Nor to the motion of a schoolboy's tongue ;
 Nor never come in visor to my friend ;
 Nor woo in rhyme, like a blind harper's song :
 Taffata phrases, silken terms precise,
 Three-pil'd hyperboles, spruce affectation,
 Figures pedantical ; these summer-flies
 Have blown me full of maggot ostentation :
 I do forswear them : and I here protest,
 By this white glove, (how white the hand, God knows !)
 Henceforth my wooing mind shall be exprest
 In russet yeas, and honest kersey noes."

Shakspeare ridicules here the spruce affectation of the English courtier, and the love-sick sonneteers of his age. Although all these passages do not exhibit that peculiar element which Lyly's Euphuism shows, we find here a much greater resemblance to the Euphuistic tendency to play with words and witty conceits which Lyly had adopted in his court plays. This predilection for conceited and metaphorical diction is principally due to the influence of Italian literature, and was, after Surrey's time, a common fault in the diction of poetry. Puttenham and Sidney censured it, but could not help following it themselves. The latter very justly remarks—

" You that do search for every perling spring
 Which from the ribs of old Parnassus flows,
 And evry flower, not sweet perhaps, which grows
 Near there abouts, into our Poesie ring,
 You that do Dictionary's method bring
 Into our rhymes, running in rattling rows :
 You that poor Petrarch's long deceased woes
 With new born sighs and denizen'd wit do sing,
 You take wrong wayes, those far-fetched helps be such
 As do bewray a want of inward touch,
 And sure at length stoll'n goods do come to light."

The direct influence of Petrarca and his followers on the diction of English poetry can be best seen in Tottel's *Miscellany*, in the *Paradise of dainty Devices*, and in Watson's *Hekatompathia*. Surrey was the first to introduce Petrarca's metaphorical diction, and we note its influence distinctly in two formal points, *i. e.* in trivial metaphors, personifications, and hyperboles, and a predilection for epithets generally alliterating with their noun, which occur alike in almost every writer's devices. Expressions like "cloud of dark disdaine" were not familiar to the English poets before Surrey, but after

him we find these trivial expressions repeated everywhere and abused. So we find always,—“Cloud of envie, stormes of teares, a sea of wofull sorrowes, blast of black defame, chaynes of care, deadly droppes of dark disdaine, restless rage of deep devouryng hell, ground of great grieve, ragyng stormes of care, showers of tears.” These were in Surrey’s case simple translations from Petrarca’s “*pioggia di lagrimar, nebbia di sdegni*.” Apt epithets with every noun were then indispensable, as “sobbing sighs, scalding sighs, smokie sighes, stormy sighes, cloudy thoughts, hollow hart, harmfull helish hart, silly soul, suttile soul, silly simple soul, worldly wight, worthy wight, wanton wight, wretched wight, wofull wight, glaunzing gloze, doleful day, doutfull dying dolefull Dame, filthy froward fate, willfull will, grievous grieve, happie hap, highest happie hap, precious praise, lovelie love, lothsome life, wretched woe, wofull ease.”

That the whole manner and style of Petrarca’s school, the display and detailed description of a very often merely fictitious love—sickness was closely copied, up to the end of this century, is too well known. It reigned at the Elizabethan court, and it is this exaggerated diction of the fictitiously love-sick poets which Shakspeare ridicules in these courtiers, besides their witticisms and spruce affectation in conversation.

III. The third representative of another literary eccentricity of Shakspeare’s times, which we find in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, is the pedantic schoolmaster Holofernes. When Dull maintains that the killed deer was “not a *haud credo*, but a pricket,” he exclaims (IV. ii. 13-20),—

Most barbarous intimation! yet a kind of insinuation, as it were, *in via*, in way, of explication; *facere*, as it were, replication, or, rather, *ostentare*, to show, as it were, his inclination,—after his undressed, unpolished, uneducated, unpruned, untrained, or rather, unlettered, or, ratherest, unconfirmed fashion,—to insert again my *haud credo* for a deer.”

Shakspeare ridicules here very humorously the pedantic scholar of his day, the Latin-English which was quite a fashion in court, just like French- and Italian-English were. Puttenham in 1589 calls this mingle mangle *Soraismus*, and complains very much that they ‘are daily spoke in court’; and Wilson had already censured

this affectation as early as 1553, when he gave in his *Art of Rhetorique*, "such a letter as William Sommer himself could not make a better for that purpose," beginning,—

"Pondering expending and revoluting with myself your ingent affabilitee and ingenious capacitee, for mundane affaires: I cannot but celebrate and extolle your magnificall dexterite, above all other."

Sidney's Rombus shows the same style, but he, as well as Shakspeare, ridicules in the same person not only this dog Latin, but also the mania for alliteration.

Rombus, in the *Lady of the May*, addresses the Queen in the following terms:—

"Now the thunder-thumping Jove transfund his dotes into your excellent formosity, which have, with your resplendent beams, thus segregated the enmity of these rural animals: I am, *potentissima domina*, a Schoolmaster; that is to say, a Pedagogue, one not a little versed in the disciplinating of the juvenile fry, wherein (to my laud I say it) I use such geometrical proportion as neither wanted mansuetude nor correction: for so it is described, *Parcare subiectos et debellare superbos*. Yet has not the pulchritude of my virtues protected me from the contaminating hands of these Plebeians; for coming *solum modo*, to have parted their sanguinolent fray, they yielded me no more reverence than if I had been some *pecorius asinus*. I, even I, that am, who am I? *Dixi verbus sapiento: satum est*. But what said that Trojan Æneas, when he sojourn'd in the surging sulks of the sandiferous seas? *Hæc olim memonasse juvebit*. Well, well, *ad propositos reverteto*. The purity of the verity is, that certain *pulcra puella profecto*, elected and constituted by the integrated determination of all this topographical region, as the Sovereign Lady of this dame May's month, hath been *quodammodo*, hunted, as you would say; pursued by two, a brace, a couple, a cast of young men, to whom the crafty coward Cupid had, *inquam*, delivered his dire dolorous dent."

This too is no element of Euphuism. Lyly's style is free from Latin and foreign-English, nor does he indulge in Latin quotations.

IV. Besides this affectation, Shakspeare ridicules in Holofernes the abuse of alliteration, when he says (IV. ii. 56-8),—

"I will something affect the letter, for it argues facility.

The praiseful princess pierc'd and prick'd a pretty pleasing pricket."

In *Henry IV.* and *V.* Pistol affects this "fault of our common rhymers" in the same manner, speaking of "grievous ghastly gaping wounds," and "giddy fortune's furious fickle wheel." It is the complaint of almost every sound writer of the sixteenth century, "this hunting the letter of the rake-helly rout of our ragged Rhymers," even Puttenham not allowing more than three alliterating words in the same line.

But is not alliteration one of the main elements of Euphuism?

It is, indeed. Lyly at least indulges in this kind of alliteration, likewise in conceits and trivial metaphors, very frequently, just as much as Shakspeare does, and as all his contemporaries do : he follows the common fault ; but—this is the difference of Euphuism from every other affected style—he applies it in a very peculiar artificial way.

§ 3. CHARACTERISTICS OF EUPHUISM, AND SHAKSPERE'S PARODY OF IT.

There is a passage in *Henry IV.* where Shakspeare ridicules a fashionable literary affectation, different from all and each of the four that we have spoken of hitherto. I must quote the whole passage, because this is the only one where Shakspeare purposely ridicules Euphuism. Falstaff, as king, says to the prince in 1 *Henry IV.* II. iv. 438-461—

“Peace, good pint-pot! peace, good tickle-brain!—Harry, I do not only marvel where thou spendest thy time, but also how thou art accompanied : for though the camomile, the more it is trodden, the faster it grows, yet youth, the more it is *rasted* the sooner it *wears*. That thou art my son, I have partly thy mother's word, partly my own opinion ; but chiefly, a villainous trick of thine eye, and a foolish hanging of thy nether lip, that doth warrant me. If, then, thou be son to me, here lieth the point ;—Why, being son to me, art thou so pointed at? Shall the blessed *sun* of heaven prove a micher, and eat blackberries? a question not to be asked. Shall the *son* of England prove a thief, and take purses? a question to be asked. There is a thing, Harry, which thou hast often heard of, and it is known to many in our land by the name of pitch : this pitch, as ancient writers do report, doth defile ; so doth the company thou keepest : for, Harry, now I do not speak to thee in *drink*, but in *tears* ; not in *pleasure*, but in *passion* ; not in *words* only, but in *woes* also :—And yet there is a virtuous man, whom I have often noted in thy company, but I know not his name.”

We have here that peculiar parisonic antithesis, with transverse alliteration, which forms the main ingredient of Euphuism. There is no page in *Euphues* where we do not find that predilection for an equal number of words in collateral or antithetical sentences, well balanced often to the number of syllables, the corresponding words being pointed out by alliteration, consonance, or rhyme.

Some examples from *Euphues* will show this clearly.

Euphues says to Eubulus, p. 40,—

“Father and friend (your age sheweth the one, your honestie the other), I am neither so suspicious to *mistrust* your good wil, nor so sottish to *mislike* your good counsayle, as I am *therfore* to *thanke* you for the first, so it standes me upon to *thinke* better on the latter : I meane not to *cavil* with you, as one

loving sophistrie : neither to controwle you, as one having superioritie ; the one woulde bring my talke into the suspition of fraude, the other convince me of folly.—We merry, you melancholy : we *zealous* in affection, you *iealous* in all your doings : you *testie* without cause, we *hastie* for no quarrell : you carefull, we carelesse : we bolde, you fearefull : we in all poynts contrary unto you, and yee in all poynts unlyke unto us.”

Or Philautus to Euphues :—

“Although hitherto, Euphues, I have *shrined* thee in my heart for a trustie friende, I will *shunne* thee hereafter as a trothlesse foe,” or, “he wooeth women, provoked by youth, but weddeth not himselfe to wantonnesse as pricked by pleasure.”

The same we find in the above cited passage—“For, Harry, now I do not speak to thee in drink, but in tears ; not in pleasure, but in passion, not in words only, but in woes also ” ; and before, “Harry, I do not only marvel where thou spendest thy time, but also how thou art accompanied : for though the camomile, the more it is trodden, the faster it grows, yet youth, the more it is wasted the sooner it wears.”

In the latter sentence we find the second characteristic of Euphuism ridiculed directly, *i. e.* Lyly's predilection for comparisons taken from nature.

Lyly says, p. 46,—

“Too much studie doth intoxicate their braines, for (say they) although yron, the more it is used, the brighter it is, yet silver with much *wearing* doth *wast* to nothing : though the Cammocke, the more it is bowed, the better it serveth, yet the bow, the more it is bent and occupied, the weaker it waxeth : *though the Camomill, the more it is troden and pressed downe, the more it spreadeth*, yet the Violet, the oftner it is handeled and touched, the sooner it withereth and decayeth.”

The author of *Euphues* frequently uses that “unnatural Natural Philosophy,” indulging in the fabulous qualities of stones, herbs, and beasts. He took it from Pliny, his passages being often verbal translations.

Lyly's book labours, from beginning to end, under an oppressing load of examples and allusions to ancient history and mythology, as well as apophthegms from ancient writers. Shakspeare very humorously ridicules this third principal element of Euphuism by saying,—

“There is a thing, Harry, which thou hast often heard of, and it is known to many in our land by the name of pitch : this pitch, as ancient writers do report, doth defile ; so doth the company thou keapest.”

I will not analyse here in detail Euphuism and its elements ; this has been done admirably by Dr. Weymouth in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1870-72, and I could only repeat what I

wrote a year ago in my *Euphuismus* (Giessen). The three features just pointed out are the main ingredients of the style : where we find this parisonic antithesis with transverse alliteration and consonance, these endless comparisons from nature, and that predilection for allusions and examples from ancient mythology, history and literature, we may say we have Euphuism.

§ 4. EUPHUIISM ADAPTED FROM THE SPANIARD GUEVARA.

This curious style, which we find in prose only, was in vogue in England from about 1560 to 1590. It was not, as is usually stated, introduced or invented by John Lyly in his *Euphues*. *Euphues* had its predecessors, and Euphuism is not of original English growth, nor introduced from Italy, as is now the common opinion. Sir Thomas North published in 1557 his first work, a translation of a Spanish fictitious biography of Marcus Aurelius, written by Don Antonio de Guevara, who in 1529 published the original, *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio emperador : y eloquentissimo orator*, just fifty years before the publication of the *Euphues*. North was not the first to english this book, famous throughout the world during the beginning of the sixteenth century on account of its morals, and more especially on account of its style. It had been first translated into English by Lord Berners in 1532, and had seen a long series of reprints. Nor were Berners and North the only admirers of the Spanish Archbishop's *alto estilo* in England. Hellowes, Fenton, Bryant, and Thimme had been busy in introducing this high sweet style, by translating the entire series of Guevara's other works into English. Of Berners's translation alone there are more than a dozen different editions known. Thus we have six different translators, during forty years : a circumstance that involves a serious influence on the prose of any nation, if the translated style be notorious for its highness and sweetness. Guevara continually boasts of his *alto estilo*, saying that he was the first Castilian writer who wrote such a style, and that it was his own invention. This we have no reason to doubt. He was not only famous for it in Spain, but most of his works saw many translations into Italian, French, and German.

Berners says of this book,—

"A ryght precious meate is the sentences of this booke. But finally the sauce of the sayd sweete style moveth the appetite. Many bookes there be of substantiall meates, but they be so rude and so unsavory, and the style of so smalle grace, that the first morcell is lothsome and noyfull."

And Thimme, in the preface to *A looking Glasse for the Court*, first translated by Bryant, says of Guevara,—

"Whose pithie reasons, fyled speache
And sugred wordes dyd move
A worthie knight of English Court,
Whom Henry kyng did love,
Fyrst to translate from Forraine phraise
Into our moderne tongue."

And in the same way Sir Thomas North praises this high style in the preface to his translation,—

"The which is so full of high doctrine, so adourned with auncient histories, so authorised with grave sentences, and so beautified with apte similitudes, that I knowe not whose eies in reading it can be wried, nor whose eares in hearing it not satisfied."

The most prominent characteristic of Guevara's style is the parallelism of sentences, parisonic antithesis, well-balanced juxta- or contra-position of words and clauses; and he has a predilection for pointing out the corresponding words by consonance or rhyme. There is no chapter in Guevara's books where these twin phrases do not at once strike the eye; they form the most prominent feature in Guevara's and Lyly's style. We do not, of course, find alliteration here, nor in any other Spanish writer, as we find it in English, because the Romance languages do not know it as English and German do, where it stood for ryme in early poetry. In North's translation of the enlarged *Marco Aurelio con reloj*, which bears the title *The Dial of Princes*, the Prologue begins,—

"The greatest vanitye that I fynde in the world is, that vayne men are not only content to be vaine in their life: but also procure to leve a memory of their vanity after their death.—Many of the world are so fleshed in the world, that although it forsaketh them in deedes: yet they wyl not forsake it in theyr desires. For the remembrance of the pleasure past greatly augmenteth the paines present."

But I will quote an example in Spanish and English,—

"No hay oy generoso señor ni delicada señora que antes no suffriesse una pedrada en la cabeça que no una cuchillada en la fama, porque la herida de la cabeça en un mes se la daran sana: mas la manzilla de la fama no saldra en toda su vida."

"There is not at this daye so greate or noble a Lorde, nor Lady so delicate, but had rather suffer a blowe on the head with a stone, than a blot in their good name with an evil tongue. For the wounde of the heade in a moneth or two maye well be healed; but the blemishe of their good name during life will never be removed."

Often we find examples of elaborate antithesis like the following :—

"El dia que una es publicada por hermosa, desde aquel dia la tienen todos en requesta. Ellos trabajando de la servir y ellas no rehusando de ser vistas."

Or—

"Aunque quieras no puedes escapar de mi señorio. Porque si tu te quejas de ser desdichado en dichas: yo me precio de ser dichoso en desdichas. Pregunta te una cosa. Quando me viste harto estando tu hambriento? Quando yo dormia estando tu velando? Quando tu trabajavas estando yo holgando? Por cierto aun que las personas y haziendas eran proprias, los trabajos y desdichas siempre fueron comunes. Una cosa has de hazer si en mi amistad has de perseverar: que mis bienes sean tuyos, y tus males sean mios: pues tu naciste para regalo, y yo bivo para trabajo, y esto no lo digo fingido pues tu lo has en mi experimentado" (cap. lxx.).

Or (cap. xlii.)—

"Por cierto el hombre moço no es mas que un cuchillo nuevo, el qual por discurso de tiempo un dia se mella en los sentidos: otro dia se despunta en el juyzio, oy pierde el azero de las fuerças, mañana le toma el orin de las enfermedades, agora se tuerce con adversidades, agora se embota con prosperidades: quando de muy agudo salta por rico quando de muy gastado no corta por pobre: finalmente muchas vezes acontece, que quanto mas con regalos el filo se haze delgado tanto mas le pone la vida en peligro."

The second main element of Euphuism, the long rows of comparisons taken from nature, we find in Guevara's book exactly as in Lyly's, the former, however, not using Pliny's fabulous natural philosophy, but introducing his plants and beasts with their real qualities.

Thus Marcus Aurelius says (cap. x., appendix),—

"Of trouth, ye amorous dames, ye have tongues of the nature of fire, and your condicions like the powder of a rotten tree. Accordyng to the dyversity of beasts, so nature hath in divers parts of the body placed their strength: as the Eagle in her byl, y^e Unicorne in the horne, the serpent in the taile, the bul in the head, the beare in his pawes, the horse in the breast, the dogge in the teath, the bore in the tuske, the doves in the winges, and the women in their tongues. For of trouth the flight of the dove is not so hyghe as the fantasy of your foolyshness is vaine; the cat scratcheth not so sore with her nayles, as ye scratch the folish men with your importunities. The dogge hurteth not hym so much that he runneth after, as ye do y^e sorrowful lover that serveth you; the life of him is not in so much daunger that catcheth the bul by the hornes, as the fame of him that falleth in your hands. To conclude, the serpent hath not so much poyson in his taile as ye have in your tongues."

The third principal feature of Euphuism, the predilection for ancient mythology and history, we may more readily excuse in Guévara's book, because his hero is a Roman emperor, and his principal source Plutarch. This style soon crept, through the different translations, into English prose. It was modified, however, in its English dress by alliteration, and its elements were gradually so abused that it was, when it fell into Lyly's hands, no more imitation, but the grossest possible exaggeration. We find its influence even in Roger Ascham's style. In his *Schoolmaster*, 1571, he defines Euphuës in the following terms :—

"Euphuës is he, that is *apt* by goodness of *nit* and *appliable* by the readiness of *will* to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body, that must another day serve learning ;—and even as a fair stone requires to be set in the finest gold, with the best workmanship, or else it loseth much of the grace and price, even so excellency in learning, and namely [= especially] divinity joined with a comely personage, is a marvellous jewel in the world."

Ascham's style is, however, pure and unaffected, and such passages are quite the exception.

Three years before the publication of *Euphuës* appeared *A petite Pallace of Pettie his pleasure*, by George Pettie, exhibiting already, to the minutest detail, all the specific elements of Euphuism. The novel of 'Sinorix and Camma,' the first of the tales contained in this little volume, we find in Guevara's book, who took it from Plutarch.(2)

But this is not all; Euphuism is not only adapted from Guevara's *alto estilo*, but *Euphuës* itself, as to its contents, is a mere imitation of Guevara's enlarged biography of Marcus Aurelius englished by Thomas North. The *Dial of Princes* and Lyly's *Euphuës* exhibit the same style. They coincide in their contents in many points, and both show the same dissertations on the same subjects. In both works are letters affixed at the end, and these letters treat of the same matter. In both occur the same persons, and some of these persons bear the same name.

There is not much of a plot in either work; the principal contents of each are long dialogues, soliloquies, and moral dissertations on love and ladies, God, friendship, courtship, youth and education, court and country.

The heroine of Lyly's *Euphues*, Lucilla, daughter of Ferardo, is a very fickle, light-minded lady; so is Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, whose light behaviour induces Guevara to bring in a long chapter "Of the sharpe wordes which Marcus Aurelius spoke to his wyfe and to his daughter;" the same does Ferardo, the father of Lucilla, "who, with watrye eyes, and a woeful heart, began on this manner to reason with his daughter" (pp. 101-4). Guevara has in the first book of the *Dial of Princes* some five chapters on God:—

Chap. 4: "Of the excellencye of the Christian religion (whereby the true God is known), and of the vanities of the auncientes in tymes past." Chap. 9: "Of the true and living God, and of the marvailles he wroughte in the olde lawe to manifest his divine power, and of the superstition of the false gods." Chap. 10: "That there is but one true God, and howe that realme is happie whyche hathe a kyng that is a good Christian." Chap. 11: "Of sundrie gods." Chap. 12: "Of other more naturall and peculiar goddes." Lyly therefore suddenly introduces Atheos, and tries to prove the existence of God in some twenty pages (p. 160. *ss.*).

Marcus Aurelius writes a letter to his nephew Epesipo, who leads a bad life in the University of Athens. Euphues therefore writes a letter "to a young gentleman in Naples named Alcius, who, leaving his study, followeth all lightnesse, and lived both shamefully and sinfully, to the grieve of his friends and discredite of the universitie" (p. 190), and a very sharp letter (p. 157) "to the Gentlemen Schollers in Athens."

The second book of the *Dial* is an imitation of Plutarch's book *de educatione puerorum*, "wherein the Authoure treateth, howe Princes and greate Lordes shoulde behave themselves towardes theyr wyves. And howe they ought to noryshe and bringe up their children." Lyly therefore brings in "Euphues and Ephoebus," with chapters, "That the child should be true born, no bastard. How the life of a young man should be led; of the education of youth," following Plutarch verbally (pp. 123-159).

Marcus Aurelius writes a letter to a gentleman, Domicio, and another one to Torquado, to comfort them in their banishment, this

being another adaptation from Plutarch's book *De exilio*. Lyly therefore brings in a letter "Euphues to Botonio, to take his exile patiently," being almost verbally translated from Plutarch. Marcus Aurelius writes a very sharp letter "To the enamoured Ladies of Rome," inveighing against the fair sex. Euphues therefore has "A cooling Carde for Philautus and all fond lovers," being a very sharp invective against the frailties of women. Marcus Aurelius apologises for his invective, stating that he did not mean all, but only the frivolous ladies. Lyly therefore brings in a letter "To the grave Matrones and honest Maidens of Italy," apologising in the same manner. Guevara has letters of the emperor Marcus Aurelius to the ladies Macrina, Boemia, and Livia, with the answers of these ladies. Lyly therefore has "Euphues to his friend Livia," and "Livia from the Emperour's court to Euphues at Athens," up to which chapter we have heard nothing of an Emperor, whom Lyly, quite unconsciously it seems, here mentions, thinking evidently of the hero of Guevara's book.

The fourth book of the *Dial of Princes* was translated by North from another of Guevara's works—*Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos*, "A looking Glasse for Courtiers." Lyly therefore suddenly abandons, in the second part, his tale of Euphues and his England, and introduces a courtier Fidus, living as a bee-keeper in the country, who tells the tale of his love, and how it came that he preferred life in the country to life at court; following also the ideas which Guevara had put down in his *Monosprecio de corte y Alabança de aldea*, translated by Bryant and Thimme under the title, "A looking glass for the court, or a Dispraise of the life of the Courtier, and a commendacion of the life of the husbandman." The second part of *Euphues* is a book on court life and courtiership in general, and is brought to an end with a eulogy on the Elizabethan court. When Euphues at the end withdraws from the world, he writes his letter from the Mount Silexedra, because Marcus Aurelius wrote from the Mount Celio, one of the hills of Rome.

Often we cannot see in Lyly's book at all whether he writes for the time of Marcus Aurelius or that of Queen Elizabeth. In his first part he speaks of the Emperor, the Empresse, and their court;

in the second he openly brings in Elizabeth and the Elizabethan court, dropping the Emperor altogether. Likewise he brings in Roman and Italian ladies, Lucilla, Livia, Camilla, bearing the same names in Guevara's book—Lucilla daughter of the Emperor, Livia the love of Marcus Aurelius, and Camilla a Roman lady.

The University of Athens and scholars of Athens in Guevara's book suit very well the whole period of Marcus Aurelius's reign. Lyly speaks of them in his first part, but has to confess in a later edition that he meant Oxford and Cambridge.

In short, Lyly does not introduce in his book, as many of his contemporaries did, the Italy of his time, but contrasts the antique Italy of Marcus Aurelius with his modern country. Euphues himself is a queer mixture of the ancient philosopher of Guevara's book, the courtier and lover of Lyly's time, and the scholar of an English University.

That Lyly's two volumes are compiled from different sources, ancient and modern, is evident. He brings in abruptly persons never before mentioned, he inserts in his second part tales which have nothing to do with the plot—as that of Cassander, the episode with the Italian Pfellus, Fidus and Iffida, and in the first part Euphues and his Ephoebus, Euphues and Atheos. I have pointed out two instances where he follows word for word Plutarch, whose *Morals* had already been Guevara's principal source. His unnatural philosophy he took verbally from Pliny.(3) In his allusions to ancient mythology he followed, as Hense has shown, Ovid and Vergil. The idea of compiling his *Euphues* was given to him by Guevara's book, whose style he adopted, and whose sententious morals he imitated closely.(4) Although there are passages where Lyly took his sentences verbally from the *Dial of Princes*, his work is far from being a translation. This could not be, because Guevara's books had been already too often translated into English. It seems to me that he took the *Dial of Princes* and compiled from it, adding compilations from many other sources. The *Dial of Princes* is about five times as large as both parts of *Euphues*. It is not only difficult, but not worth while, to trace in detail what is Lyly's own, what Guevara's, what Plutarch's, and other ancient writers' share of the contents.

The importance of this book does not rest with the contents, but with the style in which it is written.

Whereas Guevara's style is very often dignified and elevated, we can call it, in the English dress, only an undexterous imitation and a gross exaggeration, because the rhetorical figures which are used by Guevara, very often with good taste, are brought-in in Lyly's book with such overwhelming abundance, that they overload every page.

North's, Pettie's, and Lyly's example was soon followed by other writers, for we find this glittering antithetical style not only in Greene's novels, but also in the works of Gosson, Lodge, Nash, and Rich,(5) up to the year 1590. Greene, the most prominent follower of Lyly in this respect, abandoned Euphuism about the year 1590, and shows an unaffected style in his latest works. We may therefore fix this year, 1590, as the end of the reign of Euphuism in English prose, although we find traces of it here and there after this date. Nash and Lodge abandoned it earlier. Nash ridiculed Greene's Euphuism in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1589, where he says,—

"Might Ovid's exile admonish such idlebies to betake them to a newe trade, the presse should be farre better employed, histories of antiquitie not half so much belyed, minerals, stones, and herbes should not have such cogg'd natures and names ascribed to them without cause. Englishmen should not be half so much Italianated as they are; finallie love would obtaine the name of lust, and vice no longer maske under the vizard of vertue."

And in *Strange Newes*, 1592, Nash even maintains—

"*Euphues* I read, when I was a little ape in Cambridge, and I then thought it was *ipse ille*: it may be excellent good still, for ought I know; but I lookt not on it this ten yeare: but to imitate it I abhorre, otherwise than it imitates Plutarch, Ovid, and the choicest Latin authors."

The year of the publication of *Euphues* is not the beginning of Euphuism in England, but only the climax. Sir Philip Sidney, although he may have spoken Euphuism in court, avoided it entirely in his *Arcadia*, written between 1580-86. The publication of the *Arcadia* in 1588, detracted much from the reputation of *Euphues* by the popularity which it found in circles where *Euphues* had reigned, so far, as the fashionable book. It is not a mere phrase of Drayton when he says, in 1627, in his poem to Henry Reynold, of *Poets and Poesie*,—

"The noble Sidney, with this last arose,
That heroe for numbers and for Prose,

That throughly pac'd our language as to show
 The plenteous English hand in hand might goe
 With Greeke and Latine, and did first reduce
 Our tongue from Lillie's writing then in use ;
 Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of fishes, Flyes,
 Playing with words, and idle Similies,
 As th' English Apes and very Zanies be
 Of everything that they doe heare and see,
 So imitating his ridiculous tricks,
 They spake and writ, all like meere lunatiques."

For Sidney himself said—

"Let dainty wits cry on the sisters nine,
 That, bravely masked, their fancie may behold,
 Or Pindar's apes, flaunt they in phrases fine,
 Enamling with py'd flowers their thoughts of gold ;
 Or else let them in statelier glory shine,
 Ennobling new found tropes with problems old ;
 Or with strange similes enrich each line
 Of hearbs, or beasts, which Ind' or Africk hold."

And certainly Sidney did not appreciate this, or any other characteristic element of Lyly's style. But Sidney was not the only writer who despised these "similes" of Euphuus. Gabriel Harvey, Spencer's friend, answering Lyly's *Pap with a Hatchet* in *An advertisement for Pap Hatchet and Martin Marprelate*, 1589, confessed,—

"I cannot stand nosing of candlesticks or euphuing of similes, alla Savoica : it might happily be done with a trice ; but every man hath not the gift of Albertus Magnus : rare birds are dainty ; and they are quaint creatures, that are priviledged to create new creatures. When I have a mint of precious stones and straunge foules, beastes and fishes of mine owne coyning, (I could name the party, that in comparison of his owne Inventions termed Pliny a barraine woombe.)"—

Harvey certainly bore Lyly personal malice, but could not have made Lyly's style the principal point of his attack, if there had not been many others agreeing upon its ridiculousness just about 1589. In the same year (1589) W. Warner complains in his still euphuistic preface to *Albion's England*,—

"Onely this error may be thought hatching in our English, that to runne on the *letter* we often runne from the *matter* : and being over *prodigall* in similes, we become lesse *profitable* in sentences and more *prolixious* in sense."

§ 5. THE SUCCESSORS OF EUPHUISM : SIDNEY'S ARCADIANISM, &c.

When Shakspeare began to write, Euphuism was censured by many as a ridiculous affectation, but there were other eccentricities in diction succeeding it.

I. Sidney certainly avoided Euphuism, but he brought in another taste and style that led to the same exaggeration as North's translation had led to in *Euphues*. Sidney was the first to introduce into English the shepherd romance, with its flowery language and endless clauses, its tediousness and sentimentality, which characterise the shepherds of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, from Monte Mayor's *Diana* up to the *Astrée*. The Italian as well as the Spanish work, which Sidney must have known, shows an affected style in speech. Sidney was probably influenced by the diction of both; and besides, that taste existed already in England. He translated some of the songs from Monte Mayor's *Diana*, as is well known, and must have been intimately acquainted with it, though it was not translated before 1598.(6) Sidney's style and diction are full of conceits and affectation, but this affectation is altogether different from Euphuism. The exaggeration of the Arcadian's taste can be best seen in a now very rare book, which bears the title "*Arisbas Euphues*, by John Dickenson, 1594," and is an imitation, not of *Euphues*, but of Sidney's *Arcadia*, as we see by the preface of the author. It runs thus on Sidney:—

"Although the whitest swanne and sweetest of Apolloes musicall birdes, hath put an endlesse periode to his ever living lines, being prevented by his untimely death, the Herauld of over-hastie destiny, though he the honour of Art and hope of Armes, Minervaes nurce childe, and beloved Secretary to the sacred Muses, was in the spring time of his glorie raised from below to reigne above: yet as his heroique spirit, disrobed of the perishing habit of mortalitie, swiftly passing through the inferior orbes, hath ascended to the empyre heaven, participating eternall joyes in the habitation of the blessed, and doth with happier eyes view the glorious light of Deitie, and resting in that blisful seate of his repose, wonders at heaven's huge frame whereto his high thoughts did alwaies honourably aspire: so his fame winged with desert, suted in robes of immortalitie, vanquishing death, tryumphing over time, and nothing staied by trivial stoppes, towres to the cloudes, and not comprehended in smal limits, fills the eares of al men with oft rebounded echoes of his praise, and over spreading Europe, nay the worldes wide continent, as did the flourishing vine which seemed to dismayed Astyages, in his ill presaging dreame, to cover Asia with a spatious shade. If you demande whom I meane, even he it is to whom I wil ascribe no other titles, then the world has allotted, though I cannot duly affoord them as he deserves them, yet take them as I have placed them in this English distich, a testimonie of the reverent affection, which I beare to the memorie of such a famous worthie—

'Sweet Astrophil, the Solace of my pen,
Wonders of worth, and Peere of peerlesse men.'

He begins:

"The sunne sojourning in his winter mansion had disrobed Arcadia of all her Treasures, and disgarnished Vestaes mantle of delightes variable choice

wherewith Flora had in plentie poudred the freshnesse of her earst-green hue. Night suted in a duskie robe of pitchie darknesse, besieged the globe with long shadowes, while Phoebus wanting wonted vigor did by darting his scarce reflected beamis afford small comfort to the earth encrease: So that Arcadia, earst the sovereign seate of all conteint, and sole place of world's perfections, seemed now a patterne of the ancient chaos, wherein all things (if things) were confounded."—

II. *Gongorism*. Whether Shakspeare's time owes this quaint language not only to Sidney's influence, but to another direct importation from Spain, I am not able to say. In Spain this *estilo culto* was adopted about the year 1600 by Don Luis de Gongora y Argote;(7) but all Spanish critics agree that it was in vogue long before he adopted it in his poetical works. Lodge translated from a Spanish source, in 1596, a novel which was given to him in the Jesuit college at Santos in South America, *A Marguerite of America*, that exhibits the same style, beginning,

"The blushing morning gan no sooner appeare from the desired bed of her old paramour, and remembering hir of hir Cephalus, watered the bosome of swete floures with the Christal of hir teares."

In the *Register of the Stationers' Company* we find, in one year, 1590, alone, four Spanish grammars registered—a fact which shows that Spanish was not so unknown then as it is now-a-days; and I think it is not without reason that Shakspeare chose a Spaniard in *Love's Labour's Lost* as the representative of this style. Marston, if I mistake not, even went so far as to introduce a Spaniard in one of his plays, who speaks, wherever he appears, not English, but Spanish. I have, however, not yet traced this Gongoristic style in English, but hope to do so, as I have traced Euphuism. That novels in this style existed in English in the beginning of the seventeenth century, is evident from a very curious and amusing book, which Hazlitt supposes to have been written before 1637. In 1656 it bears the title *Don Zara del Fogo the Spaniarde*, by B. Musophilus, in 1657 *Wit and Fancy in a Mace*, and in 1660 "*Romancio-Matrix, or a Romance on Romances*: in which the prodigious vanities of a great part of them are (as in a Mirrour) most lively represented and so naturally personated, that the ingenious reader, observing their deformities, may delightfully be instructed and invited to the pursuing of more honourable and profitable studies, by Sam. Holland." This very

interesting and amusing satire on the eccentricities of the preceding age begins—

“It was about that mungrell hour when the black-browd night and grey-eyed morning strove for superiority, when the mirror of Martiall spirits, Don Zara del Fogo, sweeping the somniferous God from his ample front with that broom of heaven, his face-pounding fist, entered into serious contemplation of the renowned acts of his most noble ancestors.”

We have here not only the Spanish Romance à la Don Quijote, the mania for quotations, Gongoristic darkness and hyperbolic metaphors ridiculed, but the great English poets come-in at the following passage (Book II. ch. iv.) * :—

“— the British Bards (forsooth) were also ingaged in quarrel for superiority ; and who, think you, threw the Apple of Discord amongst them but Ben Johnson, who had openly vaunted himself the first and best of English Poets ; this Brave was resented by all with the highest Indignation, for Chaucer (by most there) was esteemed the Father of English Poesie, whose only unhappiness it was that he was made for the time he lived in, but the time not for him : Chapman was wondrously exasperated at Ben’s Boldness, and scarce refrained to tell (his own ‘Tale of a Tub’) that his Isabel and Mortimer was now completed by a knighted poet whose soul remained in Flesh ; hereupon Spencer (who was very busie in finishing his ‘Faery Queen’) thrust himself amidst the throng and was received with a shout by Chapman, Harrington, Owen, Constable, Daniel, and Drayton, so that some thought the matter already decided ; but behold Shakespear and Fletcher (bringing with them a strong party) appeared, as if they meant to water their Bays with blood, rather than part with their proper Right, which indeed Apollo and the Muses (had with much justice) conferr’d upon them, so that now there is like to be a trouble in Triplex ; Skelton, Gower, and the Monk of Bury were at Dagger-drawing for Chaucer ; Spencer waited upon by a numerous Troop of the best Bookmen in the World ; Shakespear and Fletcher surrounded with their lifeguard, viz. Goffe, Massinger, Decker, Webster, Sucklin, Cartwright, Carew, etc. O ye Parnassides.”—

We see that the taste which followed Euphuism was not at an end when Shakspeare died. That the conversational language, at the court and in good society, must have been very affected up to the middle of the seventeenth century, is most clearly shown by the publication of those catechisms of the English *Précieuses* like the *Academy of Compliments*, *Marrow of Compliments*, etc., in which euphuistic similes and comparisons, the flowery conceits of the Arcadians, as well as lists of fabulous stones, beasts, and plants, famous men and women, are collected systematically under distinct heads. (8)

* It is quoted in the Society’s *Centurie of Prayse*, p. 302, from the 8vo. edition of 1656.

III. *Dubartasism*. Hand in hand with the Arcadian taste came in another eccentricity during the last ten years of the sixteenth century, through the translation of Homer's poems, whose diction and metre, as well as other ancient metres, were not only directly introduced into the too patient English language, but whose absurd imitators in France found such a popularity in England, that Sidney, as well as James I., translated part of this imitation before Joshua Sylvester published his *Divine Week* and the rest of Dubartas's poetry. In Dickenson's imitation of the *Arcadia* we meet already with sapphics and hexameters; but all these attempts were surpassed by that of Abraham Fraunce,(9) who forced not merely the English language, but the conceited diction of the Arcadian shepherds, powdered with would-be Homeric epithets, into Homer's metre.

These extravagances, however, have nothing to do with Euphuism. They succeed Lyly's quaint antithetical style in England; and they, but no longer Euphuism, were flourishing when Shakspeare created his masterpieces. We should not deign to look at these ridiculous deviations now-a-days, if we had not to take a view of them too, for his sake, in order to get a just and right idea of the taste that reigned around him in society and literature.

To sum up: In *Love's Labour's Lost* Shakspeare was not ridiculing Euphuism proper, but four other forms of affectation current in his day—

1. Spanish high-flown diction, bombast and hyperbole.
2. Italian or Petrarchan love-sonnetting, word-play, and repartee.
3. Latinist pedantry or *Soraismus*.
4. Excessive Alliteration.

'Euphuism' proper, he parodied only in 1 *Henry IV.*, Act II. sc. iv.

Lyly's *Euphuus* and Euphuism were but adaptations from the Spanish writer GUEVARA.

Euphuism was overthrown in Shakspeare's time by the other affectation of Arcadianism, taken by Sidney from the Spaniard Montemayor; and this was followed by Gongorism—also borrowed from Spain,—and the extravagances copied from the French Dubartas.

NOTES TO DR LANDMANN'S PAPER.

(1) Cfr. C. C. Hense, in *Jahrbuch d. Sh. Ges.*, Weimar, 1872-73, vols. vii., viii.

(2) *Reg. Stat. Comp.*, repr. Arber, vol. ii, p. 342.

VI^{to} Die Augusti 1576 Master Watkins Receyved of him for his lycence to ymprinte a booke entituled A petit palace of Pettie his pleasure—xd and a copie.

(3) Guevara has, *Dial.*, book ii, chapt. 5—

"Of the revenge of a woman of Greece toke of him that had killed her husband, in hope to have her in mariage.

"Plutarche in the booke that he made of the noble and worthie women, declareth a thing worthy of rehearsall, and to be had in memory. In the cite of Galacia were two renowned citizens, whose names were Sinatus & Sinoris, whiche were by blood cosins and in familiaritie frendes: and for the love of a Grekes doughter, being very noble, beautifull, and exceeding gracious, they both strived to have her in mariage, and for to attain to their desires, they both served her, they both folowed her, they both loved her, and for her both of them desired to die. For the dart of love is as a stroke with a clod of earth: the which being throwen amongst a company dothe hurte the one, and blinde the others. And as the fatal destinees had ordeined it, Sinatus served this lady called Camma in suche sorte that in the ende he obtained her in mariage for his lawfull wife: which thing when Sinoris perceived, he was ashamed of his doings, and was also wounded in his harte. For he lost not only that, which of so long time he had sought, loved, and served: but also the hope to attaine to that which chiefly in his life he desired."

In Pettie's collection the first tale is *Sinorix and Camma*.

"Sinorix chiefe governour of Scienna in Italie, glauncing his eyes upon the glittering beautie of Camma, wyfe of Sinnatus, a Gentleman of the same citie, falleth into extreame love with her, and assayeth sundry wayes to winne her good wyll. But perceiving his practices to take no wysshed effect, and supposing the husbandes lyfe to hinder his love, caused him to be murdered by a ruffian. Camma to the intent she might be revenged upon the chiefe conspiratour, in granting him mariage, dispatched herselfe in drinking to him, and him in pledging her in a draught of poyson, which she had prepared for that purpose."

That Pettie's style is nothing else but Euphuism, a few lines may prove.

Sinorix receives his guests in the following terms:

"Fayre Ladies, as I am right ioyfull of your presence, so am I no lesse sorowfull for the paynes, which you have taken in undertakyng so great a journey this darke and mistie evening for the which I must account myselfe so much the more beholding to you, by how much greater your labour was in comming, and by how much lesse your cheere shal be able to countervaille it now yow are come."

And Camma answers to the letter of Sinorix :

"Your courageous persisting in your purpose, proveth you rather a desperat sot, then a discreet souldier : for to hop against the hill, and strive against the streame, hath ever been counted extreame folly. Your valiant venturing for a pray of value, proceeds rather of covetousnesse then of courage, for the valiant souldier seeketh glory, not gaine : but therein you may be more fitly resembled to the Caterpillar, which cleaveth only to good fruite, or the Moath, which most of all eateth the best cloth : or to the canker, which commonly breedeth in the fayrest Rose, or to the Wolfe, which by his will will kill the fattest sheepe."

Pliny, tr. by Bostock & Riley.

Euphues.

xxx. 44.

The stone Aetites that is found in the eagles nest.

p. 484.

Or the precious stone Aetites, which is founde in the filthy neastes of the Eagle.

x. 86.

The attagen, also of Ionia, is a famous bird ; but although it has a voice it is mute in captivity.

p. 462.

As the bird Attagen, who never singeth any time after she is taken.

xxv. 52.

It is the hind too, that as already stated first made us acquainted with dictannum or dittany, for when wounded, it eats some of this plant, and the weapon immediately falls from the body.

p. 61.

The hart being perced with the dart, runneth out of hand to the hearb Dictannum and is healed.

xxii. 23.

The root of Anchusa is insoluble in water but dissolves in oil.

p. 121.

Anchusa, though it be hardened with water, yet it is againe made soft with oyle.

xxvii. 32.

Topazon. It so happened that some troglodytae pirates—when digging for rootes and grass discovered this precious stone.

p. 282.

And this dare I avouch that as the Trogloditae which digged in the filthy ground for rootes and found the inestimable stone Topazon.

(4) I think it will be desirable to see in a few parallels—I could give very many more—how far Lyly imitates Guevara, not only in the principal features of his style, the well-balanced antithesis and mania for comparisons and similes, but also in the contents, the ideas adapted.

I quote Guevara after North's translation, *Dial. of Princes*, 2nd ed. 1568. *Euphues* after Arber's reprint, 1868.

GUEVARA.

LYLY'S *Euphues*.

Marcus Aurelius writeth to the amorous ladies of Rome.

Chap. x.

Truly he taketh upon him a great thing, and hath many cares in his mynde, much to muse upon, needeth

p. 97, s.s.

Nay Lucilla (sayd he) my Harvest shall cease, seeing others have reaped my corne, for anglyng for the fish that

GUEVARA.

much counsel, needeth long experience, and ought to chose amongst many women that thinketh to rule one only wife by reason. Be the beastes never so wild, at length the Lyon is ruled by his keaper, the bul is enclosed in his parke, the horse ruled by the brydel, the lytle hoke catcheth the fysh, the Oxe contended to yealde to the yoke: only a woman is a beast whych will never be tamed, she never loseth her boldness of commaundement. The gods have made men as men, and beasts as beasts, and mens understanding very high and his strength of great force: yet ther is nothing be it of never so great power, that can escape a woman, either with sleight or myght. But I say to you amorous ladyes, ther is neither spurre can make you go, raine that can hold you backe, bridel that can refraine you, neither fish hoke, ne net that can take you: to conclude there is no law can subdue you nor shame restrain you, nor feare abashe you, nor chastisement amend you. O to what great peril putteth he himselfe unto, that thinketh to rule and correct you. For if you take an opinyon, y^e whole world cannot remove you: who warneth you of anything, ye never beleve him. If they geve you good counsel, you take it not: if one threaten you, straite you complaine. If one pray you, then are ye proude: if they reioyce not in you, then are you spiteful. If one forbears you, then are ye bold: if one chastice you straite you become serpents. Finally a woman will never forget an iniurie, nor be thankful for a benefit received. Now a days the most symplyst of all women wil swere that they know lesse then they do: but I swere, whych of them that knoweth least, knoweth more evil then all men, and of trouth *the* wisest man shal faile in their wisdom. Wil ye know my ladyes howe lytle you understand, and how much you be ignoraunt? that is in matters of importaunce ye determine rashly, as if

LYLY'S *Euphues*.

is already caught, that were but meere folly. But in my minde if you be a fish you are either an Eele which as soone as one hath hold on hir taylor, wil slip out of his hande, or els a Minnow which will be nibbling at every baite, but never biting. And in that you bring in the example of a Beast to confirme your follye you shew therein your beastly disposition, which is readye to follow such beastlynesse.—And certes in my minde no angle will hold thee, it must be a net.—I had thought that woemen had bene as we men, that is true, faithfull, zealous, constant, but I perceive they be rather woe unto men, by their falsehoode gelousie inconstancye. I was halfe perswaded that they were made of the perfection of men, and would be comforters, but nowe I see they have tasted of the infection of the Serpent, and will be corasives.

p. 106, s.s.

Dost thou not know that woemen deeme none valyaunt unlesse he be too venterous? That they accompt one a dastart if he be not desperate, a pynch penny if he be not prodygall, if silent a sottie, if full of wordes a foole? Perversly doe they alwayes thinke of their lovers and talke of them scornefully, iudging all to be clownes which be no courtiers, and all to be pinglers, that be no coursers.—But alas it is no lesse common then lamentable to behold the tottering estate of lovers, who thinke by delays to prevent dangers, with Oyle to quench fire, with smoake to clear the eye sight. They flatter themselves with a fainting farewell, deferring ever until to morrow, when as their morrow doth always increase their sorrow. Let neither their amiable countenances, neither their painted protestacions, neither their deceitfull promises allure thee to delays.—What greater infamy, then to conferre the sharpe witte to the making of lewde Sonettes, to the idolatrous worshyping of their Ladyes, to the vaine delyghts

GUEVARA.

ye had studied on it a thousand yeres : if any you counceel, ye hold him for a mortal enemy, hardy is that woman that dare give counceel to a man, and he more bolde that taketh it of a woman : but I returne and saye, that he is a foole whych taketh it, and he more foole that asketh it, but he most foole that fulfill it. My opinyon is that he which wil not stomble amongst so hard stones, not pricke himselfe amongst such thornes, nor styng him with so many nettels, let him harke what I wil say and do, as he shal se, speake wel, and worke evil.

In promysing avow much : but in perfourmyng, accomlishe litle. Finally allow your words, and condemne your counsels. If we could demandaund of famous men which are dead, how they liked in their life the counceel of women, I am sure they would not now rise again to beleve them, nor be revived to here them. How was king Philippe with Olimpia, Paris with Hellen : Alexander with Rosana, Aeneas with Dido, Hercules with Deyanyrya, Anibal with Tamira, Antony with Cleopatra, Iulius with Domitian, Nero with Agrippina ? and if you wil not beleve what they suffered with them aske of me unhappy man what I suffer amongst you. O ye women, when I remember that I was borne of you, I loth my lyfe : and thinking how I live with you, I wishe and desire my death. For ther is no such death to tormente, as to have to do with you : and contrary no such lyfe as to fly from you. It is a common saing among women that men be very unthankful, because we were bred in your entrailes, we order you as servauntes. Ye say for that ye brought us forth with peril, and norished us with travaile, it is reason that we shold alwayes employ us to serve you. I have thought divers tymes with myselfe, from whence the desire that man hath to women cometh. Ther are no eyes but ought to wepe, nor heart but

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of fancye, to all kinde of vice as it were against kinde and course of Nature ? Is it not folly to shewe witte to woemen which are neither able nor willing to receive fruite thereof.—And certes easier will the remedy be, when the reason is espyed : doe you not knowe the nature of women which is grounded onely upon extremities ? Doe they thinke any man to delight in them, unlesse he doate on them ? Any to be zealous except they bee jealous ? Any to be fervent in case he be not furious ? If he be cleaneleye, then terme they him proude, if meane in apparell a sloven, if talle a lungis, if short a dwarfe, if bolde, blunt : if shamefast a cowarde : Insomuch as they have neither meane in their frumps nor measure in their folly. But at the first the Oxe weyldeth not the yoke, nor the Colt the snaffle, nor the lover good counceel, yet time causeth the one to bend his neck, the other to open his mouth, and shoulde enforce the thirde to yeelde his right to reason. Laye before thine eyes the slightes and deceits of thy Lady, hir snatching in iest and keeping in earnest, hir periury, hir impietie, the countenance shee sheweth to thee of course, the love she beareth to others of zeale, hir open malice, hir dissembled mischief. O I woulde in repeating their vices thou couldst be as eloquent as in remembring them thou oughtest to be penitent : be she never so comely call her counterfaite, bee she never so straight thinke hir croked. Moreover to make thee the more stronger to strive against these Syrenes and more subtil to deceive these tame Serpents, my consayle is that thou have more strings to thy bow then one, it is a safe riding at two ankers.—Yet if thou be so weake being bewitched with their wiles that thou hast neither will to eschue, nor wit to avoyd their company, if thou be either so wicked that thou wilt not, or so wedded that thou canst not abstain from their glaunces, yet at the leaste dissemble thy griefe.—

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should breake, nor spirite but ought to wayle, to se a wyse man lost by a foolish woman. The foolyshe lover passeth the day to content hys eyes, and the darke night in tormenting himselfe, wyth fond thoughtes, one day in hearing tydings, another day in doying servyces, somtime lothing lyght, being in company, and solitary lyveth: and finally the poore lover may that he wil not, and would that he may not. More over the counsel of his frends awayleth hym nothing, nor the infamy of his enemyes, not the losse of goodes, the adventure of honour.—

I meane, that in your lyves ye be filthy, your personnes without shame, in adversitie weake and feble, in prosperitie ful of deceite and guyle, false in your woordes, and doubtful in your doynge, in hatynge without measure, in love extreame, in gifts covetous, in takyng unshamfast: and finally I saye ye are the ground of feare in whom the wise men find peril, and the simple men suffer iniury. In you the wise men hold their renoune slaundered and the simple men theyr lyfe in penury.—Of trouth ye amorous dames ye have tongues of the nature of fire, and your condicions like the powder of a rotten tree. (See before.)

I accept the Romaine ladies apart, for ther are many very noble, whose lyves are not touched with complaint, nor good fames had in suspect. Of such neither my letter speaketh ought, nor my penne writeth: but of those women I speake that be such as al the venomous beastes in ye world have not so much poyson in their bodyes, as one of those hath in their tongues.—And thus I conclude that a man maye scape from aldaungers in shonning them: but from women ther is no way but to fly from them. Thus I end.—

Book III. 8.

For this intent the virgins vestalles are closed up betweene the walles to eschew the occasions of open places,

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Beleve not their othes and solempne protestations, their exorcisms and conjurations, their teares which they have at commaundement, their alluring lookes, their treading on the toe, their unsavory toyes. Let every one loath his Ladye and be ashamed to be her servaunt.—

And yet Philautus, I would not that al women should take pepper in the nose, in that I have disclosed the legerdemains of a fewe, for well I know none will winch except she bee gawlded, neither any be offended unlesse she be guiltie. Therefore I earnestly desire thee, that thou shew this cooling carde to none, except thou shew also this my defence to them all. For although I way nothing the ill will of light huswives, yet would I be loath to lose the good wil of honest matrons. Thus being ready to goe to Athens, and ready there to entertain thee whensoever thou shalt repaire thether. I bidde thee farewell, and fly women.

p. 38, s.s.

The Parthians to cause their youth to loathe the alluring traines of womens wiles and deceitful entice-

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not to be more lyght and folyshe but to be more sad and vertuous fliing occasions. The yong shal not say I am yong and vertuous : nor the old shal not say I am olde and broken. For of necessity the dry flaxe wil bren in the fier and the grene flagge smoke in the flame. I say though a man be a dyamond set among men, yet of necessitie he ought to be quicke, and to melt as waxe in the heate among women, we cannot deny that though the wood be taken from the fyer and the imbers quenched yet nevertheles the stones oftentime remaine hotte. In like wise the flesh, though it be chastised with hotte and dry diseases consumed by many yeares with travaile, yet concupiscence abyde stil in the bones. What nede is it to blase the vertues, and denye our naturalities? certainly ther is not so old a horse but if he se a mare wil ney once or twice : ther is no man so yong nor old but let him se faire yong damosels, either he wil give a sigh or a wishe. In al voluntarie things I deny not, but that one may be vertuous ; but in natural things I confesse every man to be weake. When to take the wood from the fier, it leaveth burning : when sommer cometh the cold winter ceaseth : when the sea is calm the waves leave their vehement mocions ; when the sonne is set it lightneth not the world.

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ments, hadde most curiously carved in their houses a young man blynde. —Thou art here in Naples a young sojourner, I an olde senior.—

The fine Christal is sooner crased than the hard Marble : the greenest beech burneth faster then the dryest Oke : the fairest silke is soonest soyled : and the sweetest Wine tourneth to the sharpest Vinegar. The Pestilence doth most rifest infect the clearest complexion, and the caterpillar cleaveth unto the ripest fruite. —If therfore thou doe but hearken to the Syrens, thou wilt be enamoured.—Though all men be made of one mettall, yet they be not cast all in one moule, ther is framed of the selfe same clay as wel the tile to keepe water out, as the pottle to containe licour, the Sunne doth harden the durte, and melte the waxe, fire maketh the golde to shine and the strawe to smother, Perfumes doth refresh the Dove, and kill the Betill, and the nature of the man disposeth that consent of the manners.—Doe you not knowe that which all men do affirme and know, that blacke will take no other colour? That the stone Abeston being once made hot will never be made colde? That fyre cannot be forced downewarde? That nature wil have course after kinde? That everything will dispose itselfe according Nature? Can the Aethiophe change or alter his skinne? or the Leopard his hiew? Is it possible to gather grapes of thornes, or figges from thistles, or to cause anything to strive against nature?—Put you no difference betweene the young flourishing Bay tree, and the old withered Beach? No kinde of distinction betweene the waxinge and the waning of the Moone? And betweene the risinge and the settinge of the Sunne? Do you measure the hot assaults of youth, by the colde skirmishes of age? whose years are subject to more infirmities then our youth?

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Appendix 4.

When the tryumphes before named were finyshed this good Emperour being willing to unbourden his hart and to advise Faustine and to teache the young damosel his daughter, and to the end that no man shold heare it, he called them apart, and sayd unto them these words. I am not contente Faustine with that thy doughter did nor yet with that which thou hast done being her mother. The doughters if they wilbe counted good children, must learne to obeye their fathers:—And now Lucilla remember not how you are a doughter: for you shoue to have more liberty then requireth for a young mayden. The greatest gift that the gods have geuen to the Matrons of Rome is: because that they are women, they kepe themselves close and secret, and because they are Romanes they are shamefast, and shame of men openly, beleve me they shal eyther faile the world, or the world theym.—

Appendix 5.

Mark the very desirous to the Lady greatly desired. I know not wether by my evil adventure, or by happe of my good adventure: not long agoe I saw thee at a windowe—I did not salute thee although thou desiredst to be seene. Sith thou were set up as a white, it is no merveile though I shotte with the arrowes of my eyes, at the but of thy beautie with rolling eyes, with browes bent, well coloured face, incarnate teeth, ruddy lipps, curled heere, hands set with ringes, clothed with a thousand maner of colours, the bracelettes and earinges ful of pearles and stones.—

What wilt thou I saye more to thee, they wepte for that they died and I weepe teares of bloude from my hart for that I live.—

I would thou knewe lady Macrine the clere intention of my hart, rather then this letter written with my hande. If my hap were so good as thy love would permit me to speake

LYLY'S *Euphues*.

p. 101, s.s.

But it happened immediately Ferrardo to returne home, who heering this strange event, was not a little amazed, and was now more readye to exhorte Lucilla.—Therefore in all haste with watrye eyes, and a woe-ful heart, began on this manner to reason with his daughter. Lucilla (daughter I am ashamed to call thee) seeing thou hast neither care of thy fathers tender affection nor of thine one credite.—But alas I see in thee neither wit to order thy doings, neither wil to frame thyselfe to discretion, neither the nature of a childe, neither the nurture of a maiden, neither (I cannot without teares speake it) any regard of thine honour, neither any care of thine honestie.—As thy beautie has made thee the blaze of Italy, so will thy lightnesse make thee the byeworde of the worlde.—

365. Philautus to the faire Camilla.

I cannot tell wether thy ingratitude be greater or my misfortune.—

404. The eye of the man is the arrow, the beautie of the woman the white, which shooteth not but receiveth.—

116. I loath almost to thinke on their oyntments and appoticary drugges, the sleeeking of their faces, and all their slipper sauces.—Take from them their perywigges, their paintings, their Jewells, their rowles, their boulstrings and thou shalt soon perceive a woman is the least part of herselfe.—

If thou nothing esteeme the brynish water that falleth from mine eyes, I would thou couldst see the warme bloud that droppeth from my hart.—

355. If thou wouldst but permit me to talke with thee, or by writing suffer me at large to discourse with thee, I doubt not but that both the cause of my love wold be beleaved, and the

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with the, I wold hope by sight & speche to win that, which I am in suspect by my letter to lose. The reason wherof is, because thou shalt rede my rude reasons in this leter, and if ye sawest me, then thou shouldst se ye bitter teares which I would offer to thee in this my unhappy life.

Book II. 6.

The emperour folowing his matter admonisheth men of the great daunger which ensue unto them by excessive hunting the company of women.

Then since the man knoweth that he must passe all those daungers, I cannot tel what foole he is, that wyll either love or serve you. For the brute beaste that once hath felte the sharpe teethe of the dogge, will unwillingly ever after come nere unto the stake. O unto what perils doth he offer himselfe, which continually doth haunte the company of women. For as much as if he love them not, they despise him, and take him for a foole. If he doth love them, they accompt him for a light. If he forsake them they esteeme him for no body. If he followe them, he is accompted loste. If he serve them, they do not regarde him. If he doe not serve them they despyse hym. If he will have them, they wyll not. If he will not they persecute hym. If he doe advance himselfe forth, they call hym importunate. If he flie, they say he is a cowarde. If he speake they saye he is a bragger. If he holde his peace, they saye he is a dissarde. If he laughe they saye he is a foole. If he laughe not, thei say he is solempne. If he geveth them anything they saye it is litle worth: and he that geveth them nothing, he is a pinch-purse. Finally he that haunteth them, is by them sclaudered: and he that doth not frequent them, is esteemed lesse then a man.

(5) In the second Tome of *The Travailes and Adventures of Don Simonides*, by Barnaby Rich, 1584, I find Euphues introduced as a person into the tale, and the following yet unknown eulogy on John Lyly:—

LYLY'S *Euphues*.

extremitie rewarded, both preceeding of thy beautie and vertue, the one able to allure, the other readie to pitie.—

p. 106, s.s.

A cooling carde for Philautus and all fond lovers.

Doest thou not knowe that woemen deeme non valyaunt unlesse he be too venterous? That they accompt one a dastard if he be not desperate, a pynch penny if he be not prodigall, if silent a sottie, if full of wordes a foole?—Doe they thinke any man to delyght in them, unlesse he doate on them? Any to be zealous except they bee jealous? Any to be fervent in case he be not furious? If he be cleanebye, then terme they him proude, if meane in apparell a sloven, if talle a lungis, if short, a dwarfe, if bolde, blunt, if shamefast a coward.

"And amongst the whole catalogue of comely schollers, there shalt thou meete with a Gentleman of such experience, as may confirme thee in thy travaile, counsaile thee into straunge Countreies, comfort thee in all thy Sorrowes, teache thee how thou oughtest to walke, yea, with so sweet a tongued orator shalt thou meete, as Aeschines should be shoft at if he discommended hym, and Anthony the Orator derided at if he did imitate hym. All these perfections shalt thou finde in one man, who as the Bee sucketh Honey findeth vertue, as the Camelion feedeth on the Ayre followeth contemplation, who can Court it with the best, and Scholler it with the most, in whom I know not whither I should more commend his maners or his learnyng, the one is so exquisite the other so generall. Happy shalt thou be in thy travaile to meete with this Euphues, who is curious in describing the Anatomie of wit, and constaunt reprehendyng vanities in Love."

(6) I think it will not be out of place to give a few lines of Sidney's work and that of Montemayor, tr. by B. Yong, 1598. I choose the beginning of the *Arcadia* and the *Diana*, which seems in conception and phrases very like in both. There exist still many vague notions on the style of Sidney and the Arcadians, just as on Euphuism; but I think a few lines will be sufficient to show that we have here altogether a different taste and elements exaggerated from those which give *Euphues* its peculiarity.

MONTEMAYOR, *Diana*, 1542.

Downe from the hils of Leon came forgotten Syrenus whom love, fortune, and time did so entreate, that by the least greefe that he suffered in his sorrowfull life, he looked for no lesse then to loose the same. The unfortunate Sheperd did not now bewaile the harme, which her absence did threaten him, and the feare of her forgetfulness did not greatly trouble his minde, because he sawe all the prophecies of his suspicion so greatly to his prejudice accomplished, that now he thought he had no more misfortunes to menace him. But the sheperd coming to those greene and pleasant meades, which the great river Ezla watreth with his cristalline streames, the great felicitie and content came to his wandring thoughtes, which sometimes he had enjoyed there, being then so absolute a Lord of his owne liberty, as now subiect to one, who had wrongfully enterred him in darke oblivion. He went musing of that happie time, when in those medowes, and on those faire banks he fed his flocks,—applying then his minde in the onely care and interest he had to feede them well: and

SIDNEY, *Arcadia*, 1588.

It was in the time that the earth begins to put on her new apparel against the approach of her lover, and that the sun running a most even course, becomes an indifferent arbiter between the night and the day, when the hopeless sheperd Strephon was come to the sands which lie against the island of Cithera; where viewing the place with a heavy kind of delight, and sometimes casting his eyes to the isleward, he called his friendly rival, the pastor Claius unto him; and setting first down in his darkened countenance a doleful copy of what he would speak, O my Claius, said he, hither we are now come to pay the rent, for which we are so called unto by over-busy remembrance, restless remembrance, which claims not only this duty of us, but for it will have us to forget our selves. I pray you, when we were amid our flock, and that of other sheperds some were running after their sheep, strayed beyond their bounds; some delighting their eyes with seeing them nibble upon the short and sweet grass; some medicining their sick ewes; some setting a

MONTEMAYOR, *Diana*, 1542.

spending the rest of his howres in the onely delight, that he tooke in the swete smell of those golden flowres, at that time especially, when cheereful springtyde (the merry messenger of sommer) is spread over the face of the whole earth: sometimes taking his rebecke, which he ever caried very neate in a scrip, and sometimes his bagpipe, to the tune of which he made most sweete ditties, which of all the sheperdesses of those hamlets there abouts made him most highly commended. The sheperd busied not his thoughts in the consideration of the prosperous and preposterous successe of fortune, nor in the mutabilitie and course of times, neither did the painfull diligence and aspiring minde of the ambitious Courtier trouble his quiet rest: nor the presumption and coye disdain of the proude and nice Ladie (celebrated onely by the appassionate voves and opinions of her amorous sutors) once occurre to his imaginations; And as little did the swelling pride and small care of the private man offend his quiet minde. In the field was he borne, bred and brought up: in the field he fed his flockes, and so out of the limits of the field his thoughts did never range, untill cruell love tooke possession of his libertie, which to those he is commonly woont to doe, who thinke themselves freest from his tyrannie. The sad sheperd therefore came softly on his pace, his eyes turned into fountaines, the fresh hew of his face chaunged, and his hart so tempered to suffer Fortunes unworthie disgraces, that if she would have given him any content, she must have sought him a new hart to receive it. The weedes that he did weare, was a long gray coate, as rugged as his haps, carrying a sheepe hooke in his right hand, and a scrip hanging on his left arme. He laide himselfe downe at the foote of a thicke hedge, and began to cast forth his eyes along those faire river banks, until their beames came to that place, where first they beheld

SIDNEY, *Arcadia*, 1588.

bell for an ensign of a sheepish squadron; some with more leisure inventing new games of exercising their bodies and sporting their wits; did remembrance grant us any holiday, either for pastime or devotion? nay, either for necessary food, or natural rest? but that still it forced our thoughts to work upon this place, where we last (alas that the word last should so long last) did graze our eyes upon her ever flourishing beauty, did it not still cry within us? A you base minded wretches! are your thoughts so deeply bemired in the trade of ordinary worldlings, as for respect of gain some paltry wool may yield you, to let so much time pass without knowing perfectly her estate especially in so troublesome a season? to leave that shore unsaluted from whence you may see to the island where she dwelleth? to leave those steps unvisited wherein Urania printed the farewell of all beauty. Well then, remembrance commanded, we obeyed, and here we find, that as our remembrance came ever clothed unto us in the form of this place, so this place gives new heat to the fever of our languishing remembrance. Yonder, my Claius, Urania lighted, the very horse methought, bewailed to be so disburdened: and as for thee, poor Claius, when thou wentest to help her down, I saw reverence and desire so devide thee, that thou didst at one instant both blush and quake, and instead of bearing her, wert ready to fall down thyself.

MONTEMAYOR, *Diana*, 1542.

the beaultie, grace, and rare vertues of the Sheperdesse Diana, she, in whom skilfull nature had consummated all perfections, which in every part of her dainty body she had equally bestowed. Then did his hart imagine that, which before it divined of, that sometimes he should finde himselfe put amongst sorrowfull memories. And then could not the wofull Sheperd stop his teares from gushing out, nor smother his sighes which came smoking out of his breast, but lifting up his eyes to heaven began thus to lament. A memorie (cruell enemie to my quiet rest) were not thou better occupied to make me forget present corsies, then to put before mine eyes passed contents? What saiest thou memorie? That in this meadow I beheld my Lady Diana, that in the same I began to feele that, which I shal never leave of to lament, that neere to that cleere fountaine, (set about with high and greene Sicamours) with many teares she solemnly sware to me, that there was not the deerest thing in the world, no, not the will of her parents, the perswasion of her brethren, nor the importunities of her allies, that were able to remove her from her settled thoughts? And when she spake these words, there fell out of those faire eyes teares like oriental pearles, which seemed to testifie that, which remained

MONTEMAYOR, *Diana*, 1542.

in her secret hart, commanding me, upon paine to be accounted of her a man but of base and abject minde, if I did not beleeeve that, which so often times she had told me. But stay yet a little Memorie, since now thou hast put before me the foundations of my mishap (and such they were, that the ioy, which I then passed, was but the beginning of the greefe which now I suffer) forget not to tune me this iarring string, to put before mine eyes by one and one, the troubles, the turmoiles, the feares, the suspects, the iealousies, the mistrusts, and cares, which leave not him, that most truly loves. A memorie, memorie, how sure am I of this aunswere at thy hands, that the greatest paine, that I passed in these considerations, was but little in respect of that content which in lieu of them I received. Thou hast greate reason memorie, and the worse for me that it is so great: and lying and lamenting in this sort, he tooke a paper out of his bosome, wherein he had a few greene silken strings and haire tyed up together, and laying them open before him upon the greene grasse, with abundance of teares he tooke out his Rebecke, not halfe so iocund as it was woont to be, at what time he was in Dianas favour, and began to sing that which followeth.—

(7) Ticknor gives the following example of Gongora's style, that shows best the darkness of his allusions and his quaint metaphorical diction.

"Thus when his friend Luis de Bavia in 1613 published a Volume containing the history of three Popes, Gongora sent him the following words, thrown into the shape of a commendatory sonnet, to be prefixed to the book. This poem, which Bavia has now offered to the world, if not tied up in numbers, yet is filed down into a good arrangement, and licked into shape by learning, is a cultivated history, whose gray-headed style, though not metrical, is combed out, and robs three pilots of the sacred bark from time and rescues them from oblivion. But the Pen that thus immortalizes the heavenly turnkeys on the bronzes of its history is not a pen, but the key of ages. It opens to their names, not the gates of failing memory, which stamps shadows on masses of foam, but those of immortality."

(8) In Bodenham's *Polyteuphyia* Wits Comonwealth, and in its continuation, *Palladis Tamia*, by Fr. Meres 1598, we seem to have

the first of these collections. In the latter every single sentence throughout the whole book is a euphuistic simile, with 'as—so.' In the *Academy of Complements*, by Philomusus, 1650, we find first phrases like the following :—

"How long shall my languishing sickness wait upon the triumphs of my passions? At last, o fair one, cast the eyes of thy resplendent presence on thy abject creature, that, by the brightness of those raies, his baseness may be turned into a most high, and through thy perfections a most happy preferment ; for being thus disconsolate, by the frowns of thy rigour, how soon maist thou raze down that temple, which at first was built by the refulgent smiles of thy beauty?"

Then come in Arcadian and euphuistic similes and comparisons :

"Like to Diana in her summer weed, girt with a Crimson robe of brightest dye.

The rivulets of tears hang on her cheekes like rops of pearled dew upon the rides of Flora.

Her tresses are like the coloured Hyacinth of Arcadia.

Her brows are like the mountain snows, that lye on the hills.

Her eyes are like glistrings of Titans gorgeous mantle.

Her Alabaster neck like the purer whitenesse of the flocks, and her face a border of Lillies, interwoven with Roses.

Her blushing cheeks loke like the ruddy gates of the morning.

Her breath is like the steam of Apple-pyes, her teeth like the tusks of fattest swine, her speech is like the thunder of the Aire."

And

"As the finest gold hath its drosse ; purest wine its lees ; the finest Rose its Prickels ; each sweete its soure.

He that will hear such Syrens sing, must with Ulysses tie himself to the mast of the ship.

Who means to be a suitor to Circes, must take a preservative, unlesse he mean to be enchanted.

Like the moistned Torpedoes, that doe not only charm the hand, but the heart.

As the finest flower seldome hath the lest smell, as the glittering stone hath oftentimes the least vertues.

As the Cockatrice dieth with beholding the Chrysolyte."

Now these phrases are not merely the invention of the author, but quotations from the most popular writer of the preceding period.

(9) The Countesse of Pembroke's Yvychurch, Conteyning the affectionate life and unfortunate death of Phillis and Amyntas, that in Pastorall : this in a Funerall : both in English Hexameters. 1591. It saw three editions, and begins :

"Who would thinke, that a God lay lurking under a gray cloak,
Silly shepherd's gray cloake, and arm'd with paltry sheep hooke?
And yet no pety God, no God that gods by the mountaines,
But the triumphant'st God that beares any sway in Olympus,
Which many times hath made man-murdering Mars to be cursing
His blood-sucking blade, and prince of watery empire
Earth-shaking Neptune, his three-fork't mace to be leaving
And Jove omnipotent, as a poore and humble obeissant,
His three-flak't lightnings and thunderbolts to abandon,
Unto the wanton waggas that waite on Lordly Cupido."

XIV. SHAKSPERE'S *AS YOU LIKE IT* AND LODGE'S *ROSALYNDE* COMPARED.

BY W. G. STONE, ESQ.

(Read at the 77th Meeting of the Society, Friday, March 10, 1882.)

I PROPOSE in the following paper to examine Shakspeare's treatment of Lodge's *Rosalynde*, the source of *As You Like It*, from a negative point of view; and, instead of showing his agreement therewith, to dwell upon his divergence therefrom, (I) in varying the plot, (II) in modifying the characters.

Before considering Shakspeare's use of his acknowledged original—Lodge's *Rosalynde*—it may be well to enquire whether he had any other before him. Farmer, who opposed the assertion of Grey and Upton that Shakspeare borrowed *As You Like It* from the pseudo-Chaucerian *Tale of Gamelyn*,—to which Lodge was partially indebted,—went so far as to say: “. . . the old bard, who was no hunter of MSS., contented himself solely with Lodge's *Rosalynd*.”¹ Knight² produced three passages from *Gamelyn*, for which he found parallelisms in *As You Like It*. Orlando was dependent upon his brother's generosity. So should Gamelyn have been if Sire Johan of Boundys had followed the advice of some “wise knightes” whom he had requested to divide his lands between his three sons, having special regard to his youngest son's, Gamelyn's, interest.

“For to delen hem alle to oon, that was her thought,
And for Gamelyn was yongest, he schuld have nought”
(ll. 43, 44).³

Sire Johan, however, made Gamelyn his residuary legatee. In the next instance there is certainly an analogous treatment of subject.

¹ “On the Learning of Shakspeare,” in the *Var. Sh.*, 1821, i. 314.

² *Pictorial Shakspeare*, ed. 1, Comedies, vol. ii. pp. 199-201.

³ The references are to the Aldine edition of *Chaucer* (ed. 2), vol. ii. pp. 139 *et sqq.* The Rev. W. A. Harrison drew my attention to the parallelisms in *Gamelyn* at ll. 71-73; 193, 194; and 233, 234.

The old man, whose sons had been well nigh slain by Charles, was "making such pittiful dole ouer them, that all the beholders take his part with weeping,"¹ said Le Beau (I. ii. 139, 140). When Gamelyn reached the wrestling-place :

" . . . he herd a frankeleyn wayloway synge,
And bigan bitterly his hõndes for to wrynge" (ll. 197, 198),

bemoaning the death of his two sons. Contrast the stoicism of Lodge's franklin who "never chaunged his countenance, but as a man of a couragious resolution, tooke up the bodies of his sonnes without shewe of outward discontent." The people, we are told, "murmured, and were all in a deepe passion of pittie"² (p. 27). The "shake by the shoulder," wherewith Lodge's wrestler disturbs Rosader's contemplation of Rosalynd's charms (p. 28), bears, I think, a closer resemblance to Charles's rude interruption of Orlando's talk with Rosalind and Celia,—“Come, where is this yong gallant that is so desirous to lie with his mother earth” (I. ii. 212, 213),—than can be found in the taunt addressed by the champion to Gamelyn :

" . . . Who is thy fader and who is thy sire?
For-sothe thou art a gret fool, that thou come hire"
(ll. 221, 222).

Five other parallelisms, more or less clear, may be added. After his father's death, Johan, Gamelyn's eldest brother,

" . . . took into his hond his lond and his leede,
And Gamelyn himsele to clothen and to feede.
He clothed him and *fed him yvel* and eek wrothe" (ll. 71-73).

Orlando complains to Adam that Oliver's "horses are bred better, for besides that they are faire with their *feeding*, they are taught their mannage, . . . hee lets mee *feede* with his Hindes, barres mee the place of a brother," &c. (I. i. 11-13, 19-21). Lodge only says, generally, that Saladyne made "Rosader his foote boy for the space of two or three yeares, keeping him in such servile subjection, as if he had been the sonne of any country vassal" (p. 21). When Oliver

¹ Line-numbers from the *Globe Sh.* The spelling of FI has been retained; the punctuation has been sometimes altered.

² The references are to Hazlitt's *Sh. Lib.*, Pt I. vol. ii. pp. 14 *et seq.* The punctuation has been sometimes altered.

called Orlando a "villaine," the latter replied: "I am no villaine: I am the yongest sonne of Sir Rowland de Boys; he was my father; and he is thrice a villaine that saies such a father begot villaines" (I. i. 59-62). Gamelyn answered the epithet "gadelyng," given him by his eldest brother, Johan, thus:

"I am no worse gadelyng, ne no worse wight,
But born of a lady, and geten of a knight" (ll. 107, 108).

As Gamelyn rode away to the wrestling-match, Johan

". . . bysoughte Jhesu Crist, that is heven kyng,
He mighte *breke his nekke* in that wrastlyng" (ll. 193, 194).

In commending Orlando to Charles's "discretion," Oliver said: "I had as lief thou didst *breake his necke* as his finger" (I. i. 152, 153). The wrestler thus taunted Gamelyn (ll. 233, 234):

"'By God!' sayde the champioun, 'welcome mote thou be!
Come thou ones in myn hond, schalt thou never the [thrive].'"

Duke Frederick said: "You shall trie but one fall." Charles answered: "No, I warrant your Grace, you shall not entreat him to a second,"¹ &c. (I. ii. 216-218). Lastly, the forest of Arden and that

¹ While on this subject of the wrestling as treated by Chaucer and by Shakspeare, I would point to a coincidence which seems to me to throw some light on a disputed reading of a passage in *As You Like It* (II. iii. 7, 8).

"Why would you be so fond to ouercome
The *bonnie* [?] *bonie*] *priser* of the humorous Duke?"

says Adam to Orlando. The modern texts read "Bonny prizer"; "bonny" being taken in the sense of the Scotch "bonnie," as in the expression "a bonnie lass." The epithet is suitable enough when applied to a fair damsel, but is it applicable to a man? I do not believe that Shakspeare would be likely to use it of Charles in any case; and certainly he would not put it into the mouth of Adam under the circumstances in which he is speaking. The word occurs in *Henry VI.*, part 2 (V. ii. 12), where it is applied to a fine horse, "the bonnie beast he loved so well." In the *Taming of the Shrew* (II. i. 186), where "Bonny Kate" is given in the Folio as "BONY Kate." In the same play (III. ii. 226), where it is "bonny Kate." In *Richard III.* (I. i. 94), where Shore's wife is said to have "a bonny eye." In the Song in *Much Ado about Nothing* (II. iii. 68), "blithe and bonnie."

Prizer (it is spelled "priser" in the Folio) is explained to mean one who fights for prizes—prize-fighter. I strongly suspect that both these derivations are wrong; that (a) "Bonnie" should be "bony," as Dyce and others have printed the word in their editions, meaning one with large bones, and so with a strong powerful frame; and (b) that "priser" means one who lays hold with a good firm grip. Cotgrave has the word in this sense, "*estre en prises*, to be closely locked or grappled together; to tug one another; to *wrestle* or strive with one another."

to which Gamelyn and Adam the spencer—the prototype of old Adam—betook themselves are described by the same adjective. Adam remarked :

“That lever me were keyes for to bere,
Then walken in this *wilde woode* my clothes to tere”
(ll. 621, 622).

Compare :

“And to the skirts of this *wilde Wood* he [Duke Frederick] came”
(V. iv. 165).

I. VARIATIONS IN THE PLOT.

1. We meet with a slight variation of plot in the opening scene of *As You Like It*. Sir John of Bordeaux (Sir Rowland de Boys) bequeathed to his youngest son Rosader (Orlando) a larger portion than either Saladyne or Fernandyne (Oliver and Jaques de Boys) received. Rosader was thus no penniless younger brother like Orlando, but, being a minor at the time of Sir John's death, he was left to the guardianship of Saladyne, who wasted his estates and degraded him to the condition of a foot-boy (pp. 14-21).

2. When the two brothers quarrelled, Saladyne bade his men bind Rosader, who thereupon caught up a rake and used it so vigorously as to put them all to flight, and compel Saladyne to take refuge in a loft (p. 23). This brawl is reduced by Shakspeare to Orlando's momentary clutch of Oliver's throat (I. i. 62-64).

3. After his victory in the wrestling-match, Rosader, attended by some “boon companions,” returned triumphantly to Saladyne's house. Saladyne had bribed the wrestler to kill his brother, and, being wroth at the failure of his scheme, shut the gate against them. Rosader

So that the expressions taken together would mean *the big-f armed wrestler*.

Aldis Wright objects to “Bony,” that it would describe a thin and skeleton-like man. But then he takes PRIZER = prize-fighter; and the question is whether Bony taken with “PRISER” would not convey the idea of a man whose big bones gave him the advantage in the grip.

Bearing in mind that Shakspeare has, in the preceding scene, described his wrestler as “*the sinewy Charles*,” now hear what Chaucer says of a wrestler :

“The Mellere was a stout carle for the nones,
Full big he was of *braun*, and *eke* of *boones*;
That prevede wel, for overal ther he cam,
At wrastlynge he wolde bere away the ram.”
(*Prologue*, ll. 545-548).—W. A. Harrison.

broke open the gate and welcomed his comrades to five tuns of Saladyne's wine and whatever food could be found. When the guests had departed he was minded to avenge Saladyne's discourtesy, but, through Adam Spencer's mediation, the brothers were reconciled. A "long while," we learn, then elapsed till, "on a morning very early," Saladyne surprised Rosader asleep, and caused him to be bound to a post in the hall, forbidding any one to give him food or drink. He was released by Adam Spencer, with whose assistance he attacked Saladyne and the "kindred and allies," who were being entertained at "a solempne breakefast," slew some of them and drove the rest out of the house. Saladyne returned, accompanied by the sheriff and twenty-five "tall men." Rosader and Adam Spencer sallied forth, repulsed the sheriff's forces, and escaped to the forest of Arden (pp. 30-32, 54-58). All this violence Shakspeare omitted, and made Oliver's meditated attempt on Orlando's life a reason for the latter's flight (II. iii. 19-25).

4. Shakspeare invented the old enmity between Duke Frederick and Sir Rowland de Boys, which caused the duke's ungenerous behaviour to Orlando (I. ii. 237-239).

I here note that the characters and incidents of Shakspeare's original hitherto mentioned were borrowed by Lodge, with slight alteration, from the *Tale of Gamelyn*. The unnamed "woode," to which Gamelyn and Adam the spencer retreated (l. 617), was defined by Lodge as the forest of Arden (p. 58). The characters added by Lodge and utilized by Shakspeare are: Rosalynd, Alinda (Celia), Phoebe, Montanus¹ (Silvius), Coridon (Corin), Gerismond, the banished king (Duke Senior), and Torismond, King of France (Duke Frederick).

5. Torismond, enraged at Alinda's importunate pleading for Rosalynd, banished both daughter and niece (p. 38). There was, as we have seen, a long interval between Rosader's triumph and his

¹ Shakspeare, in changing the names of some of Lodge's characters, has done so with wonderful propriety, having regard to the scene of the story. Saladyne becomes Oliver, an appropriate name, from *Olivier*, an Olive-tree. Sir John of Bordeaux becomes Sir Rowland *de Bois* = Wood. Montanus is changed to Silvius, one born in the woods; "*in silvis natus*" (Livy, I. 3). —W. A. H.

flight, during which time Rosalynd and Alinda, whose banishment took place on the day of the wrestling-match (cf. pp. 35 and 39), were living in Arden (p. 54). They were known as Aliena and Ganimede, and passed as mistress and page (p. 40). This variation in time leads to these results.

α. When Rosalynd and Alinda had been travelling for two or three days through the "Forrest side," the former espied a posy addressed to an obdurate fair one, and carved on the bark of a pine. Some more verses, signed "Montanus," were discovered by Alinda on a beech (pp. 41-43). In Shakspeare's version, Orlando, not an uninteresting shepherd, was the writer of the verses which cast Rosalind into such a pretty flutter of hope and bashfulness.

β. At the banquet in the forest (II. vii.) Gerismond learnt from Rosader how his daughter and niece had been banished, and were gone none knew whither (p. 63). Orlando, whose flight was coeval with Rosalind's, had not this clue for detecting her disguise. Yet I agree with Mr Grant White¹ that we must allow much for the glamour of Arden forest.

6. Saladyne was imprisoned by Torismond, ostensibly on account of Rosader's wrongs. Being released and exiled he resolved to seek Rosader. He did not recognize his brother in the forester who saved him from a lion, but made known to Rosader, as to a stranger, his previous history and contrition for his misdeeds. Rosader thereupon revealed himself (pp. 63-65, 89-93). Doubtless Oliver knew Orlando when, as he said :

"From miserable slumber I awaked" (IV. iii. 133).

7. Two or three² days were spent by Rosader in showing his forest haunts to Saladyne, during which time Rosalynd sorely missed her lover (pp. 94, 95), to whom, at their last meeting, she had been sportively married by Alinda (p. 84). Rosader then revisited Rosalynd and Alinda, and told them the cause of his absence (pp. 95, 96). Oliver informed Rosalind and Celia that Orlando was detained by the wound which he had received from the lioness (IV. iii. 151-157).

8. In the course of this interview "certain Rascals," who were hiding from justice in the forest, endeavoured to carry off Alinda.

¹ *Galaxy*, April, 1875, No. iv, p. 556, col. 1. ² P. 94. Three days, p. 95.

They overpowered and severely wounded Rosader, and must have succeeded in their attempt had not Saladyne fortunately come to the rescue (pp. 96, 97). Shakspeare made no use of this adventure.

9. On the next day, when Rosalynd and Alinda had returned to their home, after witnessing Montanus's bootless courtship of Phœbe, came Saladyne, bringing news of Rosader's anticipated restoration to health (pp. 111, 112). Rosalynd having discreetly withdrawn (p. 115), Saladyne wooed Alinda and prevailed on her to promise that she would either marry him or "still live a virgine" (p. 118). Shakspeare, who omitted the rescue from the ruffians, caused Orlando to be slightly wounded in saving Oliver from the lioness (IV. iii. 147, 148).

10. At an indefinite later date Montanus brought Phœbe's letter to Rosalynd. Silvius delivered a similar missive just before Oliver entered with news of Orlando.

11. A day being fixed for the marriage of Alinda and Saladyne, the feigned Ganymede promised Rosader that, by the aid of a friend "deeply experienst in Necromancy and Magicke," the presence of Rosalynd at the ceremony should be ensured. Hereupon "Rosader frownd, thinking that Ganymede had jested with him" (p. 130). Shakspeare made Rosalind herself the conjurer, and inspired Orlando with a vague confidence in the art which she professed to have learnt from her uncle the magician (V. ii. 56-75 ; iv. 3, 4).

12. Gerismond's investigation of the case of Montanus and Phœbe was the chief incident of the wedding festivities (pp. 134-139). Rosalynd and Rosader were left quite in the shade. Shakspeare kept his under-plot within due proportions, and imparted breadth and diversity to the closing scene of *As You Like It*, by means of Touchstone's wit.

13. The marriage banquet was interrupted by the arrival of Fernandyne, who announced that the twelve peers of France had taken up arms on their lawful sovereign's behalf, and were about to join battle with Torismond's forces, on the outskirts of the forest. Gerismond, accompanied by Rosader and Saladyne, armed and hastened to the fray, in which Torismond was slain and his followers were routed. Gerismond then returned to Paris in triumph, and the

personages of the story received their several rewards, from Rosader downwards, created heir apparent, to Coridon, who became master of Alinda's flocks (pp. 142-144). The repentance of Duke Frederick forestalled the pending hurly-burly (V. iv. 160-171). The "happie number" grouped round the Elder Duke, whose "returned fortune" they are soon to share, are visible to us only while we stand within the enchanted circle of Arden forest.

II. VARIATIONS IN THE CHARACTERS.

I turn now to the like negative comparison of the characters presented by the novel and the play.

1. In her meditations, after the wrestling-match, upon her sudden passion for Rosader, Rosalynd lamented falling in love with a poor man who could not maintain her state or revenge her father's wrongs, called to mind certain prudential maxims, as "that gold is sweeter than eloquence; that love is a fire and wealth is the fewel," and exhorted herself to think Rosader "lesse beautiful, because hee is in want, and account his vertues but qualities of course, for that he is not indued with wealth." She ended her soliloquy, however, by abjuring "such servile conceites, as to prize gold more than honor, or to measure a Gentleman by his wealth, not by his vertues" (p. 34). I suspect that Lodge deemed it incumbent on him, as a man of the world, to correct the excessive saccharinity of his love-passages with some bitter infusions of worldly wisdom. In contrast to these musings—whether natural or factitious—we have the momentary struggle with conventional reserve which made Shakspeare's Rosalind murmur to herself, when she saw Orlando's wistful gaze fixed on her,

"He cal's vs back: my pride fell with my fortunes;
He aske him what he would" (I. ii. 264, 265).

The Rosalind of the novel is a colourless being, incapable of entering into the spirit of her part, and availing herself of it to tease Rosader with the saucy bewildering banter which Orlando had to endure. The only gleam of merriment in their wooing came when, after they had sung a wooing eclogue together, Rosalynd said: "How now, Forrester, have I not fitted your turne? have I not playde the woman handsomely, and shewed myselfe as coy in

graunts, as courteous in desires, and beene as full of suspition, as men of flattery? and yet to salve all, jumpe I not all up with the sweet union of love? Did not Rosalinde content her Rosader?" Rosader opined that "if my foode bee no better than such amorous dreames, Venus at the yeares end shal find me but a leane lover" (pp. 83, 84). Of their usual dialogue the following is a fair specimen. "Thou speakest by experience (quoth Ganimede), and therefore we hold al thy words for Axiomes: but is Love such a lingring maladie? It is (quoth he) either extreame or meane, according to the minde of the partie that entertaines it; for as the weedes grow longer untoucht then the prettie floures, and the flint lyes safe in the quarry, when the Emerald is suffering the Lapidaries toole: so meane men are freed from Venus injuries, when kings are environed with a laborinth of her cares" (p. 79).

Whatever capacity for fun was possessed by Lodge's Rosalynd showed itself in her talks with Alinda. Of this I give an example. "You may see (quoth Ginimede) what mad cattel you women be, whose harts sometimes are made of Adamant that wil touch with no impression, and sometimes of wax that is fit for every forme: they delight to be courted, and then they glory to seeme coy, and when they are most desired then they freese with disdaine: and this fault is so common to the sex, that you see it painted out in the shepheardes [Montanus's] passions, who found his Mistres as froward as he was enamoured" (p. 42).

Either in jest or for the sake of proving his constancy she advised Rosader to make his court to Alinda, who had uttered a hope of finding "as faithfull a Paris" as he was (pp. 75, 76). Neither motive could, I think, have induced Shakspeare's Rosalind to give such counsel to her lover.

When Rosader reappeared, after breaking his tryst, it was Alinda, not Rosalynd, who scolded him. Rosader had been absent for three days (p. 95). Sharp were the reproofs which fell on Orlando, who came "within an houre" of the time appointed (IV. i. 38-52). At first, his offended mistress ignored his presence, and continued—as Grant White¹ has explained to us—to banter the retreating Jaques.

¹ *Galaxy*, April, 1875, No. iv, p. 556, col. 2.

Moreover, Phoebe's cruelty did not move Lodge's Rosalynd to utter severer censures than were these. "And if, Damzell, you fled from mee,"—Phoebe had told Montanus (p. 109) that if he pursued her with Phœbus, she must flee with Daphne,—"I would transforme you as Daphne to a bay, and then in contempt trample your branches under my feet. . . . Because thou art beautifull be not so coy: as there is nothing more fair, so there is nothing more fading; as momentary as the shadowes which growes from a clowdy Sunne" (p. 110). Throughout the speech Phoebe's beauty is fully acknowledged. Contrast with this gentle language the bitter taunts of the Shaksperian Rosalind, and the disparaging epithets which she applied to the poor shepherdess's rustic comeliness: "inkie browes," "black silke haire," "bugle eye-balls," and "cheeke of creame" (III. v. 46, 47). The climax of injury was reached when Silvius brought Phoebe's letter to Rosalind, who, indulging in malicious play upon the double sense of the word "hand," sneered at the "leatherne," "freestone-coloured," "huswiues," hand of the writer; adding with surpassing scorn, as though such a defect was, in Phoebe's case, part of the order of Nature, "but that's no matter"¹ (IV. iii. 24-27). Lodge's Rosalynd "fell into a great laughter" on reading the letter, but no gibes followed at the expense of writer or bearer; she merely advised Montanus to transfer his affections to some less hard-hearted fair one (pp. 123-125).

2. Concerning Alinda there is little to be said. Like Celia, she bravely asserted before her father the innocence of the friend whose exile she declared her resolve of sharing. Shakspeare omitted this extravagant expression of trust in her friend's loyalty. "If then, Fortune, who tryumphs in varietie of miseries, hath presented some envious person (as minister of her intended stratageme) to tainte Rosalynde with any surmise of treason, let him be brought to her face, and confirme his accusation by witnesses; which proved, let her die, and Alinda will execute the massacre" (p. 37). Through her position of mistress, and from the absence of any special force of character in Rosalynd, Alinda took the lead of her page.

¹ See what the author of *Dorothy* says concerning Rosalind's "no matter," p. xii.

3. A comparison of Rosader and Orlando elicits several important differences of conception: the advantage decidedly remaining with Shakspeare's hero.

Orlando was unable to say even an "I thank you," in response to Rosalind's gracious gift and words (I. ii. 261). Rosader was self-possessed enough to step into a tent and there indite a laudatory sonnet, which he sent to the princess in return for a jewel which she had delivered to him by the hands of a page (p. 30). The intervention of the page in the matter may account for Rosader's business-like procedure.¹

When wandering hunger-stricken in the forest, he wept and lamented that he could not die worthily, lance in hand. The self-sacrificing love of Adam Spencer, who would have opened his veins in order that his young master might be nourished by his blood, roused Rosader from despair, and sent him forth in quest of food (p. 60). No such faint-hearted upbraider of destiny was Orlando, cheering his drooping follower with words of confident hope and gentle reproof, till he saw a reflection of his own undaunted courage in the old man's looks (II. vi. 4—*ad fin.*).

In hesitating to save Saladyne from the lion, Rosader was biassed less by a desire for revenge than by a more far-seeing motive. He should add Saladyne's estates to his own, and his increased wealth might incline Rosalynd to regard him more favourably; it being his opinion that "women's eyes are made of Chrisecoll,² that is ever unperfect unless tempred with gold" (p. 88). The cause of Orlando's wavering was a gust of vindictive anger (IV. iii. 128-131); a venial fault if we consider his provocation. Rosader's hesitation was chiefly due to calculating, not impulsive, culpability; and he was unconscious of the wrong which he designed towards Rosalynd. His derogatory estimate of her accords with this lack of moral delicacy.

¹ See *Transactions of the New Sh. Soc.*, 1880-2, pp. 30*, 31*.

² Chrisecoll, "Chrystall? But perhaps the same as Chrysocolla, Harrison's 'England,' p. 236." Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic Words*. Cotgrave gives: "Chrysocolle (Chrysocolla), Gold-solder; Borax; green earth, whether artificial or mineral, as Borrais. Borrais = Borax, or green earth, a hard and shining mineral or humour congealed in mines. There is also an artificial one made of Rock alum, ammoniac, and other things; both used by goldsmiths. Borrais jaune = yellow-borax, found in gold mines, and fittest for goldsmiths."—W.A.H.

Lastly, with Rosader's eloquent professions of love we have to reconcile the rather awkward fact that, though he knew of Rosalyn's exile, he did not attempt to follow her, but remained at home for, we are told, "a long while," until care for his safety obliged him to depart. I cannot suppose that Orlando could have been so sluggish and unfeeling.

4. Saladyne and Oliver are more akin, and it were hard to strike the balance between them.

Sir John of Bordeaux bequeathed the largest share of his property to Rosader. Hence Saladyne's hatred sprang chiefly from avarice, and fear of being called to account for his malversations. Oliver, whose estate was subject to a legacy of "but poore a thousand crownes" (I. i. 2, 3), had no ground save envy for detesting Orlando.

Saladyne felt compunction for his brother's wrongs sooner than did Oliver, who was certainly impenitent when banished by Duke Frederick. The imprisonment which preceded Saladyne's exile awakened some sorrow, which was, however, not deep, for when questioned by Torismond as to his brother's whereabouts, Saladyne answered reservedly that "upon some ryot made against the Sheriffe of the shire, he was fled from Bordeaux, but hee knew not whither" (p. 65). In Saladyne's presence Rosader related to Gerismond all that had passed between them (p. 93). Celia and Rosalind were the recipients of Oliver's confession. Oliver would doubtless have soon revealed himself as the unnatural brother, but, in his emotion, the truth escaped him ere he had summoned resolution enough deliberately to avow it (IV. iii. 133).

Saladyne's amorous speeches to Alinda, and her replies, are recorded for us. She expressed the conventional distrust of his good faith, and bade him reflect on their inequality of birth (pp. 115-117). How Oliver wooed Celia we are left to imagine: we only learn the issue from Rosalind, who treated the whole affair with much levity (V. ii. 32-45).

Alinda's warning was not unneeded. When, on the wedding-day, the pseudo-Ganymede, having withdrawn alone and re-entered as Gerismond's daughter, was given by the king in marriage to Rosader, Saladyne, comparing his brother's splendid alliance with

his own, stood "in a dumpe" till Alinda declared herself to be the daughter of Torismond (p. 140). Celia's entrance simultaneously with Rosalind spared Oliver this test of his constancy.

Most of us have, I suspect, wondered why Celia should have fallen in love with Oliver, and regretted that she did not choose a worthier mate.¹ Saladyne's display of prowess in the struggle with the forest-ruffians commended him to Alinda; and, in saving Rosader's life, he requited his brother's generosity, and made some atonement for past unkindness. Shakspeare did not ennoble Oliver by any such device.

The minor characters now remain to be considered.

5. Adam Spencer exceeded the Shaksperian Adam in fidelity. The former, as we have seen, was willing to sacrifice his life in order to save his master from starvation. This especial proof of devotion forms a repulsive, and possibly an unnatural, incident. Moreover, as Lodge has used it, it degrades Rosader, whose bitter lamentations caused Adam Spencer to offer such a relief.

6. Lodge's Phœbe rejected Montanus's suit "not," as she told him, "that I scorne thee, but that I hate love: for I count it as great honor to triumph over fancie as over fortune" (p. 109). The Shaksperian Phœbe expressed no abstract preference for an unwedded state.

The violence of her passion having endangered Phœbe's life, the disguised page, at Montanus's request, visited her as she lay sick in her father's house; and, arguing the matter with courtesy and consideration,—qualities, as I have already noticed, lacking in the

¹ Swinburne writes: "That one unlucky slip of the brush which has left so ugly a little smear in one corner of the canvas as the betrothal of Oliver to Celia."

"The actual or hypothetical necessity of pairing off all the couples" (at the end of a comedy) "is the theatrical idol whose tyranny exacts this holocaust of higher and better feelings," &c. (*Study of Shakspeare*, p. 152).—[W. A. H.]

We may derive some consolation from comparing the union of Celia and Oliver with another example, in George Eliot's *Middlemarch*. If desert alone were regarded, Mary Garth should have married Mr Farebrother, but then Fred Vincy's ruin was inevitable. Farebrother could steer his own course aright; poor Fred could not. We may hope that under Celia's beneficent influence the rooted evil of Oliver's nature was killed, the germ of worth in him—shown by his genuine remorse—quickened, and that he came at last to deserve his good fortune.

other Ganymede's method of dealing with an unwelcome attachment, —drew forth this confession: “. . . so deeply I repent me of my frowardnesse towards the shepheard, that could I cease to love Ganimede, I would resolve to like Montanus” (p. 129). Shakspeare did not endow his Phœbe with so much sensibility. We do not gather that unrequited love affected her health; and her feigned pity—preluded by the gracious avowal, “Why, I am sorry for thee, gentle Silvius”—was merely the flattering transition from cruelty to treachery (III. v. 86).

7. Montanus, despairing of Phœbe's life, magnanimously advised his rival to wed her. To Alinda, who said, “. . . if Ganimede marry Phœbe, thy market is cleane mard,” he answered, “. . . so hath love taught me to honour Phœbe, that I would prejudice my life to pleasure her, and die in despaire rather than shee should perish for want” (p. 126). If rewarded sometimes by a smile, Silvius could endure the better fortune of another wooer, but his imaginative heroism carried him no further. He told his Phœbe that he should

“ . . . thinke it a most plenteous crop
To gleane the broken eares after the man
That the maine haruest reapes : loose now and then
A scattred smile, and that Ile liue vpon ” (III. v. 101-104).

Further, when requested to convey the fatal letter, Montanus, we learn, “saw day at a little hole, and did perceiue what passion pinched her [Phœbe]: yet (that he might seeme dutifull to his Mistresse in all service) he dissembled the matter, and became a willing Messenger of his own Martyrdom” (p. 123). The like merit cannot be attributed to Silvius, who was completely fooled.

8. Of the two shepherds Montanus and Coridon, and the fair shepherdess Phœbe, it may be said that they are idealized after the Arcadian model. Coridon, the prototype of Corin, is, both in speech and ways, the most homely of the three. Concerning Phœbe he remarked, “if al maidens were of her mind, the world would grow to a mad passe; for there would be great store of wooing and litle wedding, many words and litle worship, much folly and no faith” (p. 102). Before the wedding party went to church he presented “a faire mazer full of Sidar” to Gerismond, with a “clownish

salute" which made the king smile (p. 133). "About mid dinner, to make them mery, Coridon came in with an old crowd,¹ and plaid them a fit of mirth, to which he sung this pleasant song,

A blyth and bonny country Lasse,—
 heigh ho, the bonny Lasse !—
 Sate sighing on the tender grasse,
 and weeping said, 'will none come woo mee?' &c.
 (p. 141).

Yet in a wooing eclogue he could warble thus to Montanus :

"This milk-white Poppy, and this climbing Pine,
 Both promise shade ; then sit thee downe and sing,
 And make these woods with pleasant notes to ring,
 Till Phœbus daine all Westward to decline" (p. 45).

On Alinda's wedding day, Montanus "was apparelled all in tawny, to signifie that he was forsaken : on his head he wore a garland of willow, his bottle hanged by his side, whereon was painted dispaire, and on his sheephooke hung two Sonnets,² as lables of his loves and fortunes" (p. 133). Touching his love he discoursed in this fashion : "Mine eyes like bees delight in sweet flowers, but sucking their fill on the faire of beauty, they carry home to the Hive of my heart farre more gaul than hony, and for one drop of pure deaw, a tun full of deadly Aconiton" (p. 134).

Phœbe, too, had the same command of tropical language ; and her two extant sonnets (pp. 107, 122) are as pithy and well-conceited as are the poetic fancies of the other personages of the novel, most of whom have left us specimens of their powers in this line. When Rosalind and Alinda first beheld her, she was attired "in a petticoate

¹ A fiddle.—Nares's *Glossary*, 1867, s. v. See the minute description of Coridon's "holiday sute," pp. 131, 132.

² Five other sonnets are preserved for us, one of them being in French (p. 106). Mr Collier said : "Lodge appears to have been rather vain of his French compositions, and this is not the only instance in which he has introduced them, either in his own works or as laudatory of those of others. To put French verses into the mouth of Montanus is a gross piece of indecorum as respects the preservation of character."—*Ibid.*, note. If the forest of Arden were the forest of Ardennes, French was Montanus's native tongue ; but since we find Rosader and Adam journeying to the forest "through the province of Bourdeaux," and expecting by this route to reach "Lions" (p. 58), we are obliged to conclude that the site of Lodge's Arden is as indefinite as Shakspeare's.

of scarlet, covered with a green mantle, and to shrowd her from the Sunne, a chaplet of roses : from under which appeared a face full of Natures excellence, and two such eyes as might have amated a greater man than Montanus" (p. 105). Lodge may put in the touch, "a face full of Natures excellence," but we know assuredly that she had not the "leathern hand" which Shakspeare has not shrunk from giving to his Phœbe.

The dwellers in Shakspeare's Arden are drawn from Nature, Phœbe and Silvius marking the credible limit of rustic refinement, while in Audrey and William the ordinary peasant type is depicted. Old Corin fills a place between these two grades.

9. Of Gerismond and Torismond I have only to observe, that the former did not possess the cheerful fortitude in adversity which distinguished the Elder Duke; and that the latter, in banishing his daughter as well as his niece, showed himself to be a more rigorous tyrant than was Duke Frederick.

It now remains to summarize the results of this examination.

Shakspeare's Rosalind and Celia may be called creations : little more than the plot through which they moved being borrowed from Lodge. Shakspeare gave to Rosalind the pre-eminence that the structure of the story demanded. Her abundant wit was also his gift. The chief negative change consisted in the behaviour of Rosalind to Orlando after the wrestling-match.

The development of Orlando's character was due in a larger measure to omission and substitution. By a variation in the plot, while economy of time, a dramatic gain, is effected, the hero's unloverlike sojourn at home during his lady's exile is avoided. Again, the breaking of his tryst in consequence of a prolonged ramble is rejected. Our suspicions, that, in spite of his protests, Rosader was but a cold lover, are rather increased when we consider his behaviour—in marked contrast to Orlando—after the wrestling-match. His despondency when menaced by hunger, and the sinister calculation which prompted him to abandon his brother and make his desertion a means of winning Rosalind, show grave defects of character from which Shakspeare's Orlando is quite free.

Instead of Saladyne's avarice, Shakspeare, by changing the circumstances, substituted Oliver's envy. Lodge granted Saladyne an opportunity for repairing past injuries. Shakspeare denied this to his Oliver. Our attention is solely fixed on the rescue from the lioness. Oliver's repentance is, with much dramatic effect, deferred until that crowning moment, and he is not afterwards permitted in any wise to disturb Orlando's superiority. Yet, by another slight change of circumstance, Oliver was spared the risk of falling lower in our esteem, as Saladyne did when he repented his match with Alinda.

The episode of the hard-hearted shepherdess and her lover served as an under-plot ; in strict subordination to the main story. The artificial air which hangs about Lodge's swains, including old Coridon, was dispelled. The Shaksperian Phoebe was simply "fancy free" ; not a sworn vestal as was her sister of the novel. Neither did love afflict her with languishing sickness. Montanus's willingness to surrender his Phoebe to a rival was not emulated by Silvius.

To this avoidance of what may at least be called highly coloured touches should be added : the toning down of the "tyrants vaine" in Torismond ; and the effacement of Alinda's offer to become the guilty Rosalynd's executioner, as well as Adam Spencer's proposed self-sacrifice, which was open to the further objection that it reflected discredit on Rosader.

Lastly, the deeds of violence which embittered the brothers' strife, the battle that raged on the verge of the forest, and the lawlessness that found a shelter in its depths, have no parallels in *As You Like It*. We can forget the malice of Oliver and the tyranny of Duke Frederick amid the peace and innocence enfolding Shakspeare's Arden ; cruelty and injustice range without, but may not break, its charmed circle : we can return to that primal age when the loves and caprices of simple rustic folk were the chief tokens of human passion, and dwell again where we "fleet the time carelesly as they did in the golden world."

S C R A P S.

habit, sb. 'in his habit as he liued': *Hamlet*, III. iv. 135. "Enter Skogan and Skelton, in like *habits*, as they liv'd." 1626. Ben Jonson. *The Fortunate Isles*. Works, vol. ii. p. 136, ed. 1640.—F.

mad, a. all mad in England: *Hamlet*, V. i. "We are all mad (especially here in *England*), mad as the Northern Wind, or Hares in March." 1653. S. S. *Paradoxes*, p. 28.—F.

madly used: *Twelfth Night*, V. i. 319. "'I praye the why so,' quoth his mystres; 'I think thou art mad.' 'Nay, not yet,' quoth his hosteler, 'but I haue bene **madly** handlyd.'" 1567. Harman's *Caueat*, p. 64, New Sh. Soc.—W. G. Stone.

Prick him: 2 *Henry IV.*, III. ii. 121. "To morrow your father [Sir Robert Harley], if pleas God, goos to Hariford about **prikening** the soulders that must be sent out of the trained bands, which makes many of theare wives to cry." April 29, 1639. *Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley*, p. 48, Camd. Soc.—W. G. Stone.

Riggish. We still hear as a rather vulgar colloquialism, she goes (runs, or plays) the **rig**, in the same sense.—B. N.

Union, sb. pearl: *Hamlet*, V. ii. 283. Their chief reputation consisteth in these fve properties, namely, if they be orient white, great, round, smooth, and weightie. Qualities, I may tell you, not easily to be found all in one; insomuch as it is impossible to find out two perfittly sorted together in all these points. And hereupon it is, that our dainties and delicates here at Rome, have deuised this name for them, and call them **Vnions**; as a man would say, singular, and by themselves alone. For surely the Greeks haue no such tearmes, neither know they how to call them: nor yet the Barbarians, who found them first out, otherwise than Margaritæ.—Ph. Holland's *Pliny's Nat. Hist.* b. 9, c. 35, vol. I. p. 255. 1601. This may be taken as a translation of the source of all the notices of the "Union" or great pearl.—B. N.

Touchstone's dial: *As You Like It*, II. vii. 20. Daniel Gruber, in his *Discursus de Peregrinatione Studiosorum*, appended to Hentzner's *Itinerarium*, ed. 1629, advises the traveller to provide himself with a dial of this kind rather than a watch. "33 [sign. xx]. Solarium vel Horologium sciotericum idque paruum, quo diei quantitatem examinare possit, habeat. Sonans verò minus tutum apparet, cum nummorum copiam nebulonibus promittat."—W. G. Stone.

Sans: *L. L. L.*, V. i. 73, &c. &c. As going to show that this, in Elizabethan days, had become an acclimatised English word, I quote from Florio's Ital.-Engl. Dict., 1598.—"*Senza*, without, besides, **sanse**."—B. N.

XV. HAMLET'S JUICE OF CURSED HEBONA.

BY REV. W. A. HARRISON, M.A.

(Read at the 79th Meeting of the Society, Friday, May 12, 1882.)

“Taxus.” “Metuendaque succo
(Statius, *Thebaid*, VI. 101.)

As the subject on which I propose to treat this evening has so lately been brought before you in an excellent Paper by Dr Nicholson, I feel it incumbent upon me to state, at the outset, my reasons for returning to it again. That the question was one in which the members of this Society were much interested was manifest from the very full and lively discussion which followed the reading of that paper. At the same time it was felt that the matter was far from being exhausted. We were reminded by the reader of the paper that the real effects of yew as a poison were even yet but little known.

Since that time I have been endeavouring to find out how far the symptoms, so fully described by Shakspeare, correspond with those which have been observed and recorded by toxicologists in connection with deaths from poisoning by yew. I have met with very much that serves to confirm the conclusions at which Dr Nicholson had already arrived; and after communication with him and at his suggestion I propose to lay before you the additional evidence which I have thus obtained.

But though chiefly concerned now with the medical aspect of this question, there are other points of view from which I propose to regard it. In endeavouring to prove the identity between Shakspeare's "Juice of cursed Hebona" and the "dreaded Juice of the yew" of the older poet, whose words I have placed at the head of my paper, I shall have to ask your attention, first of all, to one or two matters connected with the criticism of the passage in *Hamlet* which furnishes the subject of our present inquiry, and next to the etymology of the word *Hebona*.

These points it is necessary to consider before I proceed to discuss the question of the effects of yew as a poison.

And first, then, a word or two with regard to the *proper reading* of the passage. In the Quarto of 1603 (Q1) we find :

“ With iuyce of Hebona
In a viall.”

In the Quarto of 1604 (Q2) :

“ With iuyce of cursed Hebona in a viall ” ;

and this—say the Cambridge editors—is the reading of all the subsequent quartos (Q3, Q4, Q5, Q6). On the other hand the Folio of 1623 (F1) reads :

“ With iuyce of cursed Hebenon in a Violl ” ;

and this reading is followed by the other three Folios (F2, F3, F4).

Did Shakspeare, then, write Hebona, or Hebenon, or neither word ? This is a point which it is important to consider at the outset of the inquiry ; for if Hebenon be not the true reading, but Hebona, or some other word still more remote in its spelling from Hebenon, we get rid, I think, of Dr Grey’s ingenious but very far-fetched interpretation of this passage by the adoption of what is known in parliamentary phraseology as the previous question. Though even with Hebenon to start from, the objections which lie against Dr Grey’s theory are obvious and, to my mind, insuperable. Had Shakspeare meant—as Dr Grey maintains—that Henbane was the poison employed by Claudius to destroy his brother, he would surely have written it ; and had he written it, it would have been so printed. It is a word which was then in common use, and one which would not be likely to puzzle a compositor.

Thus Drayton, a Warwickshire man and a friend of Shakspeare’s, writes :

“ The poisoning Henbane and the mandrake drad.”
(*Barons’ Wars*, p. 51.)

and again :—

“ Here Henbane, Poppy, Hemloc here
Procuring deadly Sleeping.”
(*Muses’ Elysium*, Nymphid. VI.)

Henbane, moreover, suits the rhythm and metre of the line so very much better, that had it ever been there no one would have thought of displacing it for such a word as Hebenon. Clearly, therefore, Hebenon is not a misprint for Henbane.

Did Shakspeare, then, *purposely* write Hebenon as “a metathesis for Henebon, that is, Henbane”? Dr Nicholson¹ has so thoroughly disposed of this metathesis or transliteration theory that I deem it a mere waste of time to add another word to what he has so aptly advanced. But if, as he has pointed out, HenbAne cannot by metathesis produce HebenOn, then *à fortiori* it cannot possibly give us Hebona; since in this latter case we have only got *six* letters in the manufactured word to represent the seven letters in the word from which it is supposed to be manufactured *per metathesim*; and even of these six, one—the letter ‘O’—does not occur at all in the original. Thus,

H e n b a n E
H e n b a - O = Hebona.

If then Hebona be—as I contend—the correct reading of the passage, Dr Grey’s theory is evidently “in a par’lous state.”

Before quitting this subject of transliteration, may I be allowed to say a few words upon another supposed example of it in Shakspeare. I allude to the name of Caliban’s maternal parent, and the astounding process by which it has been derived (?) from “sorcerer.” Have we any need to go so very far afield to find its true derivation? Bearing in mind what Mr Ruskin has taught us, and following the analogy of Desdemona, Cordelia, Perdita, Miranda, &c., may we not see in the qualities of the Sow (Σῶς) and the Raven (Κοράξ) a symbolization of the moral nature of

“The fowle Witch Sycorax, who with Age and Enuy
Was growne into a hoope”?

Her foulness symbolized by the sow; her extreme age, her craft, and her malignity by the raven?² I throw this out as a suggestion, which, if it be not accepted as final, may at least be allowed to stand till a better one is made. Anyhow I think that it will be considered

¹ *N. S. S. Transactions*, 1880-2, p. 21 *et seq.* ² Cf. *Tempest*, I. ii. 322.

preferable to the needless obscurity which besets the proposal to get at the true derivation by changing first of all Sycorax into Secorer in order to anagrammatize Secorer from Sorcerer. Nor, pace Mr W. W. Lloyd,¹ is it open to the objection in point of scholarship which besets the theory that the word Sycorax may mean "heart-breaker" ($\psi\chi\omicron\rho\rho\eta\xi$). For this theory would require us to accept the English letters (s, y, c, o) as the proper equivalents for the Greek ($\psi\chi\omicron$), for which we have always hitherto required and have been wont to get (P, s, y, c, H, o); to say nothing of ($\rho\rho\eta\xi$) in the Greek being anglicized by (r, A, x). Whereas Sycorax is strictly the English equivalent, letter for letter, of the Greek $\Sigma\upsilon\kappa\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi$.

To return to the "Hebenon" of the folio. That this word is a corruption of something else which Shakspeare really wrote, I feel perfectly convinced. And I believe that the corruption is due—as so many other corrupt readings in F1 are due—to the tampering by Heminge and Condell or their printer with the text of Q2 or the MS. from which that text was set up, and which bore a much closer approximation than does F1 to the true *Hamlet* of Shakspeare.

Would Shakspeare, I ask (but this is asking too much), would any one calling himself a poet—the merest tyro in his craft—willingly and of malice afore-thought be guilty of such a line as we find in the Folios, with the execrable cacophony of its three "n"s in the middle—HebeNoNiNa? If so, I would say with Browning, "the less Shakspeare he!" It is no answer to say that as a matter of fact we sometimes find harsh and rugged lines in Shakspeare. I admit that this is so; but it is when he himself is the victim of circumstances. When, for example, he is converting a page of Holinshed or of North's *Plutarch* into blank verse, and he has to deal with a string of intractable proper names, then we get such lines as these:—

"That *Harry Duke of Herford, Rainald Lord Cobham*
His brother *Archibifhop*, late of *Canterbury*,
Sir Thomas Erpingham, *Sir John Rainfton*,
Sir John Norberie, *Sir Robert Waterton*, & *Francis Quoint*"
(*Richard II*, II. i, p. 30, col. 2, Booth's reprint),

though, as a rule, Shakspeare gets over these obstacles with marvellous ingenuity.

¹ *Critical Essay on the Tempest*, p. 11, ed. 1875.

No such necessity, however, exists in the present instance. If he wrote "Hebenon in a" he must have written it deliberately and of set purpose. Again, then, I ask what evidence have we that he did write it? *Hebona* is the reading of Q₁, which, as I believe, represents, though in a corrupt form, Shakspeare's first sketch of *Hamlet*. *Hebona* is also the reading of Q₂, which represents his matured version of this play. The occurrence of the word, exactly in the same form, in both Quartos is presumptive evidence in favour of its being the word which Shakspeare wrote. But what makes the case still stronger and raises this presumption to a certainty, is the fact that in the revision in Q₂ we find evidence that his attention must have been drawn to this particular passage. For whereas Q₁ reads simply "iuyce of Hebona," Q₂ reads "iuyce of *curfed* Hebona;" the epithet "cursed" being added to make the sentence correspond with one in Holland's *Pliny*, which had been published in the mean time, where the same word "cursed" is used, as I propose to show, in a precisely similar connection.

Was there, then, a poison known to Shakspeare by the name of *Hebona*, or by a name so like it, as not materially to vary from it? Unquestionably there was. We find mention of this poison in a play written by Shakspeare's great friend and fellow-dramatist, Marlowe. In the *Jew of Malta* (III. iv. p. 164a, Dyce's ed.) occur the following lines, quoted by Dr Nicholson (*Transactions*, N. S. S., 1880-2, p. 26):

"In few, the blood of Hydra, Lerna's bane,
The Juice of *Hebon*, and Cocytus breath,
And all the poisons of the Stygian pool."

From a passage in Henslowe's *Diary*, quoted by Dyce (Preface to Marlowe's Works, p. xxiii.), we learn that the *Jew of Malta* was acted in June, 1596, and again revived in May, 1601. Now this last date corresponds exactly with the date that has been assigned to the production of Shakspeare's *Hamlet*, viz. 1601-2. It is exceedingly likely, therefore, that he may have heard the word "Hebon" at a representation of the *Jew of Malta*, at the very time when he was engaged in writing his *Hamlet*. Hence the conjecture of Elze is not altogether devoid of probability, that the line as it stood originally

in Shakspeare's MS., and from which the other variations have arisen, may have been—

“With juice of cursèd Hebon in a phial.”

Without going so far as to say that this was so, we are, I think, quite warranted in believing that such was the line as it may have stood originally in Shakspeare's *mind*. But the fact that we find, not Hebon, but Hebona (with the final a) in both the Quartos, forces me to the conviction that Shakspeare added the (a) himself; it may have been to give a poetical form to the word, or perhaps because the interposition of the vowel between “on” and “in” (Hebon in) helps to smooth to the ear the rugged sound caused by the two contiguous “n's.” If it still be objected that “Hebon in” or “Hebona in” is only a degree better than the cacophony I have already condemned in “Hebenonina”, I answer, that may be so; but then the conditions under which the words respectively come into the text are altogether dissimilar. Hebon was, as we have seen, a word well known and in use in Shakspeare's day and amongst Shakspeare's associates; whereas Hebenon, like “Paramour, is (God bleffe vs) a thing of nought.”

With the expression of the hope that in our *Old-Spelling* edition of the text of *Hamlet* we may find that Hebenon has been relegated to the limbo of Shakspeare-murdering glosses, I pass on next to the consideration of the question, What is the poison which is here designated under the term “cursed Hebona”? Dr Nicholson has so convincingly proved that by “Hebon” or “Hebona” the juice of the yew is intended, that I need not go over the same ground by repeating the arguments which he has advanced in support of his conclusions. What I propose to say upon this point is merely by way of strengthening, so far as I am able, the position that he maintains, by bringing forward a few additional considerations that have occurred to me in the course of my own reading.

Let me then remind you that two different trees have been mentioned, to each of which the term *Hebon* properly belongs; and that if the question, which is Shakspeare's *Hebona*, had to be decided upon the ground of etymology alone, a very good case could be made out for either.

The first is the Ebony-tree; by which I mean the *Diospyros Ebenus* of India, the tree to which alone we are accustomed to give the name of Ebony, that which yields the black wood so much in request for cabinets and mosaic work. But it is to be borne in mind that "ebony" and "blackness" have no essential connection; that when we speak of the raven's ebon wing, or of ebon tresses, or the like, our language and our notions on the subject are conventional merely. Virgil tells us that India alone produces the BLACK ebony ("sola India nigrum Fert ebumum," *Georgics*, ii. 116). But ebony is of other colours as well as black, and is yielded by other trees besides the *Diospyros Ebenus*. Dr Nicholson has rightly said that "Ebenus was applied in mediæval times to various trees." The fact is that the words Ebenus, Eiben, Hebon, Ihpen, and the like, all have their origin in the Hebrew (Hobnim, or Habenim), Ebony, which is derived from *Eben*, a stone, and simply means wood as hard as a stone. The Semitic word reappears in the modern Arabic and Persian ābnus (ebony). Ebony is mentioned in the Prophecy of Ezekiel as one of the commodities imported from Dedan (Arabia) to Tyre. This would be the black ebony of commerce, which would thus find its way into the countries washed by the Mediterranean, with which the Tyrian merchants traded. Hence we find the word ebony, under its various forms of Ἐβερος (Greek), Ebenus (Latin), Ebano (Italian and Spanish), Ébène (French), in use in those countries to signify the wood of the *Diospyros Ebenus*. But derivatives from the root-word Eben (a stone) would naturally also appear under various modifications, in the languages of other nations to which Eastern commerce did not at first extend, as the names of *any hard dense wood*. Hence we find these names applied to the yew-tree amongst the Indo-European group of languages,—the Scandinavian, the High and Low German. And, whereas, amongst the Southern families it is known as Σμίλαξ (Greek), Taxus (Latin), Tasso (Italian), Teijo (Spanish), Teixo (Portuguese); it is, in German (Eiben or Eben); in Dutch (Iben or Iepen); in Swedish (Eben); in Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic (Heben). That the yew-tree should soon have been known as a "Heben" is natural enough. "The wood," says Loudon (*Encyclop. of Trees*, p. 940), "is hard, compact, of a

fine and close grain, and susceptible of a very high polish. It requires a longer time to become perfectly dry than any other wood whatever; and it shrinks so little in drying, as not to lose above $\frac{1}{48}$ part of its bulk. It is universally allowed to be the finest European wood for cabinet-making purposes." This stone-like quality would, of course, account for its derivation, and its being confused with ebony. When it is further borne in mind, first, that the term by which workers in hard woods are called is, in French, *Ébéniste*; and secondly, that the name by which the cut-up wood of the yew-tree is known in the various Teutonic languages, is *German-ebony*, the proofs of this connection between yew and ebony are clear enough. Thus yew-tree wood is in German, *das Deutsche Eben-holz*; in Dutch, it is *Taxus-hout* or *Duitsch Ebben-hout*; in Flemish and modern French, *Ébène d'Allemagne*.

And, moreover, Theophrastus makes mention of a yew, the wood of which is black, a fact which would serve still further to establish an identity between the two trees. (*Τὸ δὲ ξύλον· ἢ μὲν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας μέλαν καὶ φοινικοῦν*. Quæ in Arcadia nascitur lignum *nigrum* aut puniceum habet. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plantarum*, III. x. 2.¹)

Etymologically then, as I have said, a strong case might be set up either for the ebony-tree or for the yew as being the representative of the Hebona of the text. Hence some Shaksperian critics, who saw the absurdity of the Henbane-Hebenon theory, too hastily assumed that the sap of the *Diospyros Ebenus* was the poison intended. Thus Dyce notes on the passage in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*: "Hebon, *i. e.* Ebony, formerly supposed to be a deadly poison." And in this explanation he is followed by Grant White, by Schmidt (*Lexicon*, sub voce), and others. Whence Dyce obtained his information he does not inform us. On the other hand, Clarke and W. Aldis Wright (Cl. Pr. *Hamlet*, note) write: "This word is generally explained as meaning ebony, but we cannot find any evidence that the sap of this tree was considered poisonous." Dr Nicholson says, that in no work of Shakspeare's time that he has consulted is Ebony-juice spoken of as a poison. After a very close search amongst

¹ Evelyn (*Sylva*) speaks of the black and red yew of Arcadia. Ed. Hunter, York, 1776.

ancient and mediæval authorities I can very decidedly confirm his statement. I find it asserted by Solinus (*Polyhistor*, cap. lv. p. 353, ed. Paris, 1621), that "ebony, on account of its supposed antagonism to poisons, was employed by the kings of India for making drinking-cups."¹ The exact opposite, according to Pliny, was the case with the wood of the yew-tree: he says that "drinking-cups made from this tree" were found to impart "a deadly property to the wines drunk out of them." (*Nat. Hist.* xvi. 20.) In Lemaire's *Pliny* (*Bibliotheca Classica*, vol. lxii. p. 109), there is an *Excursus* on the ebony-tree, by the editor, in which he gives a summary of what has been written by ancient authors about the nature and properties of this tree. The juice is described as having a pungent taste, and as being used medicinally as a laxative and sudorific. The writer of this *Excursus* also alludes incidentally to the fact of the word *Ebenus* being used as a common term for several different sorts of trees by ancient writers. ("Potuit apud veteres diversissimis arboribus idem ebeni nomen imponere." *Bib. Class.*, vol. lxii. p. 109.)

Amongst modern authorities, the most complete account of the medicinal properties of the ebony-tree is to be found in Dr Whitelaw Ainslie's *Materia Medica of Hindoostan* (Madras, 1828). The writer states that the juice of the ebony is perfectly innocuous, and that it is used by the natives as a remedy for certain complaints of the liver, and in cases of dysentery.

Ebony, then, is certainly not poisonous; nor is there any proof whatever that it was so regarded in the sixteenth century. If I might now venture to alter Dr Nicholson's words² a little, I would say with respect to the hypotheses that have been advanced on this subject; (1) that which tries to show that Hebona is Henbane "has not a leg, not even a wooden one, to stand upon;" (2) that in favour of Ebony certainly has one leg, but one only, that of etymology; (3) whereas the hypothesis in favour of the yew is sound "and perfect of (both its) limbs, even as he (Shakspeare) conceived it."

I come now to the consideration of another point, which has not yet been dwelt upon, namely, what Shakspeare himself has said of the

¹ Quoted by Bauhin, *Hist. Plant.*, I. Bk. iii. p. 397.

² *N. S. S. Transactions*, p. 30.

yew. He mentions it four times in his plays. (I.) In its emblematic character as connected with death (*Twelfth Night*, II. iv. 55, p. 262, col. 2, Folio), in the Clown's Song :

"My throwd of white, stuck all with Ew,
O prepare it."

(II.) In *Titus Andronicus* (II. iii. 107, Folio, p. 37, col. 2) :

"But strait they told me they would binde me heere,
Vnto the body of a difmall yew."

Where again it is noticeable that we get the English equivalent of Pliny's "tristis" ("taxus tristis et dira") in the epithet bestowed upon the yew ; and, moreover, it is mentioned as being situated in

"A barren, detefted vale
The Trees though Sommer, yet forlorne and leane,
Ore-come with Mofse, and balefull Miffelto.
Heere neuer fhines the Sunne, heere nothing breeds,
Vnleffe the nightly Owle or fatall Rauen."

(III.) It occurs in the well-known passage in *Macbeth* (IV. i. 27, Folio, p. 143, col. 2), where,

"Slippes of Yew
Sliuer'd in the Moones Ecclipe,"

form along with "Roote of Hemlocke, digg'd i' th' darke," part of the poisonous mixture, that, "like a Hell-broth," boils and bubbles in the witches' cauldron.

(IV.) We find, in a passage in *Richard II.* (III. ii. 113, Folio, p. 34, col. 2), an allusion to the yew, which proves most convincingly that Shakspeare was conversant with the fact of its deadly qualities :

"White Beares (Beards) haue arm'd their thin and haireleffe Scalps
Against thy Maieftie, and Boyes with Womens Voyces,
Striue to fpeake bigge, and clap their female ioints
In stiffe vnwieldie Armes: againft thy Crowne
Thy very Beadf-men learne to bend their Bowes
Of double fatall Eugh ; againft thy State
Yea Distaffe-Women manage rustie Bills:
Against thy Seat both young and old rebell."

In this passage the epithet "double-fatal" is specially noticeable in the connection in which it stands. Why "double-fatal"? Evidently not because the bows, under the circumstances alluded to, would do a "double" amount of "fatal" execution. The very reverse would

be the case. They are not to be wielded by stalwart yeomen, strong of arm and steady and sure of eye; but by the trembling hands of decrepit old beads-men. As regards the bows themselves, therefore, *half-fatal* would be a far more appropriate expression than *double-fatal*. But "double-fatal," as its position in the sentence shows, is predicated not of the bow but of the "yew" of which the bow was made;—"double-fatal" because the juice of the leaves and of the bark is a deadly poison, while of the wood itself are fashioned weapons of death. This passage is strictly parallel with one in Spenser, which it illustrates and explains:

"Lay now thy deadly Heben bowe apart."
(*F. Q.*, Bk. I., Introduction, iii.)

where it is the "Heben" or yew which is spoken of as being "deadly."

As the question of the identity of Hebon with the yew has been already exhaustively dealt with by Dr Nicholson, I do not now propose to dwell any longer upon this branch of the subject. In what I have to say more I shall confine my attention exclusively to the other point on which he did not enlarge in his paper; namely, the effects of yew upon the system in man and animals, and the symptoms attendant upon cases of yew-poisoning.

It has been conclusively proved by a large array of indisputable evidence that, both by the ancients and by writers in the middle ages and contemporaries of Shakspeare, the yew was universally known and spoken of as a rapid and fatal poison. I will quote only one more passage in addition to those cited by Dr Nicholson, a passage which has a decidedly Shaksperian ring about it.

In Lyte's *Herbal*, a book which Shakspeare almost certainly read, we find the following description (ed. 1595):

"The yew, in High Dutch is *Iben-baum*, and in base Almaigne *Iben-boom*. It is altogether venomous and against man's nature. . . . *It grows in the forest of Arden*. . . It is so hurtful and venomous that such as only sleep under the shadow thereof become sick and sometimes they die."

This expression "contrary to man's nature," which Lyte here has in common with very many other writers—so many indeed as to

make it what Dr Nicholson calls, "a sort of stock phrase"—finds its echo, you will remember, in the passage in *Hamlet*, where the "cursed hebona" is said to "hold . . . enmity with blood of man."

But Hebona is further characterized as being a "leperous distilment," and also as being such as would produce upon the body of the victim of its deadly effects, appearances similar in character to those which follow upon the bite of a poisonous serpent. Now, bearing in mind some of the known characteristics of leprosy, let us hear what are the effects described by ancient and modern medical writers, as following the bites of poisonous snakes. *Ætius*¹ says: "The wounded part turns white; and not only so, but sometimes even the whole of the skin turns white and ulcerous, and the hair falls off." Of the viper-bite *Dioscorides* says similarly (vi. 47): "An ulceration of the skin follows which not only affects the surface, but spreads beneath it. The persons bitten become comatose." Again, *Dioscorides* (vi. 52) writes: "The bite of the serpent *Cenchrus* causes an ulcerous inflammation. . . . The flesh falls away in pieces."²

The following quotations are from the works of modern writers: "Swelling quickly succeeds (the bite), and a mottled livid redness indicating that the skin is involved . . . soon the pain abates, the limb is cold and benumbed; while patches of gangrenous skin announce that the work of destruction has commenced; not, however, disclosing the ravages already wrought beneath the skin in the sub-cellular tissue; still less the extent to which it may be eventually sacrificed."³

Another writer says: "In some cases there is a superficial erysipelatous condition, or an effusion of redness giving an appearance of ecchymosis. As a rule, the body is more or less swollen and abnormally coloured, at times presenting bullæ and unhealthy ulcers. . . . The lungs are dark and congested, and the heart either empty or filled with much dark blood."⁴

¹ Quoted by Matthiolus (*Comment. on Dioscorides*, p. 592b, ed. Lyons, 1554).

² And see also the passage from W. Topsell's *Historie of Serpents*, 1608, p. 176, cited by Dr Nicholson (*N. S. S. Transactions*, p. 218).

³ Gant, *Science and Practice of Surgery* (vol. i. p. 320).

⁴ Holmes, *System of Surgery* (vol. i. p. 678).

Another writer describes "the most constant appearance" as being "ecchymosis externally on the chest and abdomen, and internally in their viscera, most frequently affecting the intestinal canal, though they may and do occur in any cavity and on any organ;"¹ and he adds that "the venom appears to have a specific influence, such as is observed in the better known poisons."

These effects follow alike in cases of bites from the viper and puff-adder, and in those inflicted by the rattle-snake, cobra, &c., in Eastern countries.

Next as to the effects produced upon the condition of the blood. Dr Douglas Cunningham writes thus:² "The red corpuscles were in irregular masses; had lost all distinctness of outline, and become, as it were, semi-fused. The colouring matter had dissolved out; the white corpuscles were in large masses, visible to the naked eye; and the most remarkable thing about them was their extensive distension. It would appear, however, that the specific effects of the poison upon the blood differ according as it is derived from different families of snakes. In some cases the blood is found firmly coagulated after death; in others it is so decomposed and thin as to leak through the various tissues."³

In the instance of death from the bite of a cobra: "The tissues were discoloured; the surface ecchymosed; the blood coagulated firmly in all the veins." After a viper bite: "The blood on examination after death showed the corpuscles shrivelled and collapsed." In another case: "The blood appeared to be in a state of necræmia."⁴ And once more: "There is a rapid decomposition of the blood as well as of the tissues locally acted upon by the venom. The physical character of the blood is that it is very dark in all parts of the body."⁵

A Paper written in 1843 by Prince Lucien Bonaparte, on the chemical composition of snake poisons, is also worth consulting as bearing on this subject.

One more quotation only I must make, as it illustrates what I

¹ Mitchell, quoted in Holmes (p. 678).

² Aitken, *Science and Practice of Medicine* (vol. i. p. 415).

³ Aitken, *ut supra* (p. 410). ⁴ Aitken (p. 414). ⁵ Holmes, *ut supra*.

shall have to say presently when I come to speak of the effects of yew-poison. "Soon after the poisonous bite has been inflicted symptoms of *muddling intoxication* ensue. The victim mumbles incoherently, and *staggering as if dead drunk*, is overcome with helpless prostration and oppressed breathing . . . the nervous system succumbs to the potent poison and the sufferer expires."¹

I trust that I may be excused if I have wearied your patience by the length and minuteness with which I have given these medical details; but they are all essential to my argument. For I now propose to show you—and this, as not being generally known, I regard as the chief matter of interest which these remarks possess—that the various symptoms and appearances I have thus detailed have one and all been observed and recorded in connection with cases of poisoning by yew. I can show, by a citation of authorities, that the yew is a rapid poison; that it produces the "leperous" effect upon the skin which, according to the medical evidence I have just given, is so marked a characteristic of snake-poisoning; that the ecchymosed condition of the surface of the body; the patchy erysipelatous appearance and colour; the bullæ; the ulceration; the effects specified as taking place in the condition of the blood; the symptoms of intoxication—are, one and all, detailed by observers of the action of yew poison upon the human and animal economy.

(I.) Shakspeare says of "cursed Hebona" that:

"Swift as Quick-Siluer, it courfes through
The naturall Gates and Allies of the Body."

(1) *Dioscorides*, speaking of the expressed juice of the green leaves of the yew, says that it speedily causes death. "*Pota, frigus universo corpori strangulatur et celerem interitum infert*" (in Book VI. cap. 75).

Wibord, Professor at the Veterinary College at Copenhagen, 1787, administered to a mare the juice of seven ounces of the leaves and peeled shoots of the yew; the result was, *death in one hour*.

Ray, the celebrated English botanist, relates the case of the death of a woman from drinking a decoction of yew-leaves. [Catalogue of Plants, &c., growing in the neighbourhood of Cambridge.]

¹ Gant (i. p. 321).

Gmelin of Tubingen (*Flora Siberica*, p. 265) gives a similar case of a young girl, who had drunk a decoction of the leaves in order to remove spots upon her face.

In both these instances death followed *immediately*.

Dr Hartman of Frankfort (in a paper in the *Nouvelle bibliothèque médicale*, vol. ii. p. 125, 1827) refers to a case in which death speedily supervened upon drinking a decoction of the leaves.

The following, from *Aubrey's Miscellanies*, has been kindly brought to my notice by Mr W. G. Stone, to whom I am also indebted for the reference to Evelyn which follows :

"Mrs Cl.— of S—, in the County of S—, had a beloved daughter, who had been a long time ill, and had received no benefit from her physicians. She dreamed that a friend of hers, deceased, told her that if she gave her daughter a drench of yew pounded, she would recover ; she gave her the drench and it killed her. Whereupon she grew almost distracted : her chambermaid to complement her, and mitigate her grief, said surely that could not kill her ; she would adventure to take the same herself ; she did so, and died also. This was about the year 1670 or 1671. I knew the family."¹

In Woodman and Tidy's *Medical Jurisprudence* (p. 290) cases are cited in which death occurred after drinking a decoction of—in one instance after chewing—the leaves of the yew. Upon these they remark, respectively, "*Death very sudden.*"—" *Death rapid.*"—" *Death in a few hours.*"—" *Death in seven hours.*"

The same thing has been observed where experiments were made upon horses, dogs, cats, rabbits, &c.

M. Dujardin, a veterinary surgeon at Bayeux, mixed some leaves of the yew with the food of a horse. An hour and a half after taking these the animal falls dead ("*frappé comme de la foudre*").

(2) Next, as regards the *powdered leaves* of the yew-tree. Dr Harmand of Montgarni successfully treated a child of two years old for eclampsia with two grains of the powder. A fresh attack of the convulsions supervening the next day, the persons in charge of the child, without waiting for the physician's arrival, gave it what remained of the powder, amounting to about six grains ; the dose proved *immediately fatal*. (*Observations sur l'if* ; *Anc. Journal de Med.*, t. 83, p. 210.)

¹ Ed. Lib. of old Authors, under "Dreams," p. 64.

Rapid death was also observed to occur in cases where three horses and a cat had been experimented on with the dried leaves powdered.

(3) The ancients supposed that a poisonous property resided in *the flower* of the yew.

Thus *Lucretius* writes (*De rerum naturâ*, vi. 787): "Floris odore hominem tetro consueta necare." *Plutarch* (Symposium, iii. 647, F.) says, that the yew-tree slays those who sleep under it, and that it is specially dangerous *when in flower*.

Glandorpius, a Commentator on Cæsar, writes: "Si quis sub taxo, dum floret, domiat certum est mori." These opinions, however, have not been confirmed; no results having been found to follow in the case of experiments made with the pollen of the yew.¹

(4) As regards *the berries*. Opinions are very much divided on the question whether they are or are not poisonous.

Pliny maintained that they are: "Lethale quippe baccis, in Hispaniâ precipue, venenum inest."

Theophrastus, on the other hand, says that they are not: "Taxi baccas edules esse et innoxias homini." And a Scholiast on this passage adds: "Et sane sunt hujuscemodi in Anglia."

There is a similar difference of opinion amongst modern authorities.

A case is mentioned in the *Revue Médicale* (June, 1837, p. 394), in which a child, three years and a half old, who had eaten some yew-berries, was seized with vomiting and convulsions followed by death in two hours. Four cases are quoted in Woodman and Tidy's *Medical Jurisprudence*, p. 290, of deaths following upon the eating of the berries, at intervals of four, seven, and nineteen hours respectively.

Matthiolus, the Commentator on Dioscorides, tells us that he treated several shepherds and wood-cutters, who had been attacked with an inflammatory fever after eating yew-berries.

¹ Evelyn (*Sylva*, p. 380) writes as follows: "Dr Belluccio, President of the Medical Garden at Pisa in Tuscany, affirms that when his gardeners clip it (the yew), as sometimes they do, they are not able to work above half an hour at a time, it makes their heads so ake." The writer, however, does not explain whether this effect is caused by the pollen, or by the fact that the air is impregnated with the odour of the cut and bruised leaves.

On the other side, M. le Baron Percy published a Paper in the *Ancien Journal de Médecin* (vol. lxxxiii. p. 229), in which he maintains the completely innocuous character of the berries. He says that he ate them himself, a dozen at a time, and that his young nephew did the same, with no injurious result. He also mentions many other similar instances that had come under his own observation, where men, women, and children had eaten them in abundance without feeling the slightest ill effects. He confirms his own experience by that of the eminent physicians, Lobel, Bulliard, and Girard de Villars. He tells us, too, he is assured by the head-gardener of Versailles, where there are very many yew-trees, that children eat them in great quantities; as also do blackbirds, thrushes, and other birds.

M. Percy also remarks that wasps prefer the yew-berries to grapes; on which account, in vine-growing countries, yew-trees are frequently planted in close proximity to the vineyards, in order to attract the insects from the vines themselves.

Looking at the diversity of opinion which exists with regard to the question, as to whether the yew-berry is or is not poisonous, in spite of the abundance of the facts that have been brought forward in evidence, it seems to me that the remark of Brotius sums up all that can be said with certainty upon the subject. After telling us that to his certain knowledge the yew-berries were perfectly harmless; and yet that it had been proved in many instances upon most unexceptionable testimony, "*venena fuêre præsentissima*," he concludes, "*distinguendæ ergo sunt taxi species*."

(5) Lastly, as to the bark of the yew.

The bark of a yew-tree that had been cut down near Montgarni, the residence of the physician Harmand, was accidentally thrown into a small artificial canal there. The fish died in great quantities; cats, after one or two trials, refused to eat these fish; and some of the servants, who were bold enough to cook and eat a few of them, paid the penalty of their rashness in the shape of a severe choleraic attack.

I have thus shown that, with the doubtful exception of the berry, every part of the yew-tree is poisonous; and that it is a rapidly fatal

poison. Before leaving this part of the subject, let me add to what has been adduced the opinions of some eminent English toxicologists of our own day.

Dr Pereira (*Materia Medica*, ii. 334) writes as follows: "The fruit of the common yew is poisonous. . . Its effects are giddiness, *sudden prostration* of strength, coldness of the surface, irregular action of the heart . . . followed by coma and death."

Dr A. Swayne Taylor (*On Poisons*, &c., p. 784) writes: "A very small quantity of yew-leaves taken fresh may prove a *rapidly fatal poison*."

(II.) Secondly, as to the effects produced upon the skin.

The Ghost calls the "iuyce of curfed Hebona" a "*leperous diftillment*;" and in describing the effect of the poison, says further:

. . . "a moft infant tetter barckt about
Moft Lazar-like, with vile and loathfome cruft,
All my fmooth Body."

Here it is that I find the strongest confirmation of the theory I am maintaining. No other known poison produces such an effect upon the body as Shakspeare thus describes. From the fact that so little is known at all of this characteristic symptom, in cases of death from yew, it has always been assumed that the passage I have just quoted is simply a poetical exaggeration. But it is not so. Shakspeare's description, however he obtained his knowledge, is most strictly and literally accurate, as I now propose to show.

Beyond the statement in *Batman upon Bartholomæus*: "the substance thereof keepeth the euill that is called Ignis Græcus—that it shall not quench, as Dioscorides affirmeth and sayeth," I can find no allusion, in any writer of Shakspeare's time, to the peculiar effect of the poison of the yew upon the human body, when taken *internally*.¹ I have looked carefully through *Dioscorides*, and through the Commentary of his editor, Matthiolus, without finding any trace of the passage to which Batman alludes. Matthiolus, indeed, says that

¹ But it was known in Shakspeare's day that such effects followed, when the juice of the yew was applied externally to the skin. See the remark of Bauhin, quoted by Dr Nicholson (*Transactions N. S. S.*, 1880-2, p. 25), "*pulvere taxi adeo cutim ulcerant, ut miserabiles ac fere deplorati homines appareant*." Bk. ix. cap. 3.

the juice of the yew-berry gives rise in men to inflammatory fevers, and "ardeur de sang" (with which expression I would compare that of Silvester, "blood-boiling yew"), but he does not specify the "lazar-like" condition of the skin as an effect of the poison. There is, however, other evidence in abundance of the fact that such effects do follow; and that they constitute, indeed, one of the most marked and distinctive characteristic symptoms in cases of this nature.

About 40 years ago, the attention of the Hygienic Executive department of the French Government was called to the frequent occurrence of deaths from yew-poisoning, owing chiefly to its employment as an abortive. An *instruction judiciaire* was accordingly issued, in which M. M. Chevallier, Duchesne, et Reynal, eminent toxicologists and members of the Council of Public Hygiene, were desired to inquire into and report upon the nature and properties of the yew, with special reference to its effects as a poison. The result was a most interesting paper, extending to something like 75 pages octavo; which was drawn up by these gentlemen, and presented to the Government, and which contains the most complete and exhaustive account we possess of all that is known about the yew. Its title is, *Mémoire sur l'if et sur ses propriétés toxiques*; and it is to be found in the fourth volume of the *Annales d'Hygiène publique et de Médecine légale*, 2^{me} Série.

It is from this paper that I have derived some of the facts which I have already quoted, in proof of the rapidly fatal character of the poison of the yew. The following remarks of the authors are most valuable for the light which they throw upon the question now before us:

"There is another very singular phenomenon which no previous writer seems to have pointed out as being a characteristic symptom of yew poisoning. We allude to those remarkable eruptions on the skin which take place in the human subject; and which, together with a falling off of the coat, we have observed to follow when a distilled preparation of yew leaves has been given to animals.

"Several writers, indeed, have noted the fact of peculiar eruptions having been seen upon the body after death in these cases; but none have laid sufficient stress upon these as a *distinctive characteristic symptom of the effects of the poison of the yew*.

"This pathological characteristic, however, is so extremely important, that we feel bound to draw attention to it, for the guidance of those who may hereafter be engaged in observations upon similar cases."

This statement is supported by evidence in detail; of which I will cite a few examples only.

In one instance the condition of the body is thus described: "The back and sides of the trunk and the limbs were puffy and swollen, and of a uniform deep red, the colour of a raspberry. The anterior parts of the trunk were of the same colour, but in distinctly raised circular patches."

In another instance where Dr Harmand of Montgarni exhibited the powdered bark of the yew in a severe case of *febris quartana*, he cured the fever in a month's time. But shortly after, he tells us, the patient's body became covered "de gales et de pustules." In two days he lost the whole of his hair. This cutaneous affection lasted for two months, "during the whole of which time, says Harmand, the man 'resta comme imbecile.'" His recovery was slow and difficult. The yew-powder, which had been infused in white wine, certainly proved, in this instance, to be a "leperous distilment."

The same physician (Harmand) reports that a young woman, aged 26 years, of good constitution and in perfect health, slept all night under a yew-tree. He was called in to see her the next morning, and found her covered thickly over with a miliary eruption. For two days she was like a person in a state of intoxication.¹ ("Elle demeura dans une sorte d'ivresse.") The third day the rash suddenly disappeared, a swelling formed on the right knee, which gathered and broke. On the fourteenth day she died.

In the case, before alluded to, of the infant who was poisoned by taking six grains of the powdered yew, it is stated that an hour after death the body was covered with very extensive ecchymosed patches (d'ecchymoses fort étendues).²

In the *Revue Médicale* for June, 1837, mention is made of a

¹ In connection with this symptom, compare what was quoted above, p. 308, in reference to the effects of the bites of poisonous snakes: "symptoms of muddling intoxication ensue."

² Dr Harmand, de Montgarni, *Observations sur l'if* (Ancien journal de médecine, vol. lxxxiii. p. 210).

death from the eating of yew-berries, which took place in two hours after the poison had been received into the stomach. In this instance the body was found to be entirely covered with a purple or violet-coloured eruption (des taches violacées). Several other similar cases are given in detail, which I will not weary you by citing.

Let me, however, refer to one or two instances, in which similar effects are proved to have taken place in animals which had been poisoned by yew.

Girard (*Mémoire sur les qualités de l'if*, 1752) mentions that the bodies of two horses, which had been poisoned by eating the leaves, were much swollen after death; and that the coat came away from the skin at the slightest touch of the hand. In eight other cases the internal organs are described as "ecchymosed," as "covered with red patches," &c.; the whole condition and appearances, in short, bearing a very striking resemblance to those described as following in the corresponding instances of snake-poisoning. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790, Pt. II. p. 691, there is an account of the death of three calves immediately after eating fresh yew-leaves. Some dogs, which ate of the entrails of these calves, speedily died also. In all these cases the coats of the stomach were found to be highly inflamed, and the intestines perforated with small holes.

A preparation of yew-leaves distilled with water was applied to the skin of a mare; an eruption followed, very slight at first, the spots being elevated and isolated. This eruption gradually increased during the day. At evening the whole surface of the body was covered, and in many parts the pustules were united so as to form encrusted patches as large as the palm of the hand.

Dr Hermann gave some of the powdered bark to a cat. In this instance death did not follow immediately; but in eight days' time the animal's body was covered with "gales"—a sort of incrustation; it refused food, and died on the seventeenth day.

(III.) As to the effects of yew poison upon the blood. Shakspere's words are :

... "With a fodaine vigour it doth poffet
And curde, like eager droppings into milke,
The thin and wholfome blood."

Taylor (*On Poisons*), describing the post-mortem appearances in a case of yew-poisoning, says: "the heart was found distended with blood of a dirty plum colour."

M.M. Bredin and Hénon, writing of the condition of the blood of a mare which had been poisoned by yew, remark as follows: "Le sang est noir, et ne présente que quelques caillots blancs, peu consistant et d'un petit volume." The black and altered character of the blood is due to its decomposition by the action of the poison, just as in the similar instances mentioned in the case of snake-bites.

One very singular observation I find recorded, which I mention because it bears upon the interpretation of the phrase "blood-boiling yew." Girard de Villars, in a paper, *Sur les qualités d'if*, read before the Academy of Belles Lettres at Rochelle, speaking of an autopsy that he made in the case of two horses that had been poisoned with yew, says: "Les matières qui remplissaient la cavité de l'estomac étaient d'une si grande effervescence qu'ils me brûlèrent le bout des doigts."

In the instance of the dogs alluded to above, it is said that those which *drank water* after eating of the calves that had died by yew poison, died immediately; but that two others, which were tied up and kept without water for 14 hours, escaped. "This," says the writer, "seems to prove that yew is innocuous to the stomach unless put into fermentation by drinking after it." It certainly does not prove that yew is innocuous, for these two dogs may not have eaten a sufficient quantity of the poison to cause death. But it does seem to show that the poisonous action is increased in intensity by the "fermentation" or "boiling" property, which has been noticed as one of its characteristics.

And once more as regards the stupefying property of this poison, and its analogy in this respect to the venom of the cobra and rattle-snake already referred to. Let me add two illustrations.

Forty grains of the aqueous extract of yew were injected under the skin of a large dog. In two minutes' time the animal showed symptoms of vertigo; it staggered about and could not hold up its head.

M. Dujardin¹ writes thus :—

“Cette sorte d’ivresse qui a précédé et accompagné l’intoxication, ivresse qui se traduit par l’acceptation des feuilles d’if (he is speaking of animals), je ne la constate que comme un symptôme analogue à ceux qui se manifestent dans d’autres cas d’empoisonnement tels que ceux produits par les alcôols, le laudanum,” &c., &c.

Finally, I would remind you of the singularly interesting fact—already mentioned by Dr Nicholson—interesting as bearing upon the point under discussion, and as illustrating still further the analogy between the qualities real or supposed of the poison of the yew and the venom of poisonous snakes—that Suetonius relates of the Emperor Claudius. The historian tells us (*Vita Claud.* XVI.) that the Emperor issued a public edict, in which he informed the citizens of Rome “nihil æque facere ad viperæ morsum quam taxi arboris succum.” That the juice of the yew should be held to be an antidote for the bite of the viper, proceeds on the principle embodied in the saying, “similia similibus curantur.” I have found a more recent application of the same principle; also in connection with the yew.

Klunker² informs us that the country-folk of Silesia have for a long time successfully employed a decoction of yew-wood in milk, in cases where persons have been bitten by rabid dogs.

To sum up what has been attempted in this Paper. Assuming that you bear in mind the lines of argument laid down by Dr Nicholson (*Transactions*, p. 30), I have tried to show, as complementary to what he has stated :

(a) That the “Hebenon” of F₁ is not necessarily the true reading of the passage as Shakspeare wrote it; neither Q₁ nor Q₂ having this reading.

(b) That in accordance with an admitted canon of criticism for determining the value of a reading, which declares, “Such a word is to be preferred as will naturally account for the corrupt forms”—*Hebon*, of which both *Hebona* and *Hebenon* MAY BE corruptions, as being itself a word recognized and in use in Shakspeare’s day, might fairly claim admission into the text. But

¹ *Revue Horticole*, 4^e Série, t. iii. No. 22, 1854.

² J. Loeselius, *Flora prussica* (Regiomonti, 1703, p. 266).

(c) That it is probable that Shakspeare himself wrote the form *Hebona* as a poetical equivalent for *Hebon*, inasmuch as this form of the word is found in both the early Quartos; and that either *Hebon* or *Hebona* makes Dr Grey's "Henbane" theory an impossibility.

(d) That *Eben* (a stone) being the root-word from which the term *Ebenus* and its variations, *Eben*, *Eiben*, *Ihpen*, *Heben*, &c., are derived, the yew and the ebony have an equal right, on etymological grounds, to the name *Hebona*.

(e) That the effects here predicated by Shakspeare of "cursed *Hebona*," which do not correspond with those of any other known poison, correspond in the minutest particulars with those which have been observed to follow in cases of poisoning by yew. And further,

(f) That there is a very remarkable similarity in the symptoms attendant upon poisoning by the venom of serpents and those which toxicologists have noted as characteristic of yew-poisoning.

(g) That the descriptions in the three separate instances—viz. (i) that in Shakspeare's *Hamlet*, (ii) those in medical writings on snake-poisoning, and (iii) those in cases of poisoning by yew—when brought together are found to cohere so closely as to raise the presumption into a moral certainty, that by *Hebona*, in this passage, we are to understand the yew.

Let me anticipate an objection. "You have brought forward an array of authorities," it may be said, "*first*, in proof that the yew is one of the trees which belong to the class of *Hebons*; and *secondly*, that the specific effects of yew-poison are just those described by the Ghost in the passage under discussion. But where is your proof that Shakspeare knew all this?" I do not think that it is incumbent upon me to furnish such proof. I am contending that the "cursed *Hebona*" in *Hamlet* is the yew. And if it is said: "Well, but Shakspeare did not know that all the effects you have described follow in cases of yew-poisoning; for as a matter of fact many English physicians of the present day do not know it;" I might retort that the burthen of proof rests with those who assume that Shakspeare did not know it. Again, I may refer you to the remarkable words of Bauhin about the "impostors who produced ulcerations to such an

extent on their skins, by the use of yew-powder, as to make themselves pitiable objects." Bauhin, who died only eight years after Shakspeare, gives in these words, as Dr Nicholson says, "evidence of a contemporary practice." Bear in mind, too, that Dioscorides' *Treatise on Materia Medica* was, in every sense of the word, a most popular book. At least twenty different editions of the text, probably more, were published in the 16th century. It was the subject of countless commentaries and criticisms. I have noted the titles of thirty different editions of various commentators, dating between 1554 and 1600. These were in the Italian, Spanish, German, and French languages. Matthiolus' translation, accompanied by its voluminous comment, went through several editions; and being in French was much read in this country, and formed the basis of such popular books as Lyte's *Herbal*, Bullein's *Government of Health* (1595), and other works of the same class to which Shakspeare would have access. Besides which, we must bear in mind his intimate connection with one of the most distinguished physicians of the age, with whom his acquaintance may have begun some years before he became his son-in-law.

But I contend, that as regards the fact of Shakspeare's knowledge of all the effects, which I have quoted from modern authorities, as following in cases of yew-poisoning, it is no part of my business to PROVE that Shakspeare knew them. Yet if he did not know them of yew, he certainly did not know them of any other poison; for no poison except the yew does produce these specific effects. I would go further and say: "There is the passage in *Hamlet* detailing certain symptoms, here is the evidence of experts describing the symptoms which follow upon poisoning by yew. Compare the one with the other, and say if they do not tally in the minutest particulars."

Such are the facts; and I maintain that, until the contrary is proved, we are bound to believe that Shakspeare knew what he was writing about. Of course, if any one cares to retort, "So much the worse for the facts, Shakspeare *could not possibly have known all this*," I can go no further. I can but answer for myself that the older I grow and the more I study him the more disinclined I feel to say with respect to any subject of human knowledge, that this

intellectual king of men was not conversant with it. I am mindful of a remark—I think of Dr Bucknill's—that Shakspeare's knowledge in every department of science is "so extensive and so exact that it necessitates the skilled observation of a professional mind fully and fairly to appreciate and set it forth." Whether it was by intuition, or by study, or by what other means he was in advance of his age, who can say? But this, I am sure, we can all say, that the longer and the closer we look into his writings, we shall with so much the profounder conviction of their truth be ready to assent to those forcible words of Coleridge: "Merciful wonder-making Heaven! what a man was this Shakspeare!—myriad-minded, indeed, he was!"

[NOTES ON THE READING HEBENON IN Fr.]

Mr Furnivall sends me the following note as a possible explanation of the spelling *Hebenon*.—

"Though I agree with you in rejecting the reading *Hebenon*, yet an entry in the *Sinonima Bartholomei*, 1387 A.D. (Anecd. Oxon. 1882, p. 26, col. 1), helps to explain its form. For *Hyoscyamus*, henbane, we find:—

'*Iusquiamus*, an[glice] henebon,' *cujus est triplex maneries alb. ruf. et nig. sed nigra est mortifera, aliæ duæ competunt medicinæ.*'

"Earle, *English Plant Names*, p. 47:—

'*Jusquiamus*, chenille hennebone; i. e. *Hyoscyamus*, henbane (Ger. Bohme = *κνίαμος*).'

"On turning to the *Catholicon Anglicum*, an English-Latin Word-Book, 1483 (ed. Hertridge, Early Eng. Text Soc., p. 182, col. 2), we find:—

'Hen-bane; *Iusquimanus*;' on which Mr Hertridge notes:—
'*Iusquimanus* should be *Iusquiamus*, from the Greek *ἰοσκίαμος*, lit. hog's bean, but gradually corrupted into henbane, which Cotgrave gives as "*mort aux oisais*"; Henbane, also Hemlocke.'

"Even without this example of the transposition of the letters in the Latin words, the English *henebon* (or *hennebone*) easily accounts for 'hebenon.' But that Shakspeare meant Hebona, hebon, yew, I have no doubt."

F. J. F.

That the word Henbane was, before Shakspeare's time, and by his contemporaries, variously spelt is evident from the examples cited by Mr Furnivall. Gerarde, in his *Herball*, 1597, gives also "Hannebane" as the French spelling. It is quite possible, therefore, that the copyist or compositor of F1 may have substituted 'henebon' for Shakspeare's 'hebona' (under the idea that he was correcting a blunder of Shakspeare's), and that his 'henebon' was misprinted 'hebenon.' That he was trying to *improve upon* Q2 is manifest. For whereas Shakspeare had written (ll. 71, 72),

"a moft instant tetter barekt about
Moft Lazerlike with vile and lothfome cruft
All my smooth body,"

a perfectly intelligible figure, the tetter on the body making the smooth skin become rough like the bark of a tree—the transcriber of the copy for F1 alters 'barekt' into 'bak'd.' 'Crust,' to his mind, doubtless suggested *baking*! In the same way, being ignorant most probably of the fact, which Shakspeare knew well enough, that Henbane produces no such symptoms or effects as are described in this passage, but others as distinct as possible from them, he may have altered 'hebona' into 'henebon,' and so caused the corrupt gloss 'hebenon,' which has disfigured all the subsequent editions to our own time.

Gerarde, writing four or five years before the date of *Hamlet*, says of Henbane (*Herball*, p. 288, ed. 1597), "The oile or iuyce *dropped into the eares* is good against deafness." He also tells us that Henbane is *good for curing* desperate ulcers. It is absurd to suppose that Shakspeare—whatever might be the case with the copyist of F1—would have attributed such totally opposite properties to his Hebona, had he intended it to be the same thing as Henbane.

Respecting the berry of the yew-tree, Gerarde writes (*Herball*, ed. 1597): "Moreouer, they say that the fruite thereof being eaten, is not onely daungerous vnto man and deadly, but if birds do eate thereof, it causeth them to cast their feathers, and many times to die. All which I dare boldly affirme is altogether vntrue. For when I was yong and went to schoole, diuers of my schoole-fellowes and likewise myselfe did eate our fils of the berries of this tree, without any hurt at all, and that not one time but many times."—W. A. H.

S C R A P S.

two and thirty, a pip (peepe, Fr) out = drunk: *The Shrew*, I. ii. 33. The French ambassador at Rome hinted to Guzman de Alfarache, who was then in his service, a wish to be rid of the company of a tiresome English visitor. "Whereupon," says Guzman, "I tooke my friend to taske, I followed him with salt-meats, that were smart and sharpe, and left behinde them a kinde of tartnesse or tang vpon the tongue; wherewith being bitten, he call'd for his coolers, which he tooke almost faster then I could fill them.

"The wine that he gulped downe, was the gulph that swallowed him vp. The glasse vvas great, his draughts answerable, and those often, and this powder tooke so well, that at last he was powdred vvith a vvitness, and quite blowne vp.

"When I saw he had yeelded himselfe prisoner to his pots, and that hee was **aboue one and thirty** [*quando lo vi rendido, y á treinta con Rey*], **being many peepes out**, I tooke off one of my garters, and knit a sliding knot vpon the instep of one of his feete, and fastened it vnto the stoole whereon he sate." The severe fall that resulted made the bore cease his visits.—Mabbe's trans. of *Guzman de Alfarache*, 1623, Pt. I. p. 253. In Capt. John Stevens's *Spanish-English Dictionary*, 1726, this game is called "*Tréynta y una*." The ed. of Aleman's book from which the bracketed extract is taken was printed at Madrid, by Lorenzo Francisco Mojados, in 1750.—W. G. STONE.

aery of children: *Hamlet*, II. ii. 354-5. There seems little doubt that Shakspeare refers here to the Children of the Queen's Revels at the Blackfriars,¹ whose license is dated, 30 Jan. 1603-4. That they were thought the best of their day, the following extract tends to show: "So at the last, after long studie, Lady Lasciuious, with her Beldame Opportunity, growing acquainted with their suite, gaue them this counsell: the yong man to transforme himselfe into an effeminate shape, & so vnsuspected, hee might safely trauell as a she Pilgrime in her company: but for the more safety it was agreed vpon betweene them, that hee should take the name of Dalinda, and present himselfe to the Gentlewoman, seeming by her ciuill shew to be more rich in vertue then in beauty: all which was acted in such quaint manner that they seemed to surpass the *boyes of Blacke-fryars*." (?) 1611. Wm. Finner [Fennor]. *Pluto his Trauailles*, or, *The Diuels Pilgrimage to the Colledge of Iesuites*. sign. B. 3.—F.

scare, vb.: *Lear*, IV. i. 59. The little children were neuer so afayrd of hell mouth in the old plaies painted with great gang teeth, staring eyes, and a foule bottle nose, as the poore deuils are **skared** with the hel mouth of a priest. 1603. S. Harsnet. *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures*, p. 71.—B. N.

¹ See my Forewords to Griggs's Facsimile of *Hamlet*, Quarto 2, p. iv.

XVI. ON WILKINS'S SHARE IN THE PLAY CALLED SHAKSPERE'S *PERICLES*.

BY ROBERT BOYLE, ST. PETERSBURG.

(Read at the 76th Meeting of the Society, Friday, February 10, 1882.)

It has long been granted by a vast majority of critics, that *Pericles*, as it has come down to us, is not the production of Shakspeare alone. In his articles on *Timon* and *Pericles* in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, 13 years ago, Delius first called attention to the author of the *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*¹ as probably also author of part of *Pericles*. To this conclusion he came as the result of a careful investigation of Wilkins's novel of *Pericles*, and a comparison with the play. His papers were followed by those of Fleay on the same subject in the *Transactions* of the New Shakspeare Society for 1874. Fleay fixed on the first two Acts as the work of Wilkins, along with part of the Gower Chorus (to Acts I., II.), giving the rest of the chorus and the brothel-scenes in Act IV. to Rowley. Though agreeing with Fleay in this division, I condemn most strongly his language with respect to Delius,² which is only too much in harmony with the dictatorial tone that he, with so little reason, assumed as supreme authority in all Shakspeare questions.

Fleay brought forward little or nothing in support of his views, except an assertion that the metre of the *Miseries of Enforced Marriage* corresponded wonderfully with that of the first two acts of *Pericles*. What this assertion was worth will now be plain to those who see, day after day, one result or other of Fleay's investigations proved flagrantly wrong. From one observation he made in the

¹ In Oct. 1879, Mr P. A. Daniel pointed out in the *Athenæum* the fact that Wilkins's *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, 1607, is founded on the narrative of the Calverly murder, which was also the source of the so-called "Shakspeare's" *Yorkshire Tragedy*.

² *N. Sh. Soc.'s Trans.*, 1874, p. 200, 208-9.

course of his paper, it appears that he had in his hands the means of settling the question on a far more trustworthy basis than that of metrical tests. He had at least looked into the title-page of *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, in which Day, Wilkins, and W. Rowley wrote together. What I now offer to the N. S. S. is the result of a comparison of *Pericles* with *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* on the one hand, and with the six plays of John Day which have come down to us on the other. The plays I have carefully examined are *Pericles*, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, and *Law Tricks*. More cursorily, *The Isle of Gulls* and *Humour out of Breath*. Slightly, *The Parliament of Bees* and *The Blind Beggar of Bednal Green*.

Last year G. A. Bullen¹ finished a reprint of Day's Plays in 7 parts, the seventh containing Notes, &c. My attention was attracted by a note in this part, showing a most striking similarity between two passages in *Law Tricks* (No. IV of the Reprint) and *Pericles*, II. i. I immediately set to work to examine the play in question, and compare it with *The Miseries*. But before giving the dry results of my investigation, I shall give some slight sketch of John Day's work. I do so without thinking it necessary to apologize, as the scanty support Mr Bullen has met with, both in his reprint of Day and in the undertaking in which he is now engaged, fully bears me out in the supposition that the vast majority of the members of the N. S. S. know little of the courtly old dramatist. We have the names of a considerable number of plays in which Day was engaged with Chettle, Haughton, Dekker, Wentworth Smith, and Hathway. Of these we have still *The Blind Beggar of Bednal Green* by Day and Chettle. But the *Parliament of Bees*, although going under the name of Day alone, has long passages corresponding with passages from Dekker's *Wonder of a Kingdom*. (See Bullen's remarks; but the correspondance extends much further than those remarks would seem to indicate.) Characters 4 and 5 of the *Parliament of Bees* are to be found in Samuel Rowley's *Spanish Soldier*. These facts prove that, even when Day figures alone on the title-page, we need not

¹ G. A. Bullen, Clarence House, Godwin Road, New Town, Margate. He has still a few copies of Day's Plays undisposed of.

necessarily assume him to have been sole author. With the authors mentioned above, Day seems to have worked together about the end of the 16th and the first few years of the 17th century. A second group of plays begins with 1606—1609, in which Day was helped by Wilkins and Rowley. *The Isle of Gulls* appeared in quarto in 1606. As far as I can see at present, it is of no importance to the question in hand to enter into a discussion whether this play was by Day alone. In 1607 appeared *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, in which the three writers, Day, Wilkins, and W. Rowley, subscribe as joint authors. In 1608 appeared *Humour out of Breath* and *Law Tricks*, both with the name of Day alone. *Humour out of Breath* was written in 1608, as it contains the following allusion:—

“*Aspero*. For my beard, indeed, that was bitten the last great frost.”

Now, notwithstanding the assertion of Fleay with regard to *Love's Cure* (which the result of my metrical investigations, *Englische Studien*, Bd. V, Heft 1, ascribes to the year 1622 and to Massinger), I attach great importance to such an allusion. Metrical evidence, as used now, becomes of importance only with regard to later authors. However, there is not even metrical evidence to support the idea that the allusion is to a frost earlier than that of 1607-8. Let us assume then the play was written in the year in which it was published, 1608. In the preface, or dedication to Signior No-body, Day says, “Being to turn a poor friendless child (the play) into the world, yet sufficiently featured too, *had it been all of one man's getting*.” These words admit of only one construction, viz. an admission on the part of Day that he had been assisted in the play by at least one writer. This other author, from the allusions scattered through some prose scenes, connecting it with *Pericles* and *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, was Wilkins. I shall not cite those passages here, as they are not necessary for my purpose. *Law Tricks*, as I said before, was published in 1608. Considering that Day was assisted by Wilkins and W. Rowley in 1607 in *The Travels*, and that Day alludes to some help received in *Humour out of Breath* in 1608, there would be nothing surprising if it should turn out that Wilkins was also engaged in *Law Tricks*. Now *Pericles* was entered on the Stationers' Register,

1608, and published 1609. *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* appeared in 1607. We have thus, in the compass of two years, 1607-1609, ample materials to judge of the question before us. Putting *Humour out of Breath* out of the question, after it has shown us how easily Wilkins may have been engaged in *Law Tricks*, published in the same year, I proceed now to examine *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, in order to ascertain the respective shares of the three authors. Mr Bullen has not divided the play into scenes; but as such a division is necessary for consultation, I propose the following arrangement:—

Sc.	i.	to page 14.	Enter Messenger.
„	ii.	„ 27.	Enter the Sophy's Niece.
„	iii.	„ 34.	Enter Chorus.
„	iv.	„ 36.	Enter Chorus.
„	v.	„ 40.	Enter Chorus.
„	vi.	„ 46.	Alarum.
„	vii.	„ 50.	Enter Turk.
„	viii.	„ 53.	Enter Sir A. Sherley.
„	ix.	„ 64.	Enter Sophy.
„	x.	„ 75.	Enter Jailor.
„	xi.	„ 78.	Enter the Great Turk.
„	xii.	„ 82.	Enter Robert Sherley.
„	xiii.	to end.	

Mr Bullen gives a scheme by Fleay for the authorship of the several scenes. I take it for granted that Fleay divides the play as I do, as where the page is mentioned his division agrees with mine. The following is Fleay's plan of the play side by side with my own.

	<i>Fleay.</i>				<i>Boyle.</i>
Sc.	i.	Rowley	...	...	Rowley.
„	ii.	Wilkins	...	...	Wilkins.
„	iii.	Day	...	...	Day.
„	iv.	Day?	...	...	Rowley? or Day?
„	v.	Day?	...	...	Rowley? or Day?
„	vi.	Wilkins	...	...	Wilkins.
„	vii.	Rowley	...	...	Rowley.

	<i>Fleay.</i>	<i>Boyle.</i>
Sc. viii.	Wilkins	Wilkins.
„ ix.	Day?	Rowley (probably).
„ x.	Rowley	Wilkins.
„ xi.	Day?	Day (Jailor's speech perhaps by Wilkins).
„ xii.	Day?	Wilkins.
„ xiii.	Wilkins, pp. 82—88	Wilkins, pp. 82—88.
	Rowley, p. 88 to end ...	Rowley, p. 88 to end.

From metrical evidence alone a separation of the work of Day and Wilkins would be difficult. But Rowley has an uneven metre which generally betrays him. Fortunately for our purpose, Wilkins has a peculiarity which is perhaps safer to build upon than metrical evidence—he continually repeats himself. He and Massinger repeat themselves to a degree which renders the work of separation here comparatively easy. I may safely assume then, that when, in scenes which both Fleay and I have agreed to give to Wilkins, I can show Wilkinisms (to coin a word), the scene belongs to that author. For my present purpose it is enough that I show correctly the scenes in which Wilkins was engaged. Whether Day or Rowley wrote the 4th, 5th, and 9th scenes does not affect the present question.

Sc. i. we have both assigned to Rowley. I have only here to call attention to p. 12, “there lives a princess,” which shows that Rowley lays the scene in the time of Queen Elizabeth; whereas p. 81, “From my dread master, England’s royal king,”—in a scene which I attribute to Wilkins, and Fleay to Day,—shows that W. (as I contend) lays the scene in the time of James.

In sc. ii. a messenger enters. Now, as we shall see later (table of parallel passages), it is a peculiarity of Wilkins’s messengers to be in haste. This one is sweating—

“Well, sir, now, your sweating message.”

Three such messengers come in in this play, all three in Wilkins’s scenes; three in *Miseries*, and two in *Pericles*. On p. 15 occurs a line,—

“Rise till it dim the stars; such your high mind,”

which occurs again p. 46, also a Wilkins scene—

"My mind is high, lie my head ne'er so low."

On p. 16 occurs a passage (see Bullen's notes)—

"They shall have graves like thee dishonoured,
Unfit for heaven or earth : this we prepare ;
Betwixt them both we'll seat you in the air,"

which also occurs in almost the same form in *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (see table of parallel passages).

On p. 20 occurs—

"Thou art better go down quick into thy grave
Than touch him,"

which corresponds with a passage in *The Miseries* (see table of parallel passages). In sc. iii. these allusions to *The Miseries* cease. Nor do I find any in sc. iv. and sc. v. The Chorus before sc. vi. makes such a chaos of geography as seldom occurs, even amongst our old dramatists. Sir Thomas Sherley comes from England to the court of the great Duke of Florence, thence to the Straits of Gibraltar, then to Leghorn, then to *the Duke of Tuscan*, then to Sicily, and then to *Chios* (Jeo). Query?—Is not this Rowley's? Could Day or Wilkins have made so much confusion?

With sc. vi. we have Wilkins again—

"Think that the seas
Played with us but as great men die a-land,
Hurled us now up, now down !"

This reminds us of *Pericles*, II. i. 63, 64, and also II. i. 31.

Sc. vii. we have both given to Rowley. Note the number of the prisoners, p. 47—

"Between 30 and 40 of their chief commanders,"

and p. 49—

"Thirty, my Lord.
Those 30 lives shall buy my brother's life."

But Wilkins in sc. viii. did not notice the number of the prisoners and makes it 20. On p. 51 he mentions that number twice. This has been left uncorrected ; but in the later scenes 30 are always spoken of by both authors. On p. 52 occurs—

"Thy torments shall be more, thy freedom less,"

which occurs again on p. 78 in exactly the same words. It reminds one of *Pericles*, II. ii. 9—

“My commendations great, whose merits less.”

Sc. ix. reads to Fleay like Rowley's, to me like Day's.

Sc. x. is the first Wilkins scene in which we differ. The construction in the fifth line, “Whom we command him kill,” is continually occurring in Wilkins, and p. 74 a messenger enters with a sweating news.

Sc. xi. we are both disposed to give to Day. The Jailor's speech may be Wilkins's. It is a repetition of *Humour out of Breath*, p. 58.

In sc. xii. occurs the line, p. 78,

“Thy tortures shall be more, thy freedom less.”

p. 80, a messenger with hasty news.

p. 81, the allusion to the king.

Sc. xiii. For Wilkins's participation up to p. 88 I have nothing to advance but the metrical structure and the Wilkinism “I not deny,” p. 86. Seeing that Wilkins is acknowledged on the title-page as one of the authors, I think his share in *The Three English Brothers* may be regarded as ascertained. Let us now proceed to *Law Tricks*. Act I. sc. i., I regard as Day's. But with sc. ii. Wilkins comes in. It commences with the very small joke of feeling oneself with one's hands, a joke so small that it would hardly be worth another author's while to steal. This joke occurs in *The Miseries* (see table of parallel passages). Then it goes on with an allusion to *Pericles*, II. i. (see table). If I. ii. be by Wilkins, II. i. is no less decidedly so. On p. 26 there is the continuation of the allusion to *Pericles*, II. i. On p. 27 occurs the allusion to my “she affinity,” corresponding to a passage in *The Miseries*, p. 496. On p. 28, “security,” there is an allusion to *The Miseries*, p. 515. On p. 30, “here's non ultra writ,” a very common saying, it is true; but, considering Wilkins's habit of continually repeating himself, not without value; compare *Three Brothers*, p. 50. The stock-fish allusion on p. 33 corresponds with one in *The Miseries*, p. 534. The page's speech some lines further on reflects *Miseries*, p. 524. These allusions, together with the Wilkinism on p. 18, “I not love her sex,” and

the continual side-blows at law and lawyers, render it difficult to suppose that Wilkins was not the author of these scenes. As Massinger speaks continually of the miseries of soldiers in time of peace, and Day of scholars, Wilkins, in a far greater degree, abuses law and lawyers. Of the rest of the play I am disposed to regard IV. i. and V. at least from p. 86 on, as Wilkins's. The allusions are, p. 51—

"Then I shall sit upon your skirts." Also on p. 26.

p. 53—"Two citizens' sons and a poet brought up all (the larks) in the town, flung away the bodies only to have a pie made of the brains." Also on p. 86.

p. 54—"Have we not Hiren here?" Also p. 86. If this scene is by Wilkins, as seems probable, then the concluding pages from p. 86 on are also his.

For our purpose, however, it is only necessary to assume I. ii. and II. i. to be Wilkins's, as—from the network of allusions connecting these two scenes with *Pericles* on the one hand, and with *The Miseries* and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* on the other, can hardly be avoided,—in order to establish our position, that the first two acts of *Pericles* are also his. A comparison of these two acts with *The Miseries* shows an agreement in certain grammatical peculiarities. One of these, the position of the negative before the verb "I not love her sex," has been mentioned already as a Wilkinism. When I say a Wilkinism, I don't mean to say that he alone uses it, but that he is one of those authors who use it. Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, Field, etc. also use it. This peculiarity is of great use in finding the author of a doubtful passage. If the question as to the authorship of the first two acts of *Pericles* lay between Shakspeare and Wilkins, of course it would not be of much use. But, taking it for granted that Shakspeare was not the author, it considerably strengthens the evidence in favour of Wilkins. It occurs in *Pericles*, V. iv. 47—

"If in which time expired he not return."

Wilkins uses this construction in *Miseries*, p. 562—"What heart not pities this."

p. 564—"My heart not suffers me to leave my honest mistress."

In *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, p. 86—"In Rome I not deny my brother struck him."

And in *Law Tricks*, p. 18—"Though I not love her sex."

The number of instances of this peculiar construction could, I believe, be largely increased, but these will be sufficient to show the hand of Wilkins in the places above-mentioned. A singular effect is produced by the omission of the relative in the nominative in the following passage : *Pericles*, I. i. 134—

"Antioch, farewell ! for wisdom sees, those men
Blush not in actions blacker than the night,
Will shun no course to keep them from the light."

This omission is common in *The Miseries* :

p. 428— "I must speak,
That am his guardian ; would I had a son
Might merit commendations equal with him."

p. 483— "Divert the good is looked from them to ill."

p. 519— "Nor that you keep
The company of a most leprous rout
Consumes your body's wealth, infects your name."

This is a peculiarity of construction which is very frequent in *The Miseries*. The list of verbs which were followed by an infinitive without "to" was much larger in Elizabethan times than now, but few writers carried it so far as Wilkins. In *Pericles*, II. i. 65, we have—

"Entreats you pity him."

In *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, in a scene which I give to Wilkins, p. 64, we have—

"And save a man whom we command him kill."

Wilkins is fond of repeating the same words in the second line of the couplet. *Pericles*, I. ii. 14, 15—

"And what was first but fear it might be done,
Grows elder now, and cares it be not done."

Pericles, I. ii. 22, 23—

"And what may make him blush in being known,
He'll stop the course by which it may be known."

In *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* we have, p. 19—

“*Rob.* He was my prisoner; I had charge of him.

Hal. But now my prisoner, whoe’er conquered him.”

He repeats rhymes, as in the following instances, with slight variations, *Pericles*, I. ii. 99, 100—

“And finding little comfort to relieve them,
I thought it princely charity to grieve them.”

Miseries, p. 524—

“Jest not at her whose burden is too grievous,
But rather lend a means how to relieve us.”

He repeats such a rhyme in *Pericles*, II. i. 10, 11, and II. iii. 46, 47—

“And having thrown him from your watery grave,
Here to have death in peace is all he’ll crave.”

“Whereby I see that Time’s the king of men;
He’s both their parent, and he is their grave,
And gives them what he will, not what they crave.”

The idea of the grave or death is one which he repeats unmercifully, as in *Miseries*, p. 560—

“I thank thee, butler; heaven when he please,
Send death unto the troubled—a blest ease.”

His characters go off the stage with such a couplet in their mouths even when there seems no necessity for it. He is fond of using a bell in his rhymes, as in *Miseries*, pp. 492 and 540, and continually makes use of the expression “spare not.” Taken together with the other evidence, these peculiarities of construction and repetition present such an overwhelming mass of evidence in favour of Wilkins as is not to be resisted. Those who still cling to the theory of the whole play being Shakspeare’s, have to explain away the difference in metrical structure. Acts I. and II. show the metrical characteristics of no one period, while Acts III., IV., V. are written in close harmony with the date to which we assign it—1608. They have to assume further that Shakspeare borrowed to an unprecedented extent small jokes, etc. from a fourth-rate writer like Wilkins; they have to assume that he who had such an eye for stage-effect borrowed the clumsy chorus arrangement which Wilkins

had adopted the year before in his *Travels of Three English Brothers*; they have to explain how Thaisa comes to make such a sensual allusion as that in Act II. sc. iii. l. 32, which is only to be compared with Day's conversation between Dalibra and the Sophy's Niece in *Travels*, p. 27, and with Apemantus in *Timon* (non-Shaksperian), I. i. 210; they have to explain the want of connection between the parts which we regard as added by Wilkins and Rowley (by Rowley the bawdy-house scenes in Act IV.) and the rest of the play, and the looseness with which those parts hang together within themselves; they have to explain the allusions to lawyers and the law (there is another which I have not mentioned in *Pericles*, II. i. 122). These form a mass of difficulties not to be got over except by those who have determined beforehand not to be persuaded. On the other hand, admit the claims of a second author, whom but Wilkins can we assume for the first two acts? As to Rowley's authorship of the bawdy scenes in Act IV., I have nothing to add to what Fleay has already brought forward on this subject.¹ The style is Rowley's, especially the somewhat hobbling yet vigorous movement of the small number of verse-lines which occur in these scenes. So far I agree with Fleay. But when, in his paper on *Timon*, he pooh-poohs the idea that Delius advanced with respect to that play, namely, that Wilkins may have also been the second author there, and asserts in his usual infallible manner that the metre of *Timon* corresponds more closely with that of Cyril Tournear's *Revenger's Tragedy* than with any of the 200 plays he had analyzed, one is tempted to ask to what purpose he has analyzed 200 plays when he places together two so entirely different metrically and in general tone as *Timon* and the *Revenger's Tragedy*? There is no trace of Cyril Tournear in *Timon*; nor is there any trace of Wilkins. If there had been, I believe the investigation which I set on foot with regard to *Pericles*, and which I extended to *Timon*, would have given some result. One negative result I may advance from my work at *Timon*, viz. that metrical evidence will be of little value in deciding the question, but that we must look out for links connecting it with other plays. One faint

¹ The occupation which Rowley assigns to Marina in *Pericles*, IV. and the situation generally, are those of Lurdo's discarded countess in *Law Tricks*.

link I have alluded to connecting it with Day's part in the *Three English Brothers*, but this is unfortunately of no value, as it stands entirely alone. In short, the work with regard to *Timon* remains to be done.

In the annexed table of passages, illustrating the connection between the various plays in which Wilkins had a hand, several of the examples may seem of little value. Granting that this would be the case with an author who did not repeat himself, I must dispute the validity of the objection with regard to Wilkins, who, as I have shown, kept an idea long in his mind, and repeated it, changed or unchanged, in more than one of his plays.

TABLE OF PARALLEL PASSAGES TO *PERICLES*.

Law Tricks.

(Bullen's Reprint.)

I. ii. p. 25. *Joculo and Emilia.*

Joc. Welcome to Genoa, Madam;
and to make a short cut of our long
travel, faith tell me, how do you feel
yourself since you came ashore?

Em. Feel myself? Why, with
my hands: What an idle question's
that!

Joc. Then, pray, be you better oc-
cupied in your answer: But, Madam,
do you remember what a multitude
of fishes we saw at sea? and I do
wonder how they can all live by one
another.

Em. Why, fool, as men do on the
land; the great ones eat up the little
ones (I. ii. 26).

Emilia, Lurdo, Julio, Adam.

Em. Are you a lawyer?

Jul. Faith, Madam, he hath sat on
the skirts of law any time this thirty
years.

Miseries of Enforced Marriage.

(Hazlitt's Dodsley.)

p. 532. *Bartley and Ilford.*

Bart. And how dost feel thyself,
Frank, now thy father's dead?

Ilf. As I did before, with my
hands; how should I feel myself
else?

p. 539. *Butler.*

O the most wretched season of
this time! These men, like fish, do
swim within one stream, Yet they'd
eat one another.

II. i. 29. *Fisherman and Pericles.*

3rd *Fisherman.* Master, I marvel
how the fishes live in the sea.

1st *F.* Why, as men do a land;
the great ones eat up the little ones;
I can compare our rich misers to
nothing so fitly as to a whale, 'a
plays and tumbles, driving the poor
fry before him, and at last devours
them all at a mouthful: such whales
have I heard on o'the land, who never
leave gaping till they've swallowed

Pericles.

(Globe.)

Law Tricks.

Adam. Then he should be a good trencherman by his profession.

Lurdo. Your reason, Adam?

Ad. I knew one of that faculty in one term eat up a *whole* town, *church*, *steeple*, and *all*.

Ju. I wonder *the bells* rung not all in *his belly*.

Ad. No, Sir, he sold them to buy his wife a taffety gown, and himself a velvet jacket.

*Miseries.**Pericles.*

the *whole* parish, *church*, *steeple*, bells, and *all*.

3rd *F.* But, Master, if I had been the sexton, I would have been that day in the belfry.

2nd *F.* Why, man?

3rd *F.* Because he should have swallowed me too; and when I had been *in his belly*, I would have kept up such a jangling of *the bells*, that he should never have left till he cast bells, steeple, church and parish all up again.

MESSENGERS IN HASTE.

p. 481.

I. i. 161.

Travels of Three English Brothers.
(Bullen's Reprint.)

Sc. ii. p. 14.

Enter Messenger.

Mess. My Liege.

Sophy. What makes these slaves so bold to trouble me?

Well, sir, your sweating message.

x. 74.

Enter Messenger.

Sophy. Your sweating news.

xii. 80.

Butler comes (not with haste).

Scarborow. Clare, here is an unwelcome pursuivant;

My lord and guardian writes to me, *with speed*. I must return to London.

p. 493.

Enter Clown.

Clown. As men do *in haste* to make an end of their business.

Ant. Let your breath cool itself telling your *haste*.

I. iv. 56. *Enter a Lord.*

Lord. Where's the lord governable. Here.

Travels.

Turk. The hasty news?

Chorus p. 34, and sc. ii. p. 18.
Our story then so large we cannot
give
All things in Acts.
Ant. Our lives are *lighted tapers*
that must out.

Miseries.

(*N.B.*—In answer to Ilford,—
Now, Sir, what come you for?)
p. 559. *Enter Butler.*
But. Where are you, Sir?
Scar. Why starest thou? What's
thy haste?

Pericles.

Speak out thy sorrows
Which thou bringest *in haste*.
(*N.B.*—These are the only two
messengers who appear in *Pericles*.
Acts I. and II.)

Compare *Gower Chorus* IV., V.,
and Act I., *Gower* 15, 16.
I life would wish, and that I might
Waste it for you like *taper light*.

p. 522.
John. He is more degenerate
Than greedy *vipers* that devour their
mother,
They eat on her but to preserve them-
selves.
p. 565.
But. But will not suffer
The husband *viper*-like, to prey on
them
That love him, and have cherished
him.

I. i. *Riddle.*

I am no *viper*, yet I feed
On *mother's* flesh which did me
breed.

II. i. 31, 63, 64.

Travels.

Play'd with us but *as great men do*
a' land,
 Hurl'd us now up, then down.

x. 72.

Scene between Sophy and Niece.

Chorus pp. 5, 6, 34, 36, 40, 89, 90,
 91.

Law Tricks.

II. p. 27.

Poly. Give her maintenance?

Why, she's of *my* near *affinity*!

Should I see *my* she *affinity* go in
 tatters? I allow my servants rags,
 and I were worse than a Jew if I
 should allow *my* she *affinity* to go
 naked (V. p. 86).

Do you think I would have main-
 tained her as I did but only for
affinity's sake?

What said I at first, nuncle? Did
 I not urge *affinities*? And you

Miseries.

Pericles.

As men do a land the *great* ones eat
 up the little ones.

A man whom both the waters and
 the winds

In that vast teune's-court have made
 the ball

For them to play upon.

II. v. from *Enter Pericles*.

Chorus.

Miseries.

p. 496.

Besides, sir, I, being a younger
 brother, would be ashamed of my
 generation, if I would not borrow of
 any man that would lend, especially
 of *my affinity*.

Travels.

Law Tricks.

would see me hanged, say an I did
not urge *affinity*?

Sc. ii. p. 20.

Rob. Thou'rt better go down *quick*
into thy grave

Than touch him.

Sc. ii. p. 16.

Turk. They shall have graves like
thee dishonoured,

Unfit for heaven or earth : this we
prepare,

Betwixt them both we'll seat you in
the air.

Act II. p. 23. *Enter Pol. and Em.*
Adam. Pray God, she shake not
down his green leaves and leave him
to make the Duke his father a bald
reckoning.

(Said of Polymetes in allusion to
the ravages of a certain disease.)

Act II. p. 28.

Lardo. Provided this that as our
bookmen write, I have security.

Em. A lawyer right !

Poly. Security ! leases and old
rents, castles and town ships, able
men, good security.

Act II. p. 50.

Sc. viii. p. 50.

Travels.

p. 564.

So, now your champion's gone, minx,
thou had'st better

Have gone *quick into thy grave*.

p. 559.

Scar. Or else turn thieves too and
be choked for it,

Die a dog's death, be perched upon a
tree,

Hanged betwixt heaven and earth as
fit for neither.

p. 474. *Ilford and Scarborough.*

Ilf. Change of pasture makes fat
calves.

Scar. But, change of women, bald
knaves, sir knight.

p. 513—551.

Gripe. Put me in security.

Gripe. Provided that men, mortal
as we are

May have——

Scar. May have security.

Miseries.

Law Tricks.

Lurdo. Here's non ultra writ.

Act II. p. 33. *Horatio.*

Hor. Shrivelled bawd, sponge
lemon-pill and more irrelishable
Than o'er dried stock-fish, fie!

Act II. p. 33. *Page.*

P. Heart, a new fashion!
A lady poor, beautiful and chaste?
Clean from the bias of custom.

Title Page.

Law Tricks, or, Who would have
thought it.

Miseries.

p. 534.

I know you to be merchants of
stockfish.

p. 524. *Butler.*

But. For I can tell you, 'tis as
strange here to see a maid fair, poor,
and honest, as to see a collier with a
clean face.

p. 547.

Ilford. Ho, Sirrah, who would
have thought it!

XVII. WAS HAMLET MAD?

BY DR BRINSLEY NICHOLSON.

(Read at the 80th Meeting of the Society, Friday, June 9, 1882.)

BEFORE entering on my prelude proper let me say how much I regret my not having had this paper ready on the date first fixed—the 10th March—and how much more I regret that it is now less finished than it ought to have been by that date. My only excuses are, that naturally procrastinating till I actually commence, I have had much to occupy me otherwise, and that since my last attack I find that I cannot work so continuously as once I did.

Now to my preliminary remarks. The first is somewhat personal to myself. Long ago when the question came more prominently than usual before me, I determined that I would read nothing set forth on either side, and that I myself would not entertain the question, until I had studied and re-studied the play, become better acquainted with its scope or scopes, and also acquainted myself more fully with our dramatist's modes of thought, and manner of carrying them into execution. These probably were flights too high for my wing, but I was content not to attempt the question till after such preparation. Then came my illness, and finding that my knowledge and remembrance of Shakspeare had been lessened, and that I was not likely ever to be able thus to study him, I gave up the thought of attacking the question. One day, however, when reading Hamlet for another purpose, a passage suddenly started up before me, and of itself said—I am the answer to that question, though plainly as I have declared myself, you have been too blind and too deaf to hear or see me. I cross-examined it. It still adhered to its tale, nor could I discover any, the slightest, reason for its telling a falsehood. Still undesirous of being led away, I said, if true, all other circumstances must agree therewith. Going over the play, bit by

bit—and as I believe without prejudice—I not only found that they did, but that this new light explained parts which I had thought odd, nay, inconsistent with Hamlet's conduct and character as set forth generally in the play. Hence the following paper, in which I, in accordance with the passage that I have spoken of, answer that he was mad.

Before, however, going through the incidents as I then did, I would, in the second place, say a word or two on madness. Those who have only heard incidentally of it, or have seen with unprofessional glance but one or two instances of it, think that a madman is insane on all points and at all times, and that he cannot be in conversation with you for a quarter of an hour without betraying his state. A gentleman was examined on a writ *De Lunatico Inquirendo*. Each counsel examined and re-examined him until the day was well advanced. Their conclusions were that he was one whose intellect was above the average. A friend of the gentleman now entered, and as he was supposed to know his case the wearied lawyers gave over the examination to him. After a few preliminary questions, he asked in his ordinary tone: "You are God Almighty, are you not?" "I am," was the reply! It may be said this was a case of monomania, while Hamlet shows no sign of being a monomaniac. True; but the man was mad and seriously so, and I quote it as an extreme instance, showing the folly of the idea usually entertained. Passing on, however, from cases where one thinks oneself a tea-kettle, or a glass bottle very likely to be broken by a sudden collision, but where the person is otherwise sane, I know not whether what I am about to relate be as truthful in fact as it is in what it exemplifies, but such cases are not uncommon. A French banker said to a friend, a physician in charge of a large lunatic asylum: "One can at once detect an insane person." "Will you dine with me," replied the physician, "on such a day, and meet a party of six; afterwards you can tell me who among them was the madman?" "Well?" said he afterwards. "My friend," answered the banker, "I had not been any time in the room before I found out the man on your left; his ridiculous views on accumulating a fortune in no time were too patent, as I said to the gentleman beside me, a singularly

intelligent and well-informed man—by the way who was he—‘mad, mad as a March hare.’” “The gentleman on my left,” replied the medical man, “was the writer, Honoré de Balzac,—the gentleman next you one of my most hopeless cases.” Not only is this concealment of their mad points or non-obtrusion of them characteristic at certain times of many madmen, but some will unfold their tales so plausibly that a casual listener may be led into taking them for gospel.

As to the type of madness that Shakspeare would represent, I would here say that one of its characteristics is its paroxysmal nature, and I would add, as I shall show further on, that it singularly agrees with the descriptions of “melancholic madness” to be found in contemporary writers. Whether Hamlet’s madness were at times absent or merely latent need not be entered into; it is sufficient to say that it was liable to show itself at times of excitement, chiefly those of emotional excitement.

The first point I would take, is in a manner preliminary also. It is, how, so far as can be ascertained, did Shakspeare’s contemporaries conceive Hamlet? In two passages of Ant. Scoloker’s *Diaphantus*, published in 1604, one in the *Epistle to the Reader*, the other on Sig. E. 4, v., the mention of Hamlet immediately suggests or brings in the use of the term “mad” or “madman.” In a third at the same signature we have—

“Puts off his cloathes; his shirt he onely weares
Much like mad-*Hamlet* :”

that is, having discased himself of his doublet and vest, he appeared in his shirt-bosom and sleeves. Here we have both Scoloker’s epithet, and a notice of how the players played the part. Again, in 1605, Jonson, Chapman, and Marston wrote *Eastward Hoe*. In it, one of them, I believe Jonson, ridicules mainly the anachronism of making Ophelia, even at her maddest, call for her coach. Immediately after the entrance in haste of Hamlet a footman, crying—“What Coachman? my Lady’s Coach, for shame!”—Potkin, a Tankard-bearer is brought in exclaiming—“’Sfoote, Hamlet, are you madde?” In the scene of two pages the word coach is brought in, and prominently so, no less than twelve times, and in addition to the different proofs of identification given in the *Centurie of Prayse*, 1879, I may add one

accidentally omitted, viz. that the new-made Lady Gertrude sings or recites two snatches of a song which are slightly altered versions of parts of the two stanzas sung by the mad Ophelia at the close of iv. 5. I may add also that as the rest of Potkin's sentence—"Whether run you now, you should brush up my old Mistresse?"—have no possible reference to the plot, that is, are as regards this plot or anything in it perfect nonsense, I can only suppose them to be a reference to the revision of *Hamlet* as shown in the 1604 version, or to a supposed necessity for another revision, the popular play, at that time, palling on its then limited audiences.

To return. In the elegies on Burbage, *circa* 1618-1619, the shorter of the two copies in Mr Alfred Huth's library has [Hamlet] "A mad Lover"; in the longer it is—"A sadd Lover." Now I believe this longer to be the later. For first it is longer. Secondly, it has these lines—

"no more young Hamlet, old Hieronymo,
kind Lear, the Greued Moore, and more beside."

Thirdly, some of the verbal alterations seem to point to this as the altered and emended copy. But even if we take this to be the first copy, the alteration of "sadd" to "mad" could only have occurred through the association of madness with Hamlet's name.

We now come to the incidents of the play. How does Hamlet make his first appearance on the stage? In the Quarto of 1604, though it is wrongly left out in modern editions, Hamlet who, according to all precedent, ought to have immediately followed the King and Queen, enters after the state retinue and their following, and apparently separate from them. How is he clad? In inky black, unlike his uncle-father and aunt-mother, who appeared—

"as twere with a defeated joy
With one auspicious, and one dropping eye."

His demeanour and looks correspond. Claudius' first words to him are—

"How is it that the clouds still hang on you?"

And Gertrude's—

"Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted colour off."

The position he chooses to occupy in the ceremonial entrance, his dress, his appearance, the words of the King and Queen, his desire to return to Wittenburg, his ready giving up of this project, which, read by the light of his soliloquy, means—"Very well, it matters not where I am,"—his soliloquy itself, all point to a profound melancholy. So does the description Hamlet gives of his state—"I have of late lost all my mirth, forgone all custom of exercises," &c. &c. And the only reason I touch on matters so well known is that they emphasize the care taken by Shakspeare to bring this profound melancholy at once, and by every possible means, before the eyes and minds of his audiences.

For a similar reason I dwell for a little on the causes of this melancholy. The sudden death of his father was one, but there were others more abiding and more secret. Hence he makes no reply to the long speech of Claudius, which dwells on the elder Hamlet's death as an incident in the course of nature. Hamlet has loved his mother as the model of a pure woman. Within a month after her husband's sudden death, a death so sudden that she had had no time before its occurrence to look forward to the future, she marries—and marries her husband's brother. Either she had an excessive love of supreme power, or an incestuous love for this brother. If the latter there must have been a guilty connection, guilty at least in thought, before the death of a husband so loving—

"That he might not beteen the winds of heaven"

to visit her too roughly. The worse construction seemed rather to be pointed to, and collateral facts to confirm it. Without doubt she, with the elder Hamlet, had looked forward to their son as his successor. Now, with indecent haste, she has remarried with that uncle who had dispossessed him of the throne. Polonius too, his father's trusted counsellor and friend, had gone over to the enemy, thrown over his master's son. There must have been some dark and devilish plotting in all this. Lastly, we must not forget the effect on himself of this exclusion. We learn from his own words to Ophelia that he was "ambitious." There is no reason for thinking this an "affected humour"; on the contrary, he returns to it more than once. "How

fares our cousin Hamlet?" "Excellent i'faith; I eat the air promise-crammed." On another occasion—"Sir, I lack advancement." "How can that be?" . . . "Ay, Sir, but while the grass grows." Again—"Denmark's a prison, and one of the worst in the world,"—and a fifth time, he says that Claudius has—

"Popp'd in between th' election and my hopes."

Indeed I do not think that we can thoroughly understand the play or Hamlet's melancholy unless we continually keep before us this personal factor, this disappointed ambition, as intensifying all his other griefs. For instance, we cannot otherwise understand his intense dislike of Polonius. The senility of the aged man, and that he was the father of his loved Ophelia, could never have roused such feelings in a generously-minded youth,—

"Th' expectancy and rose of the fair state."

We find Hamlet then in a most profound and lasting state of melancholy, even to the desire for death or suicide, and sufficient causes for such a state. But such melancholy is not only one of the ordinary causes of madness, but was in Shakspeare's day held to be one of its most common causes. And here I turn to the contemporary descriptions of melancholia or melancholy madness, which, as I formerly said, singularly agree with the portraiture of Hamlet.

Batman, translating Bartholome, 1582, after a chapter on that form which he calls phrensy, woodness or raving, generally from fever or other disease, thus continues in b. 7, c. 6, entitled *Of Madnesse*:

"Amentia and madnesse is all one, as *Plato* saith, Madnesse is infection of the formost cel of the head, with privation of imagination, lyke as melancholy is the infection of the middle cell of the head, with privation of reason, as Constant[ine] saith in *libro de Melancholia*. *Melancholia* (saith he) is an infection that hath mastery of the soule, the which commeth of dreed and of sorrow. And these passions be diverse . . . for by madnesse that is called Mania, principally the imagination is hurt. And in the other reson is hurt. [Opressed, in margin.] And these passions come somtime of melancholy meats, & somtime of drinke . . . sometime of passions of the soule, as of businesse & great thoughts, of sorrow, & of too great studie, & of dread:"

Also in iv. 11, speaking of the supposed humour 'Melancholy,'

he divides it into the kindly or natural sort and the unkindly, and says of this latter—

“By the qualytie of the humor the patient is faint, and fearfull in heart without cause: and so all that have this passion are fearefull without cause, and oft sory . . . and so if we aske of such heauey folkes what they feare, or wherefore they be sorye, they have none aunswere. Some suppose that they shoulde dye in some sodaine vyolence: Some dread enmitie of some man: Some love and desire death [here he quotes Galen]. . . . And therefore he dreameth dredfull darke dreames . . . of which is bred *Passio melancholia*.”

Sir Th. Elyot in his *Castle of Health*, 1534, says much the same of melancholy as being natural and unnatural, the latter making one mad, causing—

“oftentimes heavines of minde, or feare without cause, sleepines in the members, many cramps without repletion or emptines, sodaine fury, sodaine incontineney of the toong, much solicitude of light things . . . and fearefull dreames of terrible visions. . . . Moreover much drying of the body, either with long watch, or with much care and tossing of the mind, . . . all these things doe annoy them that bee grieved with any melancholy.” B. 3, c. 18, p. 110, 111, ed. 1610.

And Boord again in his *Breviarie of Health*, 1547, ch. 213:—

“Of Lunatike men . . . In English it is named for a lunatike person the which wil be ravished of his wit ones in a moone, for as the moone doth change & is variable, so bee those persons mutable and not constant witted. [Batman also speaks similarly.] This impediment . . . may come by a great feare or study.”

Also in his ch. 228, on melancholy madness, he says—

“a sickness full of fantasies . . . that they will think themselves God . . . or to desperation to bee dampned, the one having this sicknesse doth not goe so far the one way, but the other doth dispayre as much the other way. The originall of this infirmitie doth come of an evill melancholy humour, and of a stubberne hart, and running too far in fantasies, or musing or studying upon things that his reason cannot comprehend.”

Lastly, in his *Extravagants*, ch. 43, where he speaks of the four kinds of Madness, “Mania, Melancholia, Frenisis, and Demoniachus,” he says—

“Melancholia is another kinde of madnesse, & they the which be infested with this madnesse, be cured in feare & drede, and doth think they shall never doe well, but ever be in parel either of soule or of body, or both.”

In like manner Gabriel Humelburg in his Commentary, 1540, on the medical poet Quin. Serenus, says in his 7th chapter—I translate his words—

“The third affection of the brain and kind of madness which comes from black and melancholic bile, and is called melancholia, is thus defined by Paulus Æginata:—Melancholia is a certain madness without fever, chiefly caused by a melancholic humor. And those so affected are called melancholics, who beyond nature do not continue in the same manner or kind, whose fancies are variable, while fear never deserts them, but they all fear, and grieve, and have men in hatred, of whom Galen says more in the sixth chapter of his third book.”

But Hamlet’s melancholy had not as yet reached this mad stage. Shakspeare has up to this given us only in this deep and lasting melancholy what physicians call the predisposing cause. The exciting causes, or those which drove his melancholy into an unnatural state, into a mad melancholia, have yet to come, and I confidently affirm that these were—the shocks of seeing his father’s ghost, and hearing his revelations.

It is not my intention at present to enter into the morals which Shakspeare would illustrate in this play. I do not mean by this that my view of Shakspeare’s working is, that he fixed upon certain morals and then sought a story to illustrate these; but that as any ordinary reader of a tale or novel can see the moral it would enforce, so I suppose that Shakspeare, having chosen the story he would dramatize, was equally able to see these, and would keep them in view, altering, it may be his story, and so dramatizing it as to bring these out the more. But it is, I think, necessary to mention one, which in Bible language is—“Vengeance is Mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.” Not heeding this command, the elder Hamlet, still retaining his earthly passions and propensities, the foul crimes done in his days of nature not having yet been wholly burnt away by the penal and purging fires, would take this task into his own hand. He would revenge himself on his brother, and seat his own son on the throne that he had always accounted his. The former intent is of a piece with almost the only other glimpse that Shakspeare gives us of his nature, when in an angry parle he smote the sledded Polack

on the ice, an incident which, unless it were given for the purpose of showing that his nature was impetuous and hasty, we cannot understand why it was given us. It was not, so far as we know, in the original story, nor do we see what other purpose it serves. His unannealed and yet impure spirit carries out his intent determinedly, though without warrant. What are the results? Gertrude is not "left to heaven," but is cut off in the midst of her sins. Hamlet becomes a lunatic by his father's very act, and instead of ascending the throne that may be said to have been his, he, the last of his race, dies,—dies in the very act of vengeance, and the kingdom and people of Denmark pass under the sway of a foreigner.

Let us now pass on to the proofs that he from a melancholy man became melancholically mad immediately on the shock of these revelations. The feelings with which Hamlet entered upon his expected interview with the Ghost, are revealed by his very first words—"It is very cold." He felt not merely the chilliness of the night, but the chill arising from suspense, fear, and expectation. During the Ghost's words awe, and the filial reverence of that day, which made Laertes thus bend before a living father, would make Hamlet listen on bended knees. The revelations proved such a shock that, as I think, he then fell on the ground. I gather this from his first broken and disjointed words—

"O all you host of heaven!—O earth!—What else—
And shall I couple hell—O fie."

And from his next words—

"Hold, my heart,
And you, my sinews, grow not instant old;
But bear me stiffly up."

For here the change from "heart" to "sinews" is suggested by, and denotes, the change of attention from his emotional feelings to his bodily state, and his attempts to change it and once again stand upright. His next natural effort would be to collect his thoughts, think over the new position in which his father's disclosures and commands had placed him. But what does he do? He attempts to do something and so get away from these overburdening thoughts—an attempt so partially successful that we may call it unsuccessful—he seeks for his tables, or memorandum book, to put down—

“That one may smile and smile and be a villain.”

Still harassed by his thoughts even after setting down this noteworthy discovery, he adds the word that is to marshal him to revenge. It is—

“Adieu, adieu, remember me.”

It is surely strange that he should need a memorandum of his father's spirit's last words; stranger still that he should strive to remember the very words, as through these lost or altered, his revenge would be lost; too strange to be the healthy workings of a mind like Hamlet's.

But now to more certain and less disputable proofs. To the shoutings of his companions, and with an attempt at jocularity—another attempt to get rid of this over-burdening weight, another attempt to escape from himself—he answers: “Hillo, ho, ho, boy, come, bird, come,”—as though he were calling them as a hawk to his fist, though to do so he answers the shoutings of three men by the singular, “Hillo, ho, ho, boy,” &c. Again, one would expect that a mind so solemnized by such news, and by the supernatural visitation, in answer to Horatio, who, as his dear friend, alone dared to ask him “What news,” would reply in such short, slow and weighty words as—

“It fits me not to speak what he did utter;
And now, good friends, grant me this poor request,
Never make known what you have seen to-night.”

But in continuation of the mood which prompted his—“Come, bird, come,” he dialogues thus—

“*Ham.* O, wonderful!

Hor. Good my lord, tell it.

Ham. No, you'll reveal it.

Hor. Not I, my lord, by heaven.

Ham. How say you then; would heart of man once think it?—
But you'll be secret?

Hor. Mar. Ay, by heaven, my lord.

Ham. There's ne'er a villain dwelling in all Denmark—
But he's an arrant knave.”

The persons that can say that such unnatural attempts at jocularity are under the circumstances natural, or that such attempts are natural

attempts to evade the subject on the part of a Prince whose mere "I wish it to be so" would be obeyed, such persons are not to be reasoned with.

Afterwards in reply to Horatio's—"There needs no ghost, my lord, . . . to tell us this,"—he answers—

“Why, right : you’re i’ the right ;
And so without more circumstance at all,
I hold it fit that we shake hands and part :

and for mine own poor part,
Look you, I'll go pray."

Is there a hint in the whole of this scene with his friends that he had any such tendency? Well might Horatio reply—"These are but wild and whirling words, my lord." Nor would he have ventured to speak to his Prince so strongly had not the manner accentuated the words.

Again, though one can gather the train of his thoughts, I am quite unable to see the coherence of his speech when he replies to Horatio's "There's no offence, my lord."—"Yes, by St. Patrick ; but there is, and much offence," and then goes on—

"It is an honest ghost, that let me tell you,"

except that his refusal to tell them more leads him to ask their secrecy as to what they do know. This done, and all having become solemn, and engaged in a most solemn act, are Hamlet's words at each adjuration of the Ghost the words of a sane man? He has heard of his mother's disloyalty to himself, of her incestuous adultery, of his father's murder by a brother's hand, of his unprepared death followed by punishments which if unfolded—

“Would harrow up thy soul : freeze thy young blood,
Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,
And each particular hair to stand on end.”

Yet when this perturbed spirit repeats from below, "swear !" Hamlet's words are—

"Ah, ha, boy! say'st thou so? art thou there, truepenny?—Come on—you hear this fellow in the cellarage."

On the second remove and second "swear!" he utters a trite Latin phrase—

"*Hic et ubique?*" Here and everywhere art thou,

and with as little reason as before—for the near presence of the Ghost could only have given more solemnity to the oath—adds: "then we'll shift our ground." At the third repetition his remarks are—

"Well said, old mole! canst work i' th' earth so fast?
A worthy pioner."

And then, by way of carrying out his scheme of swearing without the Ghost, he for the third time removes, and that he may the better circumvent this "so fast worker," starts off into a long speech, one nothing to the purpose, and which could have been spoken as well after the oath had been taken. Shakspeare does not indulge in such absurdities without a purpose. Nor, within a few—actually four, lines—does he introduce—boy—truepenny—this fellow—old mole—worthy pioner, without intent. Long ago I had been obliged to see that Hamlet's mind was temporarily—as I had then thought—perturbed. Now the only difference is that on examination I find evidence of this overthrow of reason throughout the course of the play.

Before leaving this scene, it may be as well to add a word on this "antic disposition" speech, as it may be thought by some to go against my views. Hamlet, it will be said, here specifically announces his intention of putting on a show of madness. Quite true; but this may just as well be the subtle endeavour of a madman to make his friends believe that he is only assuming madness, and so turn them off from the belief that he is mad. Madmen constantly fear lest they should be thought mad, and as subtly endeavour to provide against such a belief. I mention this that one may not be prejudiced by these words, but, should he so choose, hold these alternative views in balance to be decided by the weight of evidence. I hope, too, to show that the evidence is not really affected by this passage.

My first evidence is especially unaffected by it, and is most characteristic. It is Hamlet's want of perception of moral responsi-

bility. We have an example of this in the accidental murder of Polonius—a premeditated and, we might say, a just murder which has accidentally found its victim in the wrong person. It is not, therefore, in the murder itself, but in Hamlet's after words that we find this want. He discovers his mistake, and thus mourns over it—

“Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!

I took thee for thy better; take thy fortune:

Thou find'st, that to be too busy is some danger.”

Allow that Hamlet disliked him, because he had gone over to the enemy, still he was a man he had no intention to kill—an old man, and Ophelia's father. Yet there is not a word of pity or remorse. Such a want under such circumstances is most unnatural in any one not of an iron heart and inured to slaughter, most of all is it unnatural in young Hamlet as he is depicted in the play. Afterwards, when more quieted in mind by the result of his appeal to his mother, he does let drop this short word—

“For this same lord,

I do repent.”

But he neutralizes this at once by his after speech—

“But heaven hath pleased it so,—

To punish me with this, and this with me,

That I must be their scourge and minister.”

Observe his “punish me,” and his assertion in the same breath—an assertion constantly made by madmen under such circumstances—that he is the appointed Scourge of God and the fulfiller of his will, and therefore irresponsible. Afterwards, as showing that we are to take “repent” not in the sense of repentance, but of mere momentary sorrow or regret, he says—

“This man shall set me packing.

I'll lug the guts into the neighbouring room.”

And again—

“Indeed, this counsellor

Is now most still, most secret, and most grave,

Who was in life a foolish prating knave.

Come, sir, to draw toward an end with you.

[*Exit*, dragging off the body.”

After Polonius' death we see the same; and here I would also

notice, for brevity's sake, some other points besides this want of moral responsibility. His interviews with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, and with the king, show his madness in this and other ways. He has dragged off the body and concealed it, clearly under the absurd belief, either that the murder would not be discovered, or that the body not being found, he could not be made responsible; for though he feels and acknowledges no moral responsibility, he, like other madmen, has a secret feeling that others may not think as he does. His words in reference to his attempt are, on his re-entry—"safely stowed." Afterwards he fences with those sent to him, and then with the king. The scenes are very clever, his remarks very acute—so acute as to be eccentric; but are they to the purpose? Has his sudden attack on the messengers, and his likening them to sponges, anything to do with the matter in hand? Is it not rather one of those starts of thought common in madmen when something is presented before them which rouses up some predominating thought? Are his replies to the king of the kind we should expect either from our ideas of what is due to the kingly office, or from what Shakspeare thought due to it, or from our knowledge of Hamlet's character? Where in Shakspeare do we find a similar instance? Even the headstrong Dauphin does not speak to his weak old father thus. Yet what is the end of all this fencing and attempt at concealment? In both cases Hamlet, like madmen in mostly all instances, gives in to authority and resolution: he follows the two messengers, remains quietly in the custody of one of them, then breaks out, bravado-like, in words before the king; but in reply to his stern demands, ends the indirect answer, "In heaven; send thither to see": with the reply commanded from him.

But there is a still more striking instance of this want of perception of moral responsibility. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are doubtless docile courtiers, eagerly willing to ingratiate themselves with the King and Queen and to fulfil their wishes. But all that they do is done in manifest good faith; not a word hints even that they suspect anything but affection in the King and Queen towards Hamlet. He, it is true, has taken an unreasoning dislike to them, his unreasoning suspicions not only making them the instruments of

the king, but instruments conscious of ill, in fact, co-conspirators against himself. But, with all this, he never believes, so far as even a single word leads us to judge, that they were anything but unconscious instruments of his death in taking him to England. Not only so, but Shakspeare especially mentions that the packet was sealed with the king's seal, and he had to invent a happy accident by which Hamlet could open it and reseal the false document unobserved. Yet he writes this false despatch, consigns them to death, and speaks of his having done so with as much indifference as though he had ordered a couple of ill-conditioned puppy-dogs to be drowned; nay, he exults in it, as though he were in some way revenging himself on the king and them, for the deaths are not only to be on receipt of the despatch, but "no shriving time allowed." Surely if Shakspeare had wished us to look on Hamlet as still "Th' expectancy and rose of Denmark," he could easily by a line or two have given Hamlet a reason, if only a fancied one, for so behaving? Or he could have made him write a despatch of different purport. What need was there to replace his death by theirs? Even my unimaginative mind can suggest the unpaid tribute as a likely, and to a sane mind, a more likely subject. And I would say, that we have a right here to draw conclusions as much from Shakspeare's silence as from what he says. He must have seen the more than oddness of a sane character showing no signs of a belief in his victims' complicity, and showing no remorse. Yet he pointedly restrains Hamlet from putting forth the slightest sign of such a thought or feeling. I hold this defect of moral responsibility a point in itself sufficient to prove his madness, and this last example sufficient proof of the defect itself. Such non-perception of moral responsibility is one of the clearest proofs of madness; especially is it so here where we know Hamlet's general character, whether as described by Ophelia or depicted unconsciously by himself in all his other thoughts and actions. Hence I have placed it in the forefront. Let us now ask, how do his other characteristics agree with this? As the next I take his irresolution. Let it be granted that this defect was natural to him, part of his natural constitution. But the excess of it is exactly what we see in many madmen, especially

melancholic ones. Such may breathe out fire and slaughter, but as a rule it is all talk: place them in a position favourable to carrying out their threats, and in most cases, and unless they be under the influence of a more irritating paroxysm of madness or rage, they will do nothing, and probably find a plausible excuse or excuses for this do-nothingness. So it was with Hamlet on more than one occasion. I have already given instances of his want of resolution where Rosencrantz and Guildenstern go to arrest him, and when he is interviewed by the king. Again, we learn that from the date of the spirit interview to that of the sub-play, three, or at least two, months had elapsed. He who had taken out his table-book to assist his remembrance of the harrowing tale had—thought over it! To what did his thoughts lead him—to screw his resolution to the sticking point? No, to this, that the ghost might not have been “an honest ghost,” as he had told Horatio, but a damned devil luring him to destruction. And let it be noted that this new idea appears only to have suggested itself to Hamlet’s quick mind after two months thinking, after the players had appeared, and after he had evolved this new scheme, by which, as he says—

“I’ll observe mine uncle’s looks;
I’ll tent him to the quick; if he but blench,
I know my course.”

Let any one quietly go through all the circumstances, and then, without being a deeply injured son, let him say whether any sane man could account this as but an at first sight plausible fallacy, or anything but a semi-conscious attempt to put aside the necessity for action. Nor let it be forgotten that in this very speech, up to the moment he is about to hit on this play-scheme, he has throughout spoken as though there were no doubt as to the truth of the ghost. I give but the last example of this,—

“This is most brave;
That I, the son of a dear father murdered,
Prompted to my revenge by heaven and hell,
Must, like a drab, unpack my heart with words,
And fall a-cursing.”

But, as a clearer example, take what follows, when, through the

action of the players, he *has* "tented Claudius to the quick," does he "know his course" and take it? Let him answer for himself—"Would not this, sir, and a forest of feathers . . . with two Provençal roses on my razed shoe, get me a fellowship in a cry of players?" The whole intent of his determinate plot is forgotten in the self-vanility of the thought, that his stratagem has been so excellent as to be successful. All is swallowed up in this; so elate is he that he sings or recites a verse where he calls this Claudius not by the contemptuous name of *ass*, the original word, but in the exuberance of his triumph alters "*ass*" to a "*very very pajock*," a painted mammet, whom he by his superior subtlety has overcome and made a mammet of to do his will. Even a second and incidental allusion to the truth of the ghost's word ends in a return to the same thought of triumph—"Did'st perceive?—Upon the talk of the poisoning,—Ah, ha!—Come, some music! come, the recorders."

Yet this is not all. His last scruple has been cleared away, and, in this clearing away, the murder of his father has been brought not merely before his remembrance, but before his eyes. "He knows his course," and within a short space comes upon Claudius in his private closet. No time could be more favourable—none near, the king's back turned, his knees bent, his head bowed, his thoughts elsewhere; Hamlet's sword drawn, every opportunity to escape, with time to make his case known. But no, because this villain happens to be praying, therefore he must go to heaven. Shakspeare has himself given the answer to this absurd excuse in Claudius' after words—

"My words fly up, my thoughts remain below :
Words, without thoughts, never to heaven go."

It was but an excuse that will not bear a moment's examination. And now mark Hamlet's inconsistency. Immediately after this decision not to kill the king, he, moved by the sight of his mother and his words to her, attacks without scruple Polonius, whom he takes to be the king, never waiting to inquire whether his prayer was truly repentant, nor waiting "till he be drunk, asleep, or in his rage."

Thirdly, it is a common belief that melancholic madmen generally consider those their enemies whom during their sanity they had

loved best. So it was with Hamlet and Ophelia. But unfortunately I must first combat the prejudice which says that he did not love Ophelia. Against this we have the evidence of Laertes, Ophelia, and of Hamlet himself. That of Laertes I pass over, but what says Ophelia to her father—

“He hath, my lord, of late, made many tenders
Of his affection to me.”

And then to his prejudiced doubts, more strongly—

“He hath importuned me with love
In honourable fashion.”

And later on, more strongly still—

“And hath given countenance to his speech, my lord,
With almost all the holy vows of heaven.”

Nor have we these only : she, most sorrowful, yet still keeping her maidenly modesty, says to Hamlet—

“My lord, I have remembrances of yours,
That I have longed long to re-deliver,
I pray you, now receive them.

Ham.

No, not I ;

I never gave you aught.

Oph. My honour'd lord, you know right well you did ;
And, with them, words of so sweet breath compos'd
As made the things more rich : their perfume lost,
Take them again ; for to the noble mind,
Rich gifts wax poor, when givers prove unkind.”

Then as to Hamlet. First take his letter to her—

““To the celestial, and my soul's idol, the most beautified
Ophelia,—

In her excellent white bosom, these.

Doubt thou, the stars are fire ;

Doubt, that the sun doth move ;

Doubt truth to be a liar ;

But never doubt, I love.

O dear Ophelia, I am ill at these numbers ; I have not art to reckon my groans : but that I love thee best, O most best, believe it. Adieu.

“Thine evermore, most dear lady,
while this machine is to him, Hamlet.”

After the disclosures of the ghost, when he, wrestling with his affection, seeks Ophelia, and is not led on by her appearance before him, but seeks her in her chamber, partly from love, partly from a desire to tell her that he can no longer love her, what a picture of contending love and resolution have we—

“My lord, as I was sewing in my chamber,
 Lord Hamlet,—with his doublet all unbrac’d;
 No hat upon his head; his stockings foul’d,
 Ungarter’d, and down-gyved to his ancle;
 Pale as his shirt; his knees knocking each other;
 And with a look so piteous in purport,
 As if he had been loosèd out of hell,
 To speak of horrors.—
 He took me by the wrist, and held me hard;
 Then goes he to the length of all his arm;
 And with his other hand thus, o’er his brow,
 He falls to such perusal of my face,
 As he would draw it. Long stay’d he so;
 At last,—a little shaking of mine arm,
 And thrice his head thus waving up and down.—
 He raised a sigh so piteous and profound,
 That it did seem to shatter all his bulk,
 And end his being: That done, he lets me go:
 And, with his head over his shoulder turn’d,
 He seem’d to find his way without his eyes;
 For out of doors he went without their help,
 And, to the last, bended their light on me.”

Next, in the conference scene—

“I did love you once.

Oph. Indeed, my lord, you made me believe so.

Ham. You should not have believed me: for virtue cannot so inoculate our old stock, but we shall relish of it: I loved you not.”

Can we hesitate which to believe, a word uncalled-for and that has slipped from him, and which to those who do not believe in his love is an uncalled-for and purposeless lie, or, that denial of his having truly loved, drawn forth by the thought that he, of the stock of his mother and uncle, cannot love truly?”

But any hesitation is settled by his conduct at a moment when the truth manifests itself, as it generally does, when the object is beyond attainment. It is only the fox that says that grapes so

placed are sour, and he only *says* so. Suddenly, news is not brought to him of her death, but she is buried, and with maimed rites, before him. Her brother, in an access of grief, leaps into her grave to take a last farewell. There was no need for Hamlet to come from his concealment, and sham a fit of phrenzy, his character as a madman had been too firmly established to require such an artifice. Nor does he refer to it as anything but a truthful outburst, "But sure," says he to Horatio—

"The bravery of his grief did put me
Into a towering passion."

Neither does a non-lover, or even an ordinary lover, become furious because a brother shows that he is distracted with grief. But what says Hamlet—

"I will fight with him upon this theme,
Until my eyelids will no longer wag.
I lov'd Ophelia; forty thousand brothers
Could not, with all their quantity of love,
Make up my sum."

And again—

"S'wounds, show me what thou'lt do?

I'll do it.—Dost thou come here to whine?
To outface me with leaping in her grave?"

And here, by the way, I would remark, that after this most passionate speech, in its phrenzy almost ranting, the Queen exclaims—

"This is mere madness:

Anon, as patient as the female dove,

His silence will sit drooping."

And as though to confirm the truth of her words, he is not silent, but drops on the moment to—

"Hear you, sir;
What is the reason that you use me thus?
I lov'd you ever."

He says this, quite ignoring the fact that it was his sudden appearance, and his words ending, "This is I, Hamlet the Dane," his "forty thousand brothers," &c., and his instant leap into the grave, that had brought about the struggle.

: These tenders, these importunities, these vows to and before heaven, as Ophelia with increasing earnestness assured her father, these gifts given with words of such sweet breath, notably the one letter that we have, his distracted behaviour when he determines to give her up, his direct words—"I did love you once"; his proofs at her burial that this love had continued, all these were marks of true love. Or, we must believe with Polonius and Laertes that they were elaborately set springes to catch one poor woodcock, mere implorators of unholy suits. Nor is this all, we must believe that Hamlet's distracted regrets in the chamber scene were put on without purpose, since from that moment he gave her up; his "I did love thee once," and his evident regrets in the get thee to a nunnery scene; most of all his outcry over her dead body "I lov'd Ophelia," for now that she was dead what effect could it have had on her, all these were useless lies. In fine, we must believe that Hamlet inwardly was the very image of his uncle,—though a senseless one,—and that he too "smiled and smiled and was a villain."

Leaving it to my hearers which view is the more borne out by the facts, and which the more consistent, I return to our primary subject, that he now considers his once loved Ophelia as one to be hated. Not, as I have, I hope, shown, that his madness had all its own way; it forced him as a rule to hate and despise her, but his old love would still at any opportunity raise its head. It was a madness of intellect, not of feeling, and feeling now and then all but got the upper hand. One can understand Hamlet's melancholy deepening into unnatural melancholy on the revelation, amidst a revelation of horrors, that his once loved mother whom he had thought the pattern of her sex, was guilty of treachery, deceit, and the foulest crimes; and one can thence understand how to him this goodly frame, including himself and her he had loved, was but a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. We can understand it the more if we add to this the altered behaviour of Ophelia to himself, due, though Hamlet knew nothing of this, to her father's express commands. But here I would enter a necessary caveat. It is, I think, impossible, looking to her sorrowful and reproachful

re-delivery of his gifts, to suppose that she had done more than avoid him. Looking also to her words—

“How does your honour for this many a day?”

and to those where she describes his coming into her chamber, and remembering what we know of Hamlet's thoughts as expressed in “for virtue cannot so inoculate our old stock but we shall relish of it,” we can see that his desertion and avoidance of her gave her no opportunity of showing that she wished to avoid him. In fact, each avoided the other, and we must ever remember that Hamlet's determination not to love Ophelia was founded not merely on her supposed unworthiness, but also on his own supposed unworthiness. We might also add her apparently possible participation in the stratagem arranged between Polonius and Claudius. Yet there is no evidence in the play that she was a conscious instrument. She is on the stage while it is discussed, but in those days daughters and inferiors kept at a discreet distance unless they were addressed. Besides, much talk goes on on the stage, and much more at that time went on, which was not supposed to be heard by the rest. Neither, it will be observed, is anything addressed to her which implies a knowledge that there were to be listeners. Indeed, in proof that she knew nothing of this are her father's words to her when evidently about to narrate what had passed.

“How now, Ophelia,
You need not tell us what lord Hamlet said;
We heard it all.”

Neither can I see how Hamlet's loving and acute mind when sane and unprejudiced, could help coming to the conclusion that she had been made to play an unconscious part. But allow all weight to these suspicious circumstances, and casting aside all these remarks of mine, still I cannot understand any but a diseased mind being so imbued with dislike to Ophelia, that the mere sight of Polonius awakens them, and causes the senile old man to say “still harping on my daughter.” Nor, except on this view, can I understand why the result of her pathetic re-delivery of his gifts, an appeal when she evidently could not resist making a last effort to recall his love, should end in the repetitions :

of "get thee to a nunnery," harsh and brutal words, where we, like Ophelia, lose all traces of—

"The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword,
The glass of fashion and the mould of form."

She has heard him now, and seen him when in her chamber he took her by the wrist, can we be surprised at her conclusion—

"O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown."

Will the upholders of the pretended madness theory aver that this "get thee to a nunnery" scene is but an instance where he carries out his project? He had already established the belief he wished in the King and Queen, and in all around them, yet he is unnecessarily made to be so devoid of all honourable and gentleman-like feeling as to exhibit himself not only as a madman, but as adding words and insults befitting only a vulgar blackguard before the lady he loved, and whom he knew loved him. So can we say much the same of the preceding scene, when all disordered in dress he came before her. His reputation for madness was not then established, but his aim would have been gained by trying to impress Polonius with the belief that the cloud was like a camel, a weasel, or a whale. Even grant that he thought it necessary to prove it to her also, surely a true gentleman, a true Prince, most surely a Hamlet would have done his spriting gently. But he does not wait for an opportunity, but seeks her and thrusts it upon her. For my part I can but see in that dislike, which he thinks the result of his better reason, whether turned on her or on himself, the result of disordered reason intermixed with his old love, an intermixture which Shakspeare has so wonderfully depicted as struggling the one with the other. The former bears rule until the time when his sorrow and love reassert themselves supremely, I mean when he finds that she is lost to him for ever. Then they will not allow a brother to express them in his presence, but cause him to cry aloud in tones of passionate regret, and in terms betokening his sole right to the possession of such feelings, exclaim—

"This is I,

Hamlet the Dane.

I lov'd Ophelia: forty thousand brothers

Could not, with all their quantity of love,
Make up my sum."

I would also notice, but only notice, Hamlet's suspicions as a frequent characteristic of madness. I speak not of his suspicions as to the packet for England,—these were natural;—but of that suspicion which during his interview with Ophelia made him look out for listeners, and detect Polonius and Claudius. And notably his suspicions of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, for, as I have before said, Shakspeare, contrary to his usual practice in such cases, has given Hamlet no ghost of a reason for such suspicions. Yet after the confession following a short and natural hesitancy—"My lord, we were sent for," he still says—

"Whom I will trust as adders fang'd."

I add this other point, that in *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Belleforest* there is no story of the ghost and his revelations,—only the recital of Hamlet's pretended madness taken up for policy's sake and for revenge, and the successful issue of his schemes in his ascent of the throne of Denmark. Now what reason can be assigned for Shakspeare's variation in two points—the appearance of the ghost and the hideous tale he unfolds, and Hamlet's death when on the point of ascending the throne? As we know nothing of the older Hamlet, except that the ghost appeared in it, I say nothing of it, except that Shakspeare was not compelled to follow it any more than he was compelled to follow the history or the tale. He would be the less induced to do this because in 1594—as is pointed out by Mr. Collier—it seems to have been a play that had lost its interest with the public, it was performed but once, and then only brought in eight shillings as Henslow's share, "though when new pieces were represented, his proportion at the same period was usually more than three pounds."—Collier's *Sh. Lib.*, Intro. to *Hamlet*. In our play the violent deaths and other horrors are sufficiently fearful without adding the death of Hamlet. I feel convinced, and so I think will be my readers on calm reflection, that—to the ordinary spectators the payers and causes of success to a tragedy, and also to the thinking spectator—Hamlet's success would have been more grateful, and

made the story seem more complete. Vices repulsively shown, and their overthrow, were shown forth more than plentifully, and on the stage itself. The guilty Polonius dies, his guilty son dies, and so does the innocent Ophelia, the sins of the father being visited on the children; Gertrude dies, lastly, as suddenly and unexpectedly as did his murdered brother, and as indeed do all; the arch-contriver of the ills dies with but one unavailing cry. Virtue, with which in the form of Hamlet the spectator has been led to sympathize all along, is successful, but the results so slightly shown as not to dull the story of the vice or lessen one's detestation of it. Nor do I believe that any spectator or critic at the present day would carp at it and say it was not a tragedy, or not a thrilling play, but would have judged it as thrilling and admired it as a more complete story, though they learned nothing more of Hamlet's history beyond his final victory and the subtle craftiness, skill, and wisdom with which he had attained it. Such satisfaction would in no way have lessened the detestation of the crimes or the horror at the tragic results that followed them, rather, these only indicated results would have enhanced such feelings by the contrast of virtue triumphant.

Why then did Shakspeare vary in these two points from *Saxo* and *Belleforest*? He must surely have had some good reason or reasons. The ghost incidents of the older play were too thrilling and effective to be set aside, particularly as it was already familiar to play-goers, and would have been missed. But whether the death of Hamlet was or was not in the older play, why was the catastrophe of the history and tale thus varied? For, I think, this reason. The general story had, as I conceive, led Shakspeare to see that it plainly exemplified two moral laws, the subjects of much teaching and of many sermons, and at that time fully and generally believed in. These are, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord," and "I will visit the sins of the parents"—not merely the restricted Jewish phrase, "of the father's," for they thought them the sole, or at least chief, progenitors of families—"the sins of the parents upon the children." At least I know that Shakspeare's story had led me to the conclusion that he had these laws before him when constructing

his plot, and had led me to this long before the question of Hamlet's madness had come prominently before me, and are not dependent on my present belief. But in *Saxo* and *Belleforest* the death of the prime personage did not occur till some time after the incidents narrated in the play. The introduction, however, of the ghost gave more cause for exemplifying the action of these laws in Hamlet's case, and for accelerating his death. As I have already attempted to explain, the unauthorized desire for and attempt at revenge of a ghost whose sins had not yet been purged away was in itself a sin to be punished. It was punished. The very shock of the appearance of the ghost and his revelations turned Hamlet from a melancholy man to a melancholic madman; and when at last—more through the exigency of events than through his own will—he had carried out his father's commands, he in the instant of triumph falls, dies, and thus carries out the law, as it had been carried out in Laertes and Ophelia—"I will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children." Such a plot also, I would point out, necessitates, even to the uncritical and merely listening and eye-agape spectator, the death of Hamlet, for a mad Hamlet could not ascend the throne.

Leaving this, I now conclude by passing on to the passage I spoke of at the outset—Hamlet's own declaration. I speak not of that in Rosencrantz's words—"He does confess he feels himself distracted;" nor those on which this seems to have been founded—"I am but mad north north-west," and the speech beginning "I will tell you why . . . I have of late," &c. (II. ii.); nor do I refer to his "Sir, I cannot make you an wholesome answer; my wit's diseased." These, while on the theory of pretended madness they be falsehoods, yet may be considered as pardonable falsehoods, though as they are direct and profitable falsehoods, one judging from Hamlet's conscientious and generally honourable character, would rather believe that he would avoid such direct untruths, and have trusted to the inferences people would draw from his conduct. But I refer to a more marked saying spoken on a solemn occasion, first, however, drawing your attention to a previous speech. Horatio has said—

"It must be shortly known to him from England,
What is the issue of the business there."

To this Hamlet replies—

“It will be short : the interim is mine ;
And a man's life no more than to say, one.”

Here I interpolate that the life of Claudius since the ghost's revelations, or even since the play scene, has been a good deal longer than one. It is still the characteristic of madness—to let I would wait upon I will not. Then he continues—

“But I am very sorry, good Horatio,
That to Laertes I forgot myself ;
For by the image of my cause, I see
The portraiture of his : I'll court his favours :
But, sure, the bravery of his grief did put me
Into a towering passion.”

Why the sympathetic grief of a brother should put a sane lover into a towering passion I leave as a question for sane men. But I have quoted both speeches at length, to show that Shakspeare expressly and of intent aforethought introduced these words about Laertes, where there was no other necessity for them, only that the audience might contrast his generous mind and its nobleness with the villanies that filled the hearts and minds of Claudius and Laertes ; secondly, that it might be shown that Hamlet's words that I am now to quote were the deliberate outcome of his preconceived thoughts. ✓

Before the trial of skill Claudius places the hand of Laertes in that of Hamlet. Such an act before a friendly combat, with the accompanying declarations of the competitors, were accounted most solemn pledges of their honour and truth as gentlemen, spoken before witnesses and before God. Hamlet seizes the opportunity for expressing himself as he had expressed himself to Horatio, and thus craves forgiveness from Laertes—

“Give me your pardon, sir : I've done you wrong ;
But pardon 't, as you are¹ a gentleman.
This presence knows,

¹ “It, as you're” would have been more rhythmical ; but Shakspeare would mark Hamlet's seriousness, suavity, and courtesy by the emphasis of the unabridged phrase, and put “you are.” So note, *en passant*, how the third line is a broken one, that the break in the measure may more fully mark his true court-like reverence to his king, and denote the more the humility with which he would excuse himself to Laertes.

And you must needs have heard, how I am punish'd
 With sore distraction. What I have done,
 That might your nature, honour, and exception,
 Roughly awake, I here proclaim was madness.
 Was 't Hamlet wronged Laertes? Never, Hamlet:
 If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away,
 And, when he's not himself, does wrong Laertes,
 Then Hamlet does it not, Hamlet denies it.
 Who does it then? His madness: If 't be so,
 Hamlet is of the faction that is wrong'd;
 His madness is poor Hamlet's enemy."

The noble nature of the true Hamlet is here again brought out and contrasted with the villainous intents of his enemies. Think of the damnable schemes of Claudius and of his follower Laertes, and then hear and see Laertes say, and Claudius listen to—

"I do receive your offer'd love like *love*,
 And will not *wrong* it."

taking with it Hamlet's answer and accompanying gesture—

"I embrace it freely;
 And will this brother's wager frankly play."

First, then, I would call attention to this, that Hamlet has not said once that he was mad, but reiterates it, repeats the word "madness" three several times, and varies it at least thrice more in "sore distraction," and "Hamlet from himself," and Hamlet "not himself." The idea runs throughout this speech, and the sense of the whole fourteen lines may be compressed into "I was indeed most mad," spoken in all humility to his inferior, Laertes. Secondly, one of two things must follow. Either Hamlet spoke the truth, or he, the once praised rose and honour of the court, the bosom friend of Horatio, the adored of the pure Ophelia, in a matter where his honour as a man and gentleman was at stake, told a deliberate lie, and repeated it six times: not merely too were these deliberate lies, but cowardly and despicable ones. As he intended no treachery, his madness could only have been proclaimed by him, because it was true, or because he, an accomplished swordsman, would guard against the danger of having to meet Laertes with unbated rapier in, probably, a duel to the death. One of these

alternatives must be adopted,—no third is possible: though I have known some who strangely admit these to be lies, and more strangely, defend them on the ground that Hamlet thought nothing of a lie! Should any one think that up to this moment, as well as after it, that Hamlet appears as—

“The courtier’s, soldier’s, scholar’s, eye, tongue, sword :
Th’ expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion, and the mould of form,”

but that at this particular moment he, contrary to every word and hint throughout the play, tears off this vizard and masquerading dress, and for no earthly purpose, displays himself in his true colours as the worthy nephew of his uncle, the inheritor of his mother’s vices, but not of his father’s virtues? I say for no earthly purpose, for his only purpose was to court Laertes’ favour and play this brother’s wager,—then we part company. I decline to say more, except that while I cannot expect all my conclusions to be accepted, possibly even none by those who have made up their minds, and cannot, for consistency’s sake, alter them, I would yet emphatically repeat these words of Hamlet—

“This presence knows,
And you must needs have heard, how I am punish’d
With a sore distraction. What I have done,
That might your nature, honour, and exception,
Roughly awake, I here proclaim was madness.”

SCRAPS.

In the merry month of May. Though this really belongs to Barnefield, yet as it stands as No. 21 of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, I would notice that the words above are found in Nash’s *Quaternio*, 1633, p. 31. “Sometimes againe, in the merrie month of *May*, I betake my felfe to our Common-greene, where I behold *Tib* and *Tom*, *Iug* and *Iohn*, *Dicke* and *Doll*, *Will* and *Moll*, dauncing a meafure about the Pole.” They are without signs of quotation, and though it is possible that Nash made use of words that he had just met with in the *Passionate Pilgrim* or in Barnefield, it rather seems to me that they go to prove that the phrase was a well-known one, occurring perhaps in some popular song. I quote the *Tib* and *Tom*, &c., &c. bits as showing why it was “merrie.”—B. N.

rampire: v.t. rampart; pile earth against. (This may be the sense in *Timon*, V. iv. 47, 'our rampired gates': the Senators are on the walls, which, with their gates, are ramparted. Alcibiades bids them open their "uncharged¹ Ports" (l. 55), those they are to clear, and bring him into their city (l. 81). Still, Schmidt shows that 'rampired' may only have been 'barrd, fastend,' and he takes 'uncharged' to be 'unassaild'. That Shakspeare didn't mean to have a rampart of Thames gravel or London clay behind the benches that probably servd for the Walls of Athens at the Globe or Blackfriars, is certain.) "For that the Townes enclosed with weake walles of stone, and defended with small, square, or round towres, are insufficient to abide the mallice and offence that an enemy at this day may put in practise, the Cannon being an engine of much more force then any before it inuented. To resist whose violence, other meane cannot be giuen, than to **rampier** those walles within, and make greater and royaller defences without." 1589. PAUL IVE. *Treatise of Fortification*, p. 35. . . .

ib. p. 37. "If the wall be so high, that to **rampier** it to the heighth it is at, it would aske too great a labour and charge, then rebate it or take it downe lower."—F.

palizado: sb. 1 *Henry IV.* II. iii. 55. "Where the water may be drawne away, then make a strong and sufficient damme of stone, placing a **palizado** before it, (prouiding alwayes to haue some royall defence neare vnto it, that an enemy may be impeached, by all meanes possible to approach it :) which **palizado** must be of yong trees that will yeeld fise or sixe inches of square timber, set fast in the ground, and bound together, the one standing three inches distant from the other, that nothing may be hid behind it from the harquebuserie of the Fort; and also it were necessary that the outside of it should be flanked from the said Fort. Likewise, any courtine or bulwarke standing neere vnto anye damme, seabanke, or other such like, whereby it might be easily approached, aborded, and surprised, must haue a **palizado** (placed at the outer edge of the parapet raysed vpon the sayd courtine or bulwarke) of sparres or such like, which **palizados** may be 14. or 15. foote high, or more or lesse. 1589. PAUL IVE. *The Practise of Fortification*, pp. 37, 38.—F.

it, gen. sing., earlier form of 'it's.' *Tempest*, II. i. 163. "*Marisque*: f. A great vnsauorie fig, that ripening, opens on the sides, and discovers it seeds." 1611. Cotgrave.

perspective, sb. *Sonnet* xxi. 4, &c. My Mistresse is my **perspectiue** glasse, through which I view the worlds vanity. 1615. Iohn Stephens. *Satyrical Essayes*. Character XVII. p. 301.—F.

¹ *Deschargé*: m. *ée*: f. Discharged, vnloaden, disburdened. Cotgrave. 1611.

XVIII.

ON "MASSINGER AND *THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN*."

BY ROBERT BOYLE, ST. PETERSBURG.

(Taken as read at the 83rd Meeting of the Society, Friday, Dec. 8, 1882.)

AMONGST the candidates put up as Fletcher's literary partners in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, it is singular that nobody has as yet hit upon Massinger. It would seem almost natural to think of him as soon as the traditional association of the names Beaumont and Fletcher was got rid of. He is known, on undoubted authority, to have been associated with Fletcher in the authorship of several plays. In these, as well as in his own productions, he has many classical allusions, and continual touches showing that some passage of Shakspeare was running in his mind. To crown all, he has a metrical style which may be regarded as the continuation and legitimate development of Shakspeare's. Under these circumstances how comes it that he has been silently passed over? The reason is partly to be found in the unfair judgment passed upon him by Charles Lamb. Our poet has been degraded from his high rank by the one-sided view which Lamb took of his works, and although the justice of the verdict has been called in question, it has not ceased to exercise an unfavourable influence on the general literary verdict with regard to Massinger. People are almost afraid to venture an opinion on the Elizabethan drama differing from Lamb's. And yet there is hardly a less reliable guide to be found to our early dramatic literature. He never allows his reader to regard a drama as a whole, but extracts a small passage of exquisite beauty, or exceptional happiness of expression, and persists in making us judge of the piece by that. The hard fate that accompanied the Stage Poet through life, has clung to him up to the present time, and in spite of warm advocates like Gifford and Cunningham, prevented him from

occupying his legitimate position as a dramatist immediately after Shakspeare.

The mental process of reasoning with regard to the *Two Noble Kinsmen* seems to have been this :—The play has poetical beauties of a high order, but Lamb has denied Massinger's poetical powers, therefore the latter is not to be thought of as co-author in this play.

With the exception, perhaps, of *Henry VIII.*, no play attributed to Shakspeare has ever been so variously judged as the *Two Noble Kinsmen*. As examples of the two opposite poles of opinion with respect to it, nothing can be imagined more striking than the pleas for the Shakspeare authorship in Hickson's paper in the *Transactions* of the N. S. S. on the one hand, and the pleas against this authorship by Prof. Delius in the German Sh. *Jahrbuch* on the other. Hickson and his supporters see only the beauty of particular passages and the general metrical similarity of the play to Shakspeare's verse in his later works. Delius sees only the total want of dramatic power in the development of character, and will not even acknowledge any poetical beauty in it. The party pleading for the Shakspeare authorship, judges of the play as Lamb does, from particular passages of undoubted excellence, while Delius comes to the conclusion that it is not only too bad for Shakspeare, but even for Fletcher, and attributes it to an unknown author, who imitated with considerable success as far as externals go, sometimes the style of Shakspeare, sometimes that of Fletcher.

It will be my aim in the following paper to show that, if we admit Massinger's authorship, all our difficulties will vanish at once. Delius' strong point—a point which he has undoubtedly proved—is the want of dramatic development of character in the drama. This of itself should be fatal to the assumption of Shakspeare's authorship. Let us see how the case stands with Massinger. In the plays in which he has no literary partner, his figures have no want of rounded distinctness, although, it must be granted, that they all run on distinct lines. He characterizes his own figures best by the word "impotent," in the sense of incapable of self-restraint. This expression he uses pointedly in reference to many of his own characters. In the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, Palamon, except in I. ii., and Theseus

are good examples of this kind of treatment. But in the plays in which he wrote with Fletcher, this distinctness and individuality are seldom present in anything like the degree in which we have them in the plays of Massinger alone. The outlines are more or less blurred, and the individual traits which presented themselves to us in the opening scenes gradually become dim. Not only does Fletcher not carry on the conception of the character as laid down by Massinger (M., with a few exceptions, begins the dramas and lays down the lines), but the latter himself, on taking up his own conception later on, seems to abandon all hope of making anything of it against the dramatic incapacity of his associate. Is not this exactly what we have in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*? Are not the figures of Palamon and Arcite far more distinct and individual in the first act than they are later on? They retain indeed some of their individuality in Massinger's hands all through the play, but they do not grow upon us as similar figures do in the *Duke of Milan*, the *Roman Actor*, the *Great Duke of Florence*, &c.

Another point made by Delius in his paper was his argument against the Shakspeare authorship, from the number of allusions to Shakspeare in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*. It cannot be disputed that these allusions are far more numerous in our play than in any undoubted play of Shakspeare's. This is again characteristic of Massinger. There is hardly a page of his writings which does not contain more than one allusion to his master.

The metrical evidence which decided Furnivall and Fleay to adopt the Hickson theory is easily disposed of. As the question of the authorship of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* is simply a branch of the more general question,—Who were Fletcher's partners in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays?—a question to which I have devoted a good deal of attention, I may be allowed to advert to the results of my work published from time to time in the *Englische Studien*, edited by Prof. Kölbing of Breslau, and published by Henninger Brothers of Heilbronn.¹ In vol. iv. no. 1 of that periodical

¹ This periodical, which costs only fifteen shillings a year, has brought out many important papers on Shakspeare questions, among the rest one by Prof. Caro, completely clearing up the difficult question whence Shakspeare drew the

I wrote a paper (in German; all the rest of my work in *Eng. Stud.* is in English), in which, from metrical and other considerations, I pointed to Massinger as the probable author of the *Two Noble Kinsmen*. The metrical tables in that paper were computed by my colleague, Mr Harrison, of this town. On going over the counting later on, I found that I differed from Mr Harrison considerably in the run-on lines. What one of us regarded as a run-on line was regarded sometimes by the other as end-stopped. The difficulty being laid before the Petersburg Shakspeare Circle, a committee, consisting of Mr Goodlet, Mr Harrison, and myself, was appointed to find out a basis for counting run-on lines, and for making out a list of light and weak endings. A number of rules were laid down corresponding to the usage in French and German prosody for *enjambements*. According to these rules all my counting later on was done. The definitions given, and the list of light and weak endings, were accompanied by numerous examples taken, not from Shakspeare only, but from the whole body of dramatic literature. This Report appeared in *Eng. Stud.*, III. iii. In vol. v. no. 1 of the same periodical I published about two years ago a number of tables to show the respective shares of Beaumont and Fletcher in one series of plays, and of Massinger and Fletcher in another. These tables were originally calculated to test the correctness of Fleay's tables, published in vol. i. of the *Transactions* of the N. S. S. They show the number of verse-lines in each scene, the number of run-on lines, of double endings, of light and weak endings. At the bottom of the table the number of lines attributed to each author is given, with the percentages of metrical peculiarities. These percentages show a marked regularity, and Massinger's agree with those given, in the same way, for six undoubted Massinger plays. To confirm this metrical evidence I have drawn up a list of Massinger's repetitions. "No author repeats himself oftener, or with less ceremony, than Massinger," says Gifford. As an illustration of the force of this remark, I have collected from all the plays in which Massinger was engaged (31 in

materials of his stories in the *Tempest* and *Winter's Tale*. The paper is entitled, "Ueber die historischen Elemente in Shakspeare's Sturm und Wintermärchen."

all, now extant) a mass of repetitions covering 90 quarto pages of manuscript. This collection I shall shortly publish in the *Englische Studien*. In every case in which, from metrical evidence, I had fixed on a play in which Massinger's hand seemed traceable, I have found this evidence corroborated by repetitions of expressions which he was fond of.

The plays in which Massinger was engaged with Fletcher are, according to my results, the following :—

1. *The Prophetess*. 2. *The Lovers' Progress*. 3. *The Little French Lawyer*. 4. *The False One*. 5. *The Elder Brother*. 6. *Beggar's Bush*. 7. *The Spanish Curate*. 8. *A Very Woman*. 9. *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. 10. *Thierry and Theodoret*. 11. *Two Noble Kinsmen*. 12. *The Fair Maid of the Inn*. 13. *The Queen of Corinth*. 14. *The Bloody Brother*. The counting for the last three is not yet quite finished. Besides these 14 plays, in which he was engaged with Fletcher, Massinger wrote the *Virgin Martyr* with Dekker, the *Fatal Dowry* with Field, and *Love's Cure* with another author, not Fletcher. In order to judge of the question properly then, it will be seen that all the evidence brought to bear to prove the other 16 plays works of Massinger and another author, ought to be gone through before pronouncing on the *Two Noble Kinsmen*. As, however, the space available is not sufficient for this purpose, I shall only touch on the evidence that has a more immediate bearing on our play. My division of the play coincides with that of Fleay in the *Transactions* of the N. S. S., except that I give the first 18 lines of Act V. to Fletcher.¹ As to the metrical structure, it corresponds closely with Massinger's general style. The only point in which there is any difference is the double endings. These amount to only 30 per cent. in the part of the play which I give to Massinger (Furnivall and Fleay's Sh. part). Massinger's percentage of double endings generally runs about 40; in *Love's*

¹ Fleay does so too perhaps. He makes a blunder of 118 in his addition of his figures for his Shakspeare part. The 100 is accounted for by his having put 100 lines too little in one scene. Perhaps he meant to give the other 18 lines to Fletcher, and—forgot. We don't quite agree in the number of verse-lines for each scene, but as I found my counting confirmed by the Littledale Reprint, I suppose it will not be far wrong.

Cure and the *Fatal Dowry* it is 35, in the *Prophetess* also 35, and in *Thierry and Theodoret* 34. Thus there is no great difficulty in supposing him to sink to 30 per cent. double endings for 1000 lines, especially as these form the most variable element of his metrical style. There is no other known author whose style so closely corresponds with the non-Fletcher part of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* 42 per cent. run-on lines; his percentage here is also his general percentage for run-on lines. The percentage for light and weak endings, together nearly eight per cent., is also his general average. In this respect his only rivals are Cyril Tourneur and Cartwright, who are both freer in their use of light and weak endings than Massinger; but neither of them can be thought of for a moment as Fletcher's partner in *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

Metrical evidence seems to be now as unduly neglected in England as it was formerly unduly cried up. Properly employed, however, as a guide and a help to the investigator, its importance is almost self-evident. That the dry figures of a metrical table represent a something very appreciable to the ear will be plain on comparing the following passages to try if the ring is the same. The passages have been chosen with an eye to similarity in situation or sentiment.

1. Compare *Unnatural Combat*, I. i. from l. 130—

“I understand you
Without the aid of those interpreters,
That fall from your fair eyes,” &c.,

with *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. i. 175—200—

“The more proclaiming
Our suit shall be neglected,” &c.

2. Compare the *Bondman*, I. iii., with *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. ii.
3. Compare the *Picture*, II. ii., Ferdinand's speech,—

“He, as I said, like dreadful lightning thrown,” &c.

(“Like young eaglets preying under
The wings of their fierce dam,”)

with *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. iv. 17—Theseus' speech—

“Like to a pair of lions smear'd with prey,” &c.

4. Compare the *Picture*, II. ii., Ebulus' speech—

"I have observed

When horrid Mars, the touch of whose rude hand," &c.
with *Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. i. from l. 49—

"Thou mighty one that with thy power hast turned," &c.

5. Compare the *Lovers' Progress*, I. ii. 42-63—

"*Olinda*.

I thus look

With equal eyes on both ; either deserves
A fairer fortune than they can in reason
Hope for from me : from Lidian I expect,
When I have made him mine, all pleasures that
The sweetness of his manners, youth, and virtues,
Can give assurance of. But turning this way
To brave Clarangè, in his face appears
A kind of majesty which should command,
Not sue for favour. If the fairest lady
Of France, set forth with nature's best endowments,
Did now lay claim to either for a husband,
So vehement my affection is to both,
My envy at her happiness would kill me.

Witness these tears, I love both, as I know
You burn with equal flames, and so affect me ;
Abundance makes me poor ; such is the hard
Condition of my fortune. Be your own judges ;
If I should favour both, 'twill taint my honour,
And that before my life I must prefer :
If one I lean to, the other is disvalued ;

Would I could be so happy to content both !"

with *Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. iii. 41-55—

"*Emil*. Arcite is gently visagd ; yet his eye
Is like an engyn bent, or a sharpe weapon
In a soft seath ; mercy and manly courage
Are bedfellows in his visage. Palamon
Has a most menacing aspect ; his brow
Is grav'd, and seemes to bury what it frownes on,
Yet sometime 'tis not so, but alters to
The quality of his thoughts ; long time his eye
Will dwell upon his object ; mellencholly
Becomes him nobly ; so do's Arcite's mirth ;
But Palamon's sadness is a kinde of mirth,
So mingled, as if mirth did make him sad,
And sadnes, merry, those darker humours that
Sticke misbecomingly on others, on [him]
Live in faire dwelling," etc.

Compare IV. ii. 1-54, etc. (Fletcher's part).

Nobody who reads these sets of passages one after another in the order given will be inclined to deny the general metrical similarity of them all. This similarity equally extends to those more prominent peculiarities, which are summed up under the name of metrical tests, and to those subtle elements which defy tabulation, but which make up the music of a verse. In these indefinable touches, in the artistic distribution of pauses, and in the unerring choice and grouping of just those words which strike the ear as the perfection of harmony, there are, if we leave Cyril Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy* out of the question, only two masters in the drama—Shakspeare in his latest period, and Massinger. We may regard them as equals in this respect, only that Massinger's style is more uniform, he having commenced to write after blank verse had (from 1607) attained its full harmonious development. Milton recognized the great superiority of Massinger over all his contemporaries in this respect, and not only modelled his verse on Massinger's, but by the frequency with which he takes up a thought of our poet's, and repeats it in various forms, shows that he had studied him with loving care. As between Shakspeare and Massinger, the balance of metrical evidence in the non-Fletcher part of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* points to the latter from the high percentage of run-on lines and light and weak endings. The *Two Noble Kinsmen* has been shown to contain many allusions to Shakspeare's plays, and many classical allusions. In *Eng. Stud.*, IV. i., I showed that Massinger was fond of classical allusions. Gifford's notes will convince any reader of Massinger that he is continually harping on some Shakspearean passage. As I said before, he always seems to have some turn of thought from some play of his great master ringing in his ear. His mind was steeped in Shakspeare. There are innumerable instances of his repeating a Shakspeare phrase, when led to it by similarity of situation, so literally that all idea of plagiarism is excluded. The same process went on in his mind which went on in Shelley's when, in the murder-scene in the *Cenci*, he imitated the corresponding scene in *Macbeth* so exactly that it is impossible to read it without forgetting the modern play altogether and thinking of *Macbeth*. When Massinger says in the *Emp. of the East*, V. ii.—

“ Or restore
My mind to that tranquillity and peace
It then enjoyed,”

or in the same play, IV. v.—

“ Methinks I find Paulinus on her lips,”

(see *Othello*, III. iii. 41, page 895, col. 2.—*Globe*)—

or III. ii—

“ They lose
The name of virtue,”

we see him show the same tendency to quote Shakspeare with which his share of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* is replete. But, as we should expect to find from Gifford's expression as to Massinger's repetitions, his share in the *Two Noble Kinsmen* has not only classical and Shakspeare allusions, it has also very clear allusions to other Massinger plays. When my list of Massinger's repetitions is published, it will show that Massinger, after Fletcher's death, repeated himself more frequently than before. Now the *Two Noble Kinsmen* was written before Fletcher's death. Not only is it a play in which the shares of the two authors are interlaced; we have even evidence that Fletcher added to what Massinger wrote. The fifth Act seemed to Fletcher to begin too abruptly, and he wrote the first 18 lines as an introduction, on much the same principle as that which induced him to begin the conversation between the two cousins in prison with a “How do you.” The *Two Noble Kinsmen* was probably written before the *Little French Lawyer* and the *Lovers' Progress*, and other plays of the French period. In the *Lovers' Progress* the idea of a woman in love with two men at once is carried out a great deal more fully than in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*. The mention of Diana's “rare greene eye” (V. i. 144) would seem to show that our poet had already begun his Spanish studies. Later on a reason will be given for conjecturing its date to be about the same as that of the *Custom of the Country*. At any rate it is an early play in the Massinger and Fletcher series, although probably written after Beaumont's death. One peculiarity of Massinger and Fletcher is, that when there is any possibility of variance, they never agree in the pronunciation of a name. Thus the one pronounces Din'ant with the accent on the first syllable, the

other Dinan't with the accent on the last. In the *Spanish Curate* Massinger pronounces Bar'tolus with the accent on the first syllable; Fletcher, Barto'lus, with the accent on the middle syllable. In our play we find Fletcher pronounces Pir-ith-o-us, The-se-us, four and three syllables respectively. Massinger pronounces them Pir-ith-ous, The-seus—three and two syllables.

Let us now proceed to examine the Massinger part of the play, scene by scene, to find out allusions to his known plays. The first passage that strikes us is I. i. 64—"Juno's mantle." The only parallel passage which I find to this is in the *Elder Brother*, I. i. 108, 109 (a Massinger scene)—

"Nor a rich gown
From Juno's wardrobe" (From Chapman's *Homer*?).

The wheaten wreath, *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. i. 65, has not received the attention it deserves at the hands of the commentators. It is twice mentioned in the present play, not counting the stage directions,—1st as above, and 2nd, V. i. 160, as a "wheaten gerland." Considering that both Chaucer and his Italian original mention an oak wreath, the divergence is noteworthy. The "wheaten wreath" is mentioned in Peele's *Edward I.*, Act I., by Friar Hugh's man Jack. In *Hamlet*, V. ii. 41, p. 845, we have another allusion—peace wearing her wheaten garland. It seems to have been a pretty general custom for the bride to wear at the marriage ceremony a wheaten wreath, which was removed by the bridegroom. Massinger has an allusion to this custom in the *Maid of Honour*, I. ii., in the conversation between Bertoldo and Camiola—"You alone should wear the garland." The conversation is of sceptred monarchs, imaginary rivals of Bertoldo for Camiola as a bride, and the passage does not refer to a mere victor's wreath. The same allusion occurs in the *Bashful Lover*, I. i. 279—"Howe'er he wear the garland." In Act IV. sc. iii. 164 of this play there is a passage which comes near *Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. i. 158—

"He of the two pretenders that best loves me,
And has the truest title in 't, let him
Take off my wheaten garland."

The passage in *Bashful Lover*, IV. iii. 164, is—

“He that can
With love and service best deserve the garland,
With your consent let him wear it.”

Said to and of Matilda.

Coming on to I. i. 74, 75, we have—

“And press you forth
Our undertaker.”

This expression is only once used in Shakspeare in a similar sense in *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, III. iv. 349.¹ Massinger uses it in the *Renegado*, III. iii.—

“No daring undertaker in our service.”

Also in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, V. i. 27—

“Were a work beyond the strongest undertakers,”

and *Lovers' Progress*, I. i. 33—

“First for the undertaker, I am he.”

In I. i. 76 we have—

“Unto the helmeted Bellona use them.”

Bellona occurs in two other passages of Massinger's share in this play. He seems fond of the word, which often suits his sonorous verse better than Mars. See *Roman Actor*, I. iv.² *Pict.*, II. ii. *Bond.*, I. i., &c.

Two Noble Kinsmen, I. i. 78—“Troubled I am.”

Massinger is very fond of showing us his heroes in the uncertainty of a resolution just beginning to take shape. This he does sometimes, as in the *Picture*, III. iv., end—

“I am much troubled,
And do begin to stagger,”

in almost the very words of our play. Compare *Bond.*, V. ii. 104; *Renegado*, III. iii., end—

“My rage shall then appear; for I will do
Something; but what, I am not yet determin'd.”

¹ “*Sir To*. Nay, if you be an undertaker, I am for you.” “One who makes anything his own business, a meddler.”—*Schmidt*.

² “And famine, blood, and death, Bellona's pages.” (See *Henry V.* Chorus.)

Great Duke of Florence, II. iii.—

“*Phil.* His words work strangely on me,
And I would do—but I know not what to think on’t.”

Emp. of the East, V. i. *Guardian*, II. iii. *Bashful Lover*, II. vi. and IV. i. *Queen of Corinth*, I. i. *Thierry and Theodoret*, II. i. *Lovers’ Progress*, I. i. *Spanish Curate*, IV. i., and *Bloody Brother*, I. i.

I. i. 103—“I had as leife trace this good action with you.”

Compare *Virg. Martyr*, IV. iii. 95 (M.’s scene)—

“*Anton.* O, take me thither with you!
Dor. Trace my steps,
And be assured you shall.”

I. i. 131—“Forward to the temple!”

Massinger uses the same, or nearly the same words in similar situations in *Maid of Honour*, V. ii.; *Picture*, I. ii.; *Fair Maid of the Inn*, V. iii. (in two places).—

“Precipitance.”—I. i. 143.

Massinger uses “precipice” in the sense of a headlong fall (in this sense it does not occur in Shakspeare) in *Emp. of the East*, III. ii.; *Maid of Honour*, II. iv. and V. i.; *Renegado*, III. v., and *Picture*, II. i. and IV. ii.

I. i. 153—“The heates are gone to-morrow.”

This passage, hardly intelligible as it stands, is explained by a parallel passage in the *Emperor of the East*, II. i.—

“That resolution which grows cold to-day
Will freeze to-morrow.”

I. i. 164—
“Whilst we dispatch
This grand act of our life, this daring deed
Of fate, in wedlock.”

Compare *Maid of Honour*, V. ii.—

“And rest assured that, this great work dispatched,”

The great work is the marriage of Aurelia and Bertoldo. Similar expressions (not alluding to marriage), *Un. Com.*, III. ii. 155;

D. of Mil., V. ii. 82; *Bond.*, IV. ii. 80; *City Madam*, V. iii.; *Guard.*, I. i.; *Prophetess*, II. iii.; *Q. of Corinth*, V. iv.

These last two are startling illustrations, but the next one is decisive of the question of the authorship of our play. We have—

I. i. 178—"Warranting moonlight."

"1st *Queene*. . . . when her armes,
Able to locke Jove from a synod, shall
By warranting moone-light corslet thee, O, when
Her twynning cherries shall their sweetnes fall
Upon thy tastefull lips, what wilt thou thinke
Of rotten kings or blubberd queenes? what care
For what thou feelst not, what thou feelst being able
To make Mars spurne his drom? O, if thou couch
But one night with her, every howre in 't will
Take hostage of thee for a hundred, and
Thou shalt remember nothing more then what
That banket bids thee to."

This one passage, I say, characteristic as it is of Massinger's way of treating his women (and there is nothing else anywhere in the play with regard to the female characters in contradiction with it), is enough to put an end at once to all idea of Shakspearean authorship, and to point irresistibly to Massinger as the only possible author. There are no fewer than 22 passages in plays, partly or wholly by Massinger, in which the same idea is expressed in almost the same words. It may be objected that it is the 1st Queen who expresses herself so, and the author may have meant to represent her as a sensual character. But there is no dramatic necessity to represent her as gloating over her unclean reminiscences. Without a dramatic necessity Shakspeare would never have introduced such a trait, but Massinger often does. Witness the latter's *Love's Cure*, in which Eugenia expresses her joy at her husband's return, and gives the reason of that joy, I. ii. 40, 41, in a manner too plain to be mistaken—

"*Eugenia*. . . . Oh my joys
So far transport me, that I must forget
The ornaments of matrons, modesty,
And grave behaviour! But let all forgive me,
If in th' expression of my soul's best comfort,
Though old, I do awhile forget mine age,

And play the wanton in the entertainment
Of those delights I have so long despaired of."—

Love's Cure, I. ii.

To make matters sure she repeats the allusion in I. iii. 67, 68—

"My lord, long wish'd for, welcome !
'Tis a sweet briefness ! Yet in that short word
All pleasures which I may call mine begin.
And may they long increase, before they find
A second period ! Let mine eyes now surfeit
On this so-wish'd-for object, and my lips
Yet modestly pay back the parting kiss
You trusted with them.
Sit down, and let me feed upon the story
Of your past dangers, now you are here in safety !
It will give relish, and fresh appetite
To my delights, if such delights can cloy me."—

Love's Cure, I. iii.

I must beg pardon for dwelling still longer on this unsavoury subject, but as it is the point on which the whole question turns, there is no avoiding it. I have conclusive reasons for ascribing *Love's Cure* to Massinger¹ quite apart from the allusion to the great frost, which proves it at least as late as 1622. Eugenia in *Love's Cure* is a perfect counterpart of the nauseous 1st Queen. But are the other female figures any better ? What does Hippolyta say in lines 190—193 ?—

"*Hip.* Did I not by th' abstayning of my joy,
Which breeds a deeper longing, cure their surfeit
That craues a present medicine, I should plucke
All ladies' scandall on me."

Does she not express her longing for the sensual side of marriage joys as unrestrainedly as Massinger's women ? I say as *Massinger's* women, because this is the mark of the cloven hoof that always betrays him. How subtle must have been the effluvia of social corruption in that age, when our poet's originally noble nature became incapable, not only of portraying, but even of conceiving ideal female purity such as we have in Shakspeare's creations ! In Shakspeare's age the vanishing

¹ Dr Nicholson, when Fleay first presented his tables in which he had put down the play as Beaumont and Fletcher's, pointed at once to Massinger as probably Fletcher's assistant. The play is by Massinger and an unknown author (perhaps two). There is no trace of Fletcher in it.

spirit of chivalry breathed its last breath into literature, and created an ideal of woman as lofty as it is true. But the thick miasma arising from the great social swamp of corruption in which the later dramatists lived, clogged their wings and dragged them down to earth. We have a terrible example of this moral deterioration in the figures before us. How is it possible, I ask, to place such figures as Hippolyta and Emilia in the purer atmosphere of the earlier drama, when they never by any chance rise above the level of Massinger's women? Emilia as well as Hippolyta. In I. iii. 66—71 Emilia describes her personal charms—

“ . . . my breasts, O, then but beginning
To swell about the blossome.”

in a way that Iachimo does not equal when describing the mole on Imogen's breast. Fancy the same language, the same gloating over a sensual idea, being put into the mouths of the abandoned lecher and of an innocent young girl! Fancy further that the latter goes beyond the professional voluptuary in his own line, and then ask us to receive this creature into the society of Miranda, Marina, Perdita, and Imogen!

To show that I have not overstated the case with regard to Massinger's women, I subjoin the following references to scenes containing language by women meant to be virtuous, which sometimes puts even the 1st Queen into the shade. *Unnatural Combat*, I. i. 170. *Bellisant in Parliament of Love*, I. ii. and V. i. *Duke of Milan*, III. iii. and V. i. *Great Duke of Florence*, I. i. and V. iii. *Picture*, I. i. and I. ii. *Fatal Dowry*, V. ii. *City Madam*, V. i. *Guardian*, II. iii. and III. ii. *A Very Woman*, I. i. 20. *Love's Cure*, I. iii. and V. ii. *Fair Maid of the Inn*, I. i. (in two places) and V. iii. *Lovers' Progress*, I. i. *Elder Brother*, I. i. *Little French Lawyer*, V. ii. This list, which is by no means exhaustive, will convince any mind open to conviction that the women of the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, if not capable of being admitted into the society of Shakspeare's women, are admirably adapted to take part in the conversation of Massinger's heroines.

I. i. 216—“ I stamp this kisse upon thy currant lippe;
Sweete, keep it as my token.”

I need hardly say that this is not Shakspeare's style. We should hardly have been surprised to find Bassanio's parting kiss to Portia mentioned. What more natural than to mention Posthumus' parting kiss to Imogen? But Shakspeare does not mention it in either case. Probably because deep feelings are not expressed in such pretty conceits as the one before us. But in Massinger's time the conventional kiss of society had almost deprived a lover's kiss of the right of existence. Consequently such lines as the above occur in many of his plays.

"This kiss when you come back shall be a virgin."

Bondman, I. i. 195.

"Deliver this kiss printed on your lips
Sealed on his hand."

Maid of Honour, III. ii., about the end.

"The parting kiss you took before your travel
Is yet a virgin on my lips."—*Queen of Corinth*, I. ii.

"And my lips
Yet modestly pay back the parting kiss
You trusted with them, when you fled from Sevil."
Love's Cure, I. iii.

The idea of the stamp making the kiss current is alluded to in the *Great Duke of Florence*, I. i.—

"And any stamp
Of grace to make him current to the world."

The stamp of grace does not here refer to a kiss, but to the favour in which Sanazarro stands with the Great Duke. The coincidence in the manner of expression is very striking, and points to a common author of the two plays, especially when taken in connection with the other passages, which show Massinger's inveterate habit of continually bringing forward the same expression, slightly varied, in similar situations. In I. ii. 43, 44, we have—

"'Tis in our power—
Unlesse we feare that apes can tutor 's—to
Be masters of our manners."

Compare *Emp. of the East*, I. ii.—

"You are master of the manner and the habit;
Rather the scorn of such as would live men,

And not, like apes, with servile imitation
Study prodigious fashions."

"Servile imitation" is just the key-note to the whole of Palamon's speech, and, as usual with Massinger, the old expression recurs. Further on there is an allusion to a change of fashion which may give us a clue to the date of the play. With the means at my command in this remote corner of the world, I have not been able to clear up the point, but hope somebody else will be more fortunate.

Line 55 (I. ii.), Pal. says—

"What cannon's there
That does command my rapier from my hip
To dangle 't in my hand?"

Now we know from two contemporary plays that sword or rapier wearing became unfashionable among the gallants during the reign of James. In the *Custom of the Country*, II. iii., p. 113 (Routledge's edition), Duarte kicks Alonzo and taunts him with not daring to wear a sword to guard his honour, he is to out with his bodkin, his pocket dagger, his stiletto. Duarte will show him the difference between a Spanish rapier and his pure Pisa. Rutilio says that Duarte is bribed to repeal banished swords, and declares that, spite of the fashion, he shall never part with his. In the *Elder Brother*, V. i. 240, Miramont speaks of walking velvet cloaks that wear no sword to guard them (the scene is Massinger's); and from the rest of the play it is plain that it was fashionable, or at least common, not to wear a sword. Considering the perpetual allusions of Massinger and Fletcher to contemporary fashions and events, is it unreasonable to suppose that these hits were meant to touch a fashion recently introduced—say from 1617 to 1620?

In I. ii. 60 we have—

"These poore sleight sores
Neede not a plantin."

The present play is full of medical and surgical similes, which is again a peculiarity of Massinger's. We have III. i. 114, 115—

"This question, sicke between's
By bleeding must be cured."

and V. i. 64, 65—

“That healt with blood
The earth when it is sicke, and cur'st the world
O' the pluresie of people.”

Such similes we have in *Bondman*, I. iii. 220 ; *Par of Love*, I. iv. ; *Emp. of the East*, III. ii. ; *Guardian*, III. i. ; *F. Maid of Inn*, III. ii. ; *Thierry & Theod.*, I. ii. ; *Elder Brother*, V. i. ; *Believe as you List*, V. i. ; *Unnatural Combat*, IV. i. 130.¹

I. ii. 180—“I thinke the echoes of his shames have deaf't
The eares of heav'nly justice : widdows' cryes
Descend again into their throats, and have not
Due audience of the gods.”

Compare *Roman Actor*, III. i. —

“The immortal Powers
Protect a prince, though sold to impious acts,
And seem to slumber till his roaring crimes
Awake their justice.”

The two passages (complementary parts of one picture) have a common origin in *Macbeth*.

I. iii. 51—“You were at wars when she the grave enrich'd.”

The same idea is repeated later on in the play, III. i. 10—

“Thou, O jewell,
O' th' wood, o' th' world has likewise blest a [place]
With thy sole presence.”

Massinger repeats this idea frequently : *Elder Brother*, I. ii. ; *Spanish Curate*, I. i. (in two places) ; *Great Duke of Florence*, I. i. —

“And what place
Does he now bless with his presence ?”

Emp. of the East, II. i. ; *Bashful Lover*, I. i. —

“The place which she makes happy with her presence.”

“To each place you made paradise with your presence.”

The Bashful Lover, III. iii.

A still more striking resemblance occurs in Massinger's part of the *Fair Maid of the Inn*, V. iii. —

“But yet deny not
To let me know what place she hath made h:
By having there her sepulchre.”

¹ (“Thy plurisy of goodness is thy ill.”)

In I. iii. 89, 90, we have—

“I must no more beleeeve thee in this point—
Than I will trust a sickly appetite
That loathes even as it longs.”

Compare *A Very Woman*, IV. ii. 50—

“No more of love, good father,
It was my surfeit, and I loath it now
As men in fevers meat they fell sick on.”

It was settled by Fleay, with his usual infallibility, that neither Fletcher nor Massinger wrote prose. His reason was that there was no prose in the plays they wrote alone. Apart from the fact that this assertion is not correct, is it not possible to imagine reasons which would have induced both of them to write prose in a play with another author, while they each wrote verse in the productions in which they were unassisted? That this was the case with Fletcher in the plays he wrote with Beaumont I shall take a future opportunity to show. As to Massinger, what could induce the author of such exquisite prose as he gives us in his dedications, to avoid it in his plays, where situation rendered it natural? I think the prose at the beginning of Act II. has the Massinger ring in it, and I find two allusions connecting it with his plays—

“They stand a greife above the reach of report.”—II. i. 27.

Compare *Emp. of the East*, V. ii.—

“The majesty of your fortune
Should fly above the reach of grief.”

The last sentence of this scene (II. i.), “Lord, the difference of men,” reminds us of Lidia’s “O, the difference of natures,” in the *Great Duke of Florence*, II. iii. The prose at the end of the fourth Act also seems to me to have the true Massinger ring in it. The number of classical allusions to Dido, to Charon, to Proserpine is quite in his style. The punishments reserved for perjured lovers in hell here mentioned, are alluded to in the *Bashful Lover*, III. iii. IV. iii. 47—

“O, that I ever did it behind the arras!”

Compare *Renegado*, III. iv.—

“O, here has been old jumbling
Behind this arras!”

and *Duke of Milan*, III. ii. 42—

“Was found at the exercise behind the arras.”

The allusion to the Garden-house is common to Massinger, and all the dramatists of the time. Even Shakspeare, who, at least in his later plays, is sparing of such allusions, mentions it in *Measure for Measure*.

“Confine her to a place where the light may rather seeme to steale in than be permitted.”—IV. iii. 64, 65.

Compare *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, V. i. 377, on Sir Giles Overreach when distracted—

“Carry him to some dark room.”

The green songs of love mentioned IV. iii. 71, are repeated again in Palamon's invocation to Venus—“Abuse young lays of love.” The whole of this scene reminds us of similar scenes in *A Very Woman*. We find another of Massinger's favourite turns of thought in Palamon's invocation to Venus, V. i. 100—

“I never practised
Upon man's wife, nor would the libels read
Of liberal wits; I never at great feasts
Sought to betray a beauty.”

Compare Leosthene's to Cleora in the *Bondman*, II. i. 130—

“Nor endeavoured
To make your blood run high at solemn feasts
With viands that provoke; the speeding philtres;
I worked no bards to tempt you; never practised
The cunning and corrupting arts they study
That wander in the wild maze of desire.”

This last line occurs also in the *Picture*, II. ii, and *Virgin Martyr*, III. i. 135.

V. i. 150 (Emilia's invocation to Diana)—

“I'm bride habited,
But maiden hearted.”

In the *Maid of Honour*, towards the end of V. i., Camiola says she will attire herself like a virgin bride, and appears later in this attire. If we had the stage directions, we should probably find her dressed in the way mentioned in the stage directions for Emilia.

V. i. 53—

“ But I
Am gultlesse of election,”

is much the same as what Olinda says in the *Lovers' Progress*, I. ii. 42, to her two lovers—

“ I thus look
With equal eyes on both.”

What Theseus says at the close of the play—

“ A day or two
Let us look sadly, and give grace unto
The funerall of Arcite : in whose end
The visages of bridegroomes weeke put on
And smile with Palamon ; for whom an houre,
But one houre since, I was as dearely sorry,
As glad of Arcite, and am now as glad
As for him sorry,”

is simply a very diffuse version of what the king says at the end of *Lovers' Progress*—

“ To the dead, we tender
Our sorrow ; to the living, ample wishes
Of future happiness.”

Let us review the results of the foregoing investigation. Fletcher's co-author was one whose verse closely resembled Shakspeare's ; he constantly had some Shakspearean turn of thought in his mind ; he had infinitely more dramatic power than Fletcher, but felt himself unable to make proper use of it from his associate's dramatic incapacity ; he had a very low ideal of female nature, if it can be called an ideal at all ; finally, besides his classical and Shakspeare allusions, he has a large number of passages found in many of Massinger's plays, of whom it has been well said that no author repeats himself oftener or with less ceremony. Now we know that Massinger has all these characteristics. The last point, the passages in *T. N. K.* repeated in later Massinger plays, is not to be explained but on the supposition that Massinger is Fletcher's assistant in *T. N. K.* Even if we could imagine Shakspeare to have borrowed to such an extent

from another author, he had almost ceased writing for the stage ere Massinger commenced. Massinger's love to Shakspeare and imitation, not only of his style, but even of his expressions and situations, explain completely and satisfactorily the Shakspeare look of parts of our drama. But it is simply the *look*. The resemblance is only in the outer form. The power which gives the empty words form and being is utterly wanting, and we have a descriptive poem instead of a drama. I do not care to waste space on an examination of the assertions and arguments of Spalding, Hickson, Swinburne, &c., which are grounded mainly on single happy epithets and phrases, irrespective of the general character of the drama and its personages. I rest my case on the play itself, and now go on to consider the development of character as seen in the *T. N. K.* I have already said that Massinger's characters all run on certain lines. He has but few types, but in his own walk he is undoubtedly only inferior to Shakspeare. Of his highest type of character we have a good example in Pisander, in the *Bondman*. With such figures he often rises to a beauty and serenity of thought that, aided by the exquisite music of his versification, produces an effect little short of solemnity. Pisander, speaking of slavery, says—

“ *The noble horse,
That, in his fiery youth, from his wide nostrils
Neigh'd courage to his rider, and brake through
Groves of opposed pikes, bearing his lord
Safe to triumphant victory ; old or wounded,
Was set at liberty, and freed from service.
The Athenian mules, that from the quarry drew
Marble, hew'd for the temples of the gods,
The great work ended, were dismissed and fed
At the public cost ; nay, faithful dogs have found
Their sepulchres ; but man, to man more cruel,
Appoints no end to the sufferings of his slave.* ”

The perfection of art in these magnificent lines is what we are accustomed to regard and call Shakspearean. To the stormy impetuosity of the opening movement, giving all the excitement and hurry of the onset, succeeds a hush which almost awes by the contrast. The pictures spring up before our eyes and carry us away with them with irresistible power. If these lines had stood in the

T. N. K. they would have been hailed as proof positive of the hand of Shakspere. To any ear at all conversant with Massinger's ring, they are characteristic of him, but hardly more so than Arcite's invocation to Mars in our play.

But Massinger often breaks down, as he has done in the *T. N. K.*, in his delineation of his highest types. One of his most remarkable failures, showing a strange mixture of power and short-coming, is his figure of Hortensio in the *Bashful Lover*. He is far more successful with his despots and his jealous characters. These abandon themselves entirely to their feelings in a way which the poet designates as impotence. He shows us unsparingly the weaknesses which are inseparable from violence of character, and dwells especially on the uneasiness and trouble preceding the formation of a disagreeable resolution. These characters are being continually prayed to by their surroundings, till their violence changes to a yieldingness almost comic in its feebleness. Theseus is a type of the despotic class, and expresses himself exactly like one of Massinger's despots. Compare him with Lorenzo in the *Bashful Lover*, and Cosime in the *Great Duke of Florence*. The kneeling scene in the latter play closely resembles that in the *T. N. K.*

If Massinger had written the whole play, Palamon would probably have belonged to his highest type. This height, however, he only reaches in the scene in Thebes, in his conversation with his cousin. Had Palamon been sustained at this height, our play might have taken rank with some of the best of those which had Massinger as sole author. But, from the above mentioned scene on, there is a positive falling off in Palamon, and, in his invocation to Venus, he shows a mixture of beautiful, appropriate language, with passages in execrably bad taste. This mixture of beauty and bad taste is almost equally remarkable in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, III. i., where Allworth describes his mistress.

Of Arcite in the present play, we can only say that he only once rises above the level of Palamon at his worst. All three figures are just of the kind we meet with in many Massinger plays.

This is still plainer in the case of the female figures. All three (to leave the three Queens out of the question) have the special sensual

type that characterizes Massinger's women. Hippolyta has a certain resemblance to Eudocia in the *Emperor of the East*, and Emilia belongs to the same class, with Theocrine in the *Unnatural Combat*, and Leonora in *A Very Woman*, and to those other young women who express their longing for marriage joys in so unreserved a manner. No attempt to rescue Emilia, by saying that she loved neither of the cousins, will succeed. Of course she did not. A woman who, in the moment of the combat, could only think of one of her lovers being wounded "to the spoiling of his figure," could have no idea what love was. But the poet meant to represent her as in love with both cousins. This is plain from the *Lovers' Progress*, the companion piece to our play. The parts of this play by Massinger are, I. i. and I. ii. (first 109 lines), II. ii., III. iv., III. vi. (last 28 lines), IV. i., ii., iii., iv., V. i., ii., iii. The metrical investigation gave for this part 44 per cent. double endings, 40 run-on lines, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. light and weak endings. The rest of the play exhibits 60 per cent. double endings, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. run-on lines, and not even 1 per cent. light and weak endings. This result of the metrical tests is confirmed by the number of repetitions of Massinger expressions we find in the part attributed to him, and also by the characters of Calista and Olinda. The former, the wife of Cleander, regrets that she should be prevented by her unfortunate lot as a human being from enjoying the freedom of animal life. This unfortunate lot prevents her from treating her lover Lisander as freely as her husband, and forces her to repel him harshly. Olinda is in love with two at a time.

" I thus look

With equal eyes on both ; either deserves
A fairer fortune than they can in reason
Hope for from me : From Lidian I expect,
When I have made him mine, all pleasures that
The sweetness of his manners, youth, and virtues
Can give assurance of ; but turning this way
To brave Clarangé, in his face appears
A kind of majesty which should command
Not sue for favour. If the fairest lady
Of France, set off with Nature's best endowments,
Nay, should I add, a princess of the blood,
Did now lay claim to either for a husband,

*So vehement my affection is to both,
My envy at her happiness would kill me."*

Well may Cleander say of this love, it is the strangest he ever heard of!

To my mind the *Lovers' Progress* treats more at large the theme touched on in the *T. N. K.*

From the quotations it will be remarked, that our play and the *Lovers' Progress* end with the same reflection, only more pithily expressed in the latter. In both plays the lovers were inseparable friends, in both they quarrel and fight for their mistress, and in both one of them gives up his claim in favour of the other—Arcite on his death-bed, and Clarangé on becoming a monk. Could more similarity in character, situation, and expression be found in any two dramas which yet retain their individuality?

If the love to two at a time reminds us of the *Lovers' Progress*, the treatment of madness, and especially the figure of the doctor, reminds us still more of *A Very Woman*. Massinger seems to have had a fondness for the medical profession. He uses medical and surgical similes freely. In the *Emperor of the East* a surgeon is introduced so as to convey the idea that Massinger meant to go out of the way to pay a compliment to the profession. In *A Very Woman* this is carried out to an extent unprecedented in any drama of the time. In the *T. N. K.* also the doctor makes a very favourable impression. From the violent character of Massinger's favourite types, he often has to show a state of mind little removed from madness. Sir Giles Overreach, in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, actually becomes mad. But in *A Very Woman* Massinger has given a thorough description of his views on this subject. Almira and Cardenes love each other with a violence which promises a short duration. Cardenes, in the most brutal manner, insults his unsuccessful rival, and is left severely wounded after a short combat. Almira passes from a state of frantic rage to one of light-headedness, in which she pours forth scraps and shreds of classical mythology, in exactly the same way as the Jailor's daughter. Cardenes falls into a state of which Paulo says—

“Melancholy,
And at the height, too near akin to madness
Possesses him ; his senses are distracted,
Not one, but all ; and, if I can collect them
With all the various ways invention
Or industry e’er practised, I shall write it
My master-piece.”

Exactly what our Doctor says of the Jailor’s daughter—

“’Tis not an engrafted madnesse, but a most thicke and profound mellencholly.”

In *A Very Woman*, IV. ii., Paulo mentions the illusions to which Cardenes is subject, and his method of cure—

“His inhumanity to Don Antonio
Hath rent his mind into so many pieces
Of various imaginations, that,
Like the celestial bow, this colour’s now
The object, then another, till all vanish.
He says a man might watch to death, or fast,
Or think his spirit out ; to all which humours
I do apply myself, checking the bad,
And cherishing the good.”

Paulo mentions his appliances, and shows us in the course of the scene how he works. Cardenes falls into a melancholy reflection and wishes for death. Paulo appears in the disguise of a friar, and relates how he has committed a worse crime than Cardenes, and yet by repentance been cleansed. The patient next, from thinking of the foul insult wantonly inflicted on the Prince of Tarent, resolves to kill himself as some satisfaction to his foe’s wounded honour. Paulo, disguised as a soldier, enters with an English slave in the figure of a courtier. The latter gives the rules for conventional courtship, so that Cardenes feels for the first time that it was no real love he felt for Almira. Paulo gives his definition of honour (“who fights with passions and o’ercomes them,” &c.), and he begins to see that his idea of honour is as shadowy as his idea of love.

This is what our Doctor in the play lays down for the cure of the Jailor’s daughter. “It is a falsehood she is in,” says he, “which is with falsehoods to be combated.” Paulo speaks of his possible success in the cure of Cardenes as a masterpiece. Our Doctor

speaks much in the same way of his experiences in such cases, IV. iii. 84 to end.

The three figures, Almira, Cardenes, and the Jailor's Daughter, represent stages in a mental disease which has not reached the height of madness. There is not the slightest idea of a rivalry with Shakspeare in Ophelia or Lear. There is no imitation (I speak only of the Massinger part), but simply a consistent and uniform treatment of one and the same disease in the two plays. They agree so well, alike in what is common to both as in the little touches left out in the one and supplied in the other, that it is difficult not to regard them as complementary sketches by the same hand.

To the defenders of the Shakspeare authorship, I should recommend a comparison between the Theseus of our play and of *Midsummer Night's Dream*. It is true that Shakspeare's character of Julius Cæsar in his play of that name is very different from the isolated hints of his character as "the mightiest Julius," &c., in the other plays; it is also true that the picture of the Trojans and Greeks at the siege of Troy in *Lucrece* varies widely from that in *Troilus and Cressida*. But look at Theseus in *M. N. D.* He has nothing of the despot in him, but simply declares what the law is, and that he cannot alter it. We should look in vain among Massinger's rules for such a simple, matter-of-fact declaration. Then, again, with what firm gentleness he checks Hippolyta's impatience of the rude Athenian mechanics. He is a pattern of a firm, constitutional ruler, such as Elizabeth with all her faults appeared to her people. The Theseus of our play is Chaucer's, quite the opposite of all this. He knows no law but his own will. He is the pattern of a despot such as the Stuarts wished to appear to their people. His Hippolyta commences by kneeling to him, but will end by storming at him. He is on the high way to become a hen-pecked husband, and richly he deserves it! Look at these two so opposite conceptions of the same figure, and, remembering the unity running through all Shakspeare's characters, say, is it possible that Shakspeare should have given two such totally contrary pictures of the same Theseus?

To conclude, Massinger was fond of political and other allusions to contemporary events. These allusions Shakspeare seems to have

left off entirely after the beginning of the century. Our play, Act I. sc. ii., has such a running commentary on contemporary circumstances and events as we find in many Massinger plays. It begins with a tirade against the corruptions of the city, and goes on to speak of the neglected soldier. This last allusion in Massinger's mouth has a particular meaning. There was probably some effort being made about the time when our play was written to induce James to embark in a war—perhaps in favour of his son-in-law. Leaving this subject, Palamon approaches one scarcely less frequently treated by Massinger—the extravagances of fashion. A mincing gait, affectation in speech, display in dress are ridiculed; and finally comes what looks like a much more particular and personal allusion than any of the above—the wearing of the beard in the same style as the favourite's. After all this, the change of fashion in sword-wearing is mentioned, and acquires in this connection increased importance.

Professor Gardiner's paper, in the *Transactions* of the N. S. S., shows to what an extent Massinger made political and other allusions in his plays. The neglect of the soldier and the corruptions of the city are themes he is never tired of glancing at. Prof. Gardiner's paper showed how far Massinger went in these allusions in three of his plays, and opened up a vista showing us the poet in a much clearer light. I have no doubt that if Prof. Gardiner had devoted some time to the investigation of I. ii. of our play, from this point of view, he would soon have been able to give some of these vague allusions a local habitation and a name.

In recommending this solution of the *T. N. K.* question to the attention of Shakspeare scholars in England, I beg to remark that the evidence in an investigation of this kind appears much stronger in its natural connection, as part of a whole. Those who wish to see all that can be said in favour of my views will have to consult the above-mentioned numbers of the *Englische Studien*. The space at my disposal, and the immense accumulation of materials, have prevented me from giving all the quotations at full in the text. I believe, however, that I have advanced enough to induce all who have any interest in the question to look up the parallel passages cited, and compare them with the language of the play. They will

not regret the labour, if they come to the conclusion that the Massinger authorship would settle the question. It is painful to a sincere admirer of Shakspeare to have to invent all sorts of apologies for what, if genuine, must be one of his latest works. But what ground have we for a view, lately advanced, in which we have a post-Tempest period with a marked falling off? The discovery of Fletcher's co-authorship, accounting for the weaknesses in *Henry VIII.*, Mr. Bullen's and my own work at Day and Wilkens, finally clearing up all remaining doubts as to the Wilkens' authorship of *Pericles*, I., II., and the adjudication of the co-authorship in *T. N. K.* to Massinger, would give us a full view of Shakspeare, from the close of the great tragedies, on the pinnacle on which we see him in the *Tempest*, shining to the last in a steady, mild, unchanging glory. Surely it is better to accept this view, and to sweep away the mists which have prevented us from seeing him at his full evening splendour, than to ascribe the specks in our own dim eyes to the glorious sun on which we are gazing.

S C R A P S.

A sea of troubles : Hamlet, III. i.

"Wherein the Ocean seas of troubles flow."

Th. Rogers, *Celestiall Elegies*. 1598. Quat. 12.

This work is photographed in *The Lamport Garland*, Roxburghe Club, 1881, and the passage is pointed out in Mr C. Edmond's editorial "Introduction." It fixes the folio reading as against conjectural change, and tends to show—as does "This great sea of joys," *Pericles*, V. i.—that this or similar phrases were then current. The historic story on which this *Hamlet* passage seems to have been founded—that of the Kelts actually arming, and fighting the on-coming sea—tends also to confirm the reading, if it does not of itself prove it.—B. N.

I write man, claim a title to, call myself, man : *All's Well*, II. iii. 208 ; 2 *Hen. IV.* I. ii. 30. "My Mistresse [Guzman's mistress] vvas much ashamed of this foule accident, and I more : for albeit I did **write man**, yet I was but a young Lad to speake of [*y yo mas, que aunque varon, era muchacho*], and a meere child in the knowledge of these things," &c.—Mabbe's trans. of *Guzman de Alfarache*, 1623, Pt. I. p. 146.—W. G. STONE.

his tongue filed: *L. L. L. V. 1*, &c. Such phrasing was then not unfrequent—

But they theyr tonges **fyle**

And make a plesaunt style.

Skelton. *Colyn Cloute*, Dyce's reprint,
vol. i. p. 344.

And well could **file his tongue** as smooth as glas

Spenser's *F. Queene*, B. 1, c. 1, st. 35.

His **filed** phrase discerns . .

R. Portington, before Greene's *Mamillia*, 1583,
as above, p. 12.

She is a woman: therefore to be wonne: 1. *Henry VI. V. iii.* See *New Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1874, pp. 126, 127. Cp. with *Tit. And.*, II. i. 83, 1 *Hen. VI.*, V. iii. 79 (80 misplaced), and *Rich. III.*, I. ii. 229, this passage. "He [Cupid] therefore began to incourage his champion [Rodento] with thefe plaufible coniectures: that although there had beene a perpetual diffention betweene their two houfes, yet there might grow as great friendfhip in their heartes, that the enmitie of the parentes could not hinder the amitie of the children, that *Pafylla* was a woman, and therefore to be wonne:" &c.—Robert Greene's *Planetomachia*, 1585 (Huth Library, vol. v. p. 56).—W. G. STONE.

Court holy water, a. flattering: the sb. is in *Lear*, III. ii. 10, meaning 'flattery.' "But with vs, our Parasites, our Panders, our Fauourets, our Fidelers, our Fooles, our instruments of ambition, our ministers of our wanton pleasures, shall be rewarded, but wee neuer cherish wisedome, till wee haue cause to vse her counsell, and then (perhaps) shee may bee rewarded with some **Court holy water wordes**, and which wee will bestowe, but for our owne aduantage, & when our turne is serued, our kindnes is estranged." 1614. Barnabee Rych. *The Honestie of this Age*, p. 37.—F. *Eau beniste de Cour*—Court holy-water; Complements, faire words, flattering speeches, glosing, soothing, palpable cogging. Cotgrave.—B. N.

fig, v. t. poison: *Hen. V. III. vi. 62.* (See Steevens's note in the *Variorum Sh.*, 1821, xvii. 364, 365.) "Let Master Blackwell answer for himself, *etatem habet*, perhaps it is better for them to stay in prison, then to be dismissed, least they should be made away by Jesuites, as the Bishop of Cassano, Cardinal Allen, Tollet, yea, Pope Sixtus Quintus himself, all **figged** in a trice, for crossing, or at least for not serving, the Jesuites' humours." 1609. William Barlow. *Answer to a Nameless Catholic's Censure*, &c.—W. G. S.

wagging of a straw. *Rich. III. III. v. Angry at the wagging of a straw*. *Nè move festucam. A lasso rixu quæritur.* 1639.—Jn. Clarke. *Paræmiologia Anglo-latina*, p. 34.—F.

XIX.

"O POOR OPHELIA!"

HAMLET, ACT IV, SCENE II. ACTING EDITION.

BY MISS GRACE LATHAM.

(Read at the 94th Meeting of the Society, Friday, February 8, 1884.)

IN studying our dramatic authors we at once see one capital difference between Shakspeare's and their work. Most of them create either types of a class, or else shadows, born when the curtain rises, to die at its fall, while their lesser characters seem like puppets, put away in a box till they are again wanted, so strong a likeness do the valets and waiting-maids of a group of dramatic writers bear to each other. Only Shakspeare so individualizes his characters that we feel assured that they once really existed, and lived the whole of those lives, part of which is shown to us on the stage. His people have so great an individuality that we can only compare them to those fine Dutch portraits, in which the artist has so fixed one passing moment of the life of a man, that we realize his character, temperament, nay, the very strength and weakness of his moral nature, as we, with our lesser perceptive faculties, might never have done had we known him in his lifetime.

Now this it is which makes the representation of Shakspeare's characters at once so easy and so difficult. It is comparatively easy, because, while in other plays the actor must himself add all those little touches which make the individual human being, in Shakspeare all is done for him; it is most difficult, because his indications of character are so many, that he must indeed be an earnest and thoughtful student of the human soul who can rightly comprehend and use them.

To form at all a fair conception of a Shaksperian character, we must first study it in connection with its fellow *dramatis personæ*, and, making due allowance for the circumstances, prejudices, and temperaments of each of these, note the influence they have, and the impression they make on each other. Then, turning to the character itself, we must sink as far as possible our own individuality in it, make its joys and sorrows our own, see with its eyes, and (to use a French theatrical expression) so get into its skin, that we can see from within all the various impulses which govern it; and then, by comparing our two studies, we shall have some idea of the creature with whom we have to deal.

Ophelia, who is the subject of this paper, it is certainly necessary to study in this fashion, for she may be compared to a delicate pastel drawing in which much is indicated, though little is fully worked out. She is, perhaps, one of the least interesting of Shakspeare's women, and is drawn, as are indeed most of his female characters, from his keen observation of the effect of certain events and surroundings on his subject, rather than from an absolute knowledge of it; and she therefore lacks the wonderful dissection of the innermost workings of the soul, which we find in so many of his male characters.

Dramatically considered, her part is short and simple, and is one of those in which the sympathy of the audience is gained by means of the circumstances in which the poet has placed her, and by her pathetic fate, rather than by any interest that she herself excites in us through her actions or character. And it is the sad end to her affection for Hamlet, the death of her father, and her consequent madness, that will always make Ophelia one of the most interesting and touching of Shakspeare's *parts* for women, notwithstanding the uninteresting nature of the girl herself.

Her age is nowhere stated, but she has all the timidity and indecision of manner of a very young girl; and Laertes, who would know how old she was, and certainly would not flatter her, says of and to her:

"The canker galls the infants of the spring,
Too oft before their buttons be disclosed;

And in the morn and liquid dew of youth
Contagious blastments are most imminent."

Act I. sc. iii.

Her mother must have been a woman of infinite purity and goodness, for Laertes in his one reference to her speaks only of this; but she was probably long dead, for nowhere else is she alluded to, unless indeed she were the person for whom Polonius suffered much extremity in his youth; and Laertes, who was apparently the elder child, may have remembered her more clearly than did her daughter.

The person, therefore, who did most to form Ophelia's character was her father, the crafty Polonius. Educated at the University, and now drawing to the close of a long life passed at Court, his mind is full of the subtleties peculiar to the politics and learning of Elizabeth's century. Though he lacks the wisdom and breadth of mind which make the society of some men an education in itself, he is full of the meaner kinds of worldly astuteness and experience, which pull a man pleasantly and successfully through life. He was probably of noble birth, for the Queen contemplates Hamlet's marriage to Ophelia with a satisfaction which she would hardly have felt had Polonius's immediate ancestors been either peasants or burghers. He had long been the favoured adviser of the Crown, for he speaks to King and Queen with the garrulous familiarity of an old and tried servant, and alluding to his long service, says:

"And I do think, for else this brain of mine
Hunts not the train of policy so sure
As it hath used to do!"

and

"Hath there been such a time, (I'd fain know that,) *'T is so*
That I have positively said, *'T is so*
When it prov'd otherwise?"—Act II. sc. ii.

Moreover, he has been instrumental in raising Claudius to the throne, or at least is sufficiently powerful to hurl him thence, and is on that account in high favour at Court; for notice the tone of the usurper's speech to Laertes. It is fulsome in its graciousness:

"And now, Laertes, what's the news with you?
You told us of some suit? What is't, Laertes?
You cannot speak of reason to the Dane,
And lose your voice: What would'st thou beg, Laertes,

That shall not be my offer, not thy asking?
 The head is not more native to the heart,
 The hand more instrumental to the mouth,
 Than is the throne of Denmark to thy father."—Act I. sc. ii.

This may possibly account for Hamlet's rooted dislike to the old man; and to Polonius's worldly commonplace nature the intellectual, metaphysical Prince would be quite incomprehensible, while the unpractical, desultory side of his character the old statesman would at once see and condemn; and may, with some reason, have thought that a firmer, steadier hand was needed to hold the reins of power in Denmark.

It has been suggested that Ophelia was put out to nurse, and passed her childhood in a farm-house; but not only is there no line in *Hamlet* to warrant our adoption of such a theory, but the girl herself lacks the healthy practical tone of mind, the self-reliance in little things, which a rough open-air rearing would have given her. It is more probable that she grew up under Polonius's own eye, and that with the same want of perception of character which distinguishes him in his dealings with Hamlet, while he pushed forward his independent son, he kept his gentle, timid daughter under stern control at home. We must certainly remember that in Shakspeare's day children were kept in far greater subjection to their parents than now; Lady Jane Grey suffered "nips and bobs and pinches" at the hands of hers; and we find Portia, a woman of very different mould to poor Ophelia, strictly carrying out her father's will in the matter of the caskets. Still in Ophelia's silence in her father's presence, in her short unwilling answers to his questions, we may learn that his rule was one of no ordinary repression or severity. When he speaks to her about the Prince, his tone is harsh, untender, and does not invite her confidence, and even in speaking of her to the King and Queen there is something hard and unloving in his words;

"I have a daughter; have, while she is mine;
 Who in her duty and obedience, mark,
 Hath given me this."—Act II. sc. ii.

As he set spies upon his son, he probably did so upon his daughter also, and he may have been alluding to them when he mentions those who "Put on him" the story of Hamlet's love in way of

caution. Ophelia would thus grow up with the knowledge that she was not trusted, and the sense that she was being watched. The precepts and rules of conduct given to her would be of the same nature as those given to Laertes; and, as if we were intended to infer this, both Polonius's parting advice to his son, and his interview with Reynaldo, are pointedly brought into connection with scenes of Ophelia's; especially the former, where his chief theme is the urgent necessity of caution in going through life, in action, speech, expenditure, and intercourse with other men; and we may remark that such teaching was far more likely to be acted on by Ophelia, whose moral courage was not great, and whose bringing up had been repressive, than by the stronger, rougher nature of Laertes. For while such a rearing would have roused an energetic courageous girl to a more or less decided opposition, it would cause a nervous, timid one, like Ophelia, to become most reserved, to live as much as possible alone, and, while outwardly most obedient and submissive, carefully to conceal all the hopes and fears, thoughts and feelings that made up her girl's life. It is a significant fact that Hamlet does not find her with her father, as Othello did Desdemona, or with a dear friend, as Orlando did Rosalind, but solitary, sewing in her chamber, and Polonius does not seem in the least surprised that it should have been so. The society in which she moved was of a stamp which would increase her disposition to caution and reserve. We are expressly given to understand that the times were evil, unscrupulous, dissolute, rotten. The Court itself, from which the friends of the powerful family of Polonius must have been drawn, was composed of unprincipled, artificial, licentious men and women; during the whole course of the tragedy we do not meet with one Dane who has any nobility of character, excepting Horatio, who can hardly be called a courtier, and poor Hamlet himself. Such were the people whom Ophelia met at her father's house during her childhood, and at the Court, whither she was taken as soon as she grew up; we must infer that she held no place in it, though she belonged to it sufficiently for Hamlet to have become intimate with her, and to visit her at her father's house, as both Scene iii. Act I. and Scene i. Act II. take place there.

Now, in young girls who have mixed all their lives in a society of mere acquaintances, we notice a remarkable difference from those whose lives have been passed in their families and among familiar friends. There is a reserve, a distrust in those they meet, a pleasantness without friendliness, which the others do not attain, if indeed they ever do so, until they are advanced in life. They have gained an experience, while too young to profit by it, which checks any spontaneity either in their conversation with others, or in their own feelings. When to this is added the conventionalities and refinements of high breeding, the gracious courtesy, which, while making all things pleasant, is often a mask, concealing the real nature of the possessor, and so much a part of herself that she is rarely able to drop it, then we have the great lady. Love steals upon the young daughter of a quiet literary or country home, occupied with her girlish lessons, her work, and her play, and before she is aware her heart is gone; and she will tell you, if you can make her speak to you on such a subject: "I could not help loving him." But a girl, who from her childhood has lived in the world, who has had scandals discussed in her presence while she still played with her doll, has seen all its petty artifices when too young to take part in them, will have nothing unconscious in her love; and although her nature may be pure and beautiful, she will so dread deception and the pain of unrequited affection, which she knows from hearsay and observation, that she will not give way to the impulses of her heart. Such a girl is Ophelia, and to do her justice we must keep these facts constantly before our minds.

Laertes is just what we should have expected the son and pupil of Polonius to be. Brave, ready in speech and action, practical in the ordinary affairs of life, full of showy accomplishments and virtues, early worldly-wise, and unscrupulous when it suits his purpose to be so, but with a tender, loyal affection of which there is no trace in the old courtier, and to which his fair sister alone has the key. We first see Ophelia—and all Shaksperian students know well how important to the right understanding of a character the first allusions to it and its first appearance are—taking leave of this dear brother on his going to France. He begs her to write to him, and she replies.

as though such correspondence, a more weighty matter than now, were a thing of course during his absences. Then their talk branches off to the Lord Hamlet, who is pursuing Ophelia with his affection, and has evidently found means to see her at home and alone. Laertes plunges at once into the subject without preamble—"Of Hamlet and the trifling of his favour." This is not the first time brother and sister have discussed it, and it reads as though she had asked Laertes what he thought were the Lord Hamlet's intentions, and that this were the answer, for he goes on :

"Hold it a fashion, and a toy in blood ;
A violet in the youth of primy nature,
Forward, not permanent, sweet, not lasting,
The perfume and suppliance of a minute ;
No more."

To which she replies, thoughtfully, as if weighing what he had said : "No more but so."

It is observable that the Second Quarto and Folio do not give the sign of interrogation after this speech, which is in our acting editions, and Laertes answers her thoughts : "*Think* it no more ;" and continues with some very sensible, but very tenderly-expressed counsel : "He is too far above you to become your husband, and must make a political marriage ;" and he begs her most earnestly to commit no imprudence, but carefully to guard her heart. Evidently he had no idea that it had already gone out of Ophelia's keeping ; and we see that, like many reserved natures, her confidence, if given, was not entire. But even he warns her most strongly to beware of the fatal consequences of listening to the Prince's songs "with a too credent ear," lest she should lose her honour. It is very lovingly and delicately put, but we see that, notwithstanding Ophelia's youth, Laertes did not consider her as an unknowing, innocent child, but as the Court lady, exposed to the dangers of calumny and seduction. Neither is her answer that of an unconscious girl ; she is neither shocked nor angered, so that these ideas were no new ones to her, but she listens silently and attentively, and answers frankly and gratefully : "I shall the effect of this good lesson keep as watchman to my heart ;" and then goes on to appeal very affectionately to her

beloved Mentor to keep straight himself. But taking advice is far less amusing than giving it. Laertes puts aside the half-hinted rebuke, and would escape, but Polonius traps him, and he must listen to the worldly advice to which we have already alluded; his sister stands quietly by, hearing all and saying nothing, as is her habit; and then after his farewell to their father, still dreading the outcome of Hamlet's courtship, he turns to her with a final warning, "Farewell, Ophelia, and remember well what I have said to you;" and she assures him earnestly, "'T is in my memory locked, and you yourself shall keep the key of it." This is apparently meant to be spoken in an aside, but Polonius demands an explanation. She answers unwillingly, timidly, and as vaguely as possible: "So please you, something touching the Lord Hamlet." Unlike his son, Polonius does not deal either delicately or gently with his daughter; there is no wrapping up of unpleasant truths in pretty images; he too sees clearly the impossibility of a marriage with the heir to the throne; the warnings he has received have irritated him, and he goes straight to the point.

"'Tis told me, he hath very oft of late
 Given private time to you: and you yourself
 Have of your audience been most free and bounteous;
 If it be so, (as so 't is put on me,
 And that in way of caution,) I must tell you,
 You do not understand yourself so clearly,
 As it behoves my daughter, and your honour:
 What is between you? give me up the truth."

Ophelia's answers are remarkable in their hesitation and uncertainty.

"He hath, my lord, of late, made many tenders
 Of his affection towards me."

Notice that there is a little pause made after "tenders" by the unstopt end of the line, a kind of dwelling on the word by the extra syllable "ers", as though she did not quite know how to frame her sentence; and in her answer to his question,

"Do you believe his tenders, as you call them?"

she is only speaking as she feels, in saying,

"I do not know, my lord, what I should think."

Let us also remark the effect of uncertainty and doubt given by the position of the words, "my lord," in the middle of the sentences, with their necessary commas. She is terribly afraid of old Polonius. She calls him "my lord" in every one of her speeches, except the first, and that she begins with "so please you;" but she is really puzzled, and doubtful what to believe. Unlike the passionate Juliet, who gives her heart at once without a thought, Ophelia would not lose hers until she knew she would receive Hamlet's in exchange; and she is too uncertain of this to say more than that the Prince has made "tenders" of his affection towards her, and what these really mean she does not know. Juliet has only *heard* of lovers' perjuries; Ophelia is of the world, and has seen enough of them to make her very cautious. She would gladly receive help and advice, but evidently does not expect it from old Polonius. He is too wrapt up in his own conceits to perceive anything, but that his daughter has nearly compromised herself, and the need of giving her such a rebuke as will prevent the recurrence of the danger. He heaps scoffs and insults on his child for having entertained the faintest idea that Hamlet may be in earnest. Then, in defence of her woman's honour, the timid girl fires up, and we learn that the Prince's courtship had indeed gone far:

"My lord, he hath importun'd me with love,
In honourable fashion."

And heedless of her father's scornful interruption, she continues:

"And hath given countenance to his speech, my lord, with
almost all the holy vows of heaven."

Notice how the "my lords" no longer break the sentences, but act like interjections, giving them weight. However, Polonius, in a graver, more earnest manner than before, firmly puts aside all idea of Hamlet's truth, forbidding her to see or speak to him; and she replies sadly, "I shall obey, my lord." For though this decree crushes all her hopes, she has been broken into the habit of implicit obedience too long, and relies too entirely on her father's judgment, to dream of disobeying him.

And the old courtier is in the right, and only acts with common sense. Neither he nor Laertes believed in Hamlet's stability of

disposition; it was not likely that they should have done so, for the active nature is always at war with the contemplative, though Laertes has evidently known of Hamlet's honourable importunities, for he says:

"Perhaps, he loves you now;
And now no soil nor cautel, doth besmirch
The virtue of his will."

But he has no expectation that he will "give his saying deed," and Polonius, with his long experience in evil, thought, as he says in another scene,

"I feared he did but trifle, and meant to wreck thee."

Act II. sc. i.

And in putting a stop to all communication between him and Ophelia, he acts very much as we ourselves should do in similar circumstances. Certainly Polonius's words are harsh and coarse in the extreme; but while Laertes patronizes Ophelia, Polonius has a certain contempt for her very purity and innocence of soul, which to him only constitutes a danger the more. It will, perhaps, assist us to comprehend Ophelia's character, if we compare her with two other of Shakspeare's women, who have been considered so like her, that Mrs Jameson, in her *Characteristics of Women*, has grouped them together; we mean Perdita and Miranda. The first of these is indeed so like her, in what we may call the foundation of her character, that under other circumstances she might have almost become another Ophelia; but she differs from her just as a plant grown in the fresh, pure country air, under all the wholesome, beautiful influences of earth and sky, differs from another plant of the same species, struggling for a stunted, miserable existence in the poisonous atmosphere of a cellar in a great city. Though a king's daughter, she has been brought up from her earliest infancy by rich farmer folk, the kind old shepherd and his bustling wife. She has wanted for nothing, but she has taken part in the rough out-of-door life; milked her ewes, and under the superintendence of the dame has helped to manage the house, whose head she was one day to be. Her full and busy life has brought her into contact with rough spirits, as the shepherd himself, and her boorish brother, the clown;

and this, and the rule she has had to maintain over the men and maids of the place, has fostered in her an independent judgment, a spirit of self-sustainment in the execution of her daily duties, that would otherwise have been foreign to her nature. In mind, and, to judge from her frank and occasionally brusque manner, in body also, she is hardier and healthier than Ophelia. It is noteworthy that when we first hear of her, the clown, who is reading over her list of groceries, does not quite approve of her ordering rice; but he never dreams of interfering in her special province—the housekeeping.

Whatever she undertakes, she does with a capability, a grace, and a perfection all her own. Florizel says of her:

"What you do
Still betters what is done. When you speak, sweet,
I'd have you do it ever; when you sing,
I'd have you buy and sell so; so give alms;
Pray so; and, for the ordering your affairs,
To sing them too. When you do dance, I wish you
A wave o' the sea, that you might ever do
Nothing but that; move still, still so,
And own no other function: each your doing,
So singular in each particular,
Crowns what you are doing in the present deeds,
And all your acts are queens."—*W. T.*, Act IV. sc. iii.

Nor does her lover only pass this judgment on her, the old shepherd also gives her the same praise. In all her acts there is a spontaneity, a perfection, and a fearlessness, combined with rustic freedom, such as we only find in girls when there has been nothing in their lives to cow them, and when they have the perfect unconsciousness given by a retired, unworldly bringing-up. It is indeed to her bringing-up that she owes the chief difference between herself and Ophelia. Her rougher, freer life, the semi-responsible position she has held at the farm, has brought out her good qualities, and has nourished her small power of independent action, while in Ophelia everything has tended to repress it. In all the capital points in her character Perdita is identical with Ophelia; she is as refined, as gentle, and almost as silent, with a marked inability for taking the initiative in anything outside her own sphere.

Like Ophelia she loves above her station; and, like her, of a

timid nature, she is inclined to foresee troubles; she needs no father to tell her how unequal the match between herself and Prince Florizel must be, and when we first meet them, she speaks of it with direct common sense, but how differently to the hard, worldly wisdom of poor Ophelia; though she dreads separation from Florizel, she never doubts his love.

"To me, the difference forges dread; your greatness
Hath not been used to fear. Even now I tremble
To think, your father, by some accident,
Should pass this way as you did: O, the fates!
How would he look, to see his work, so noble,
Vilely bound up? What would he say? Or how
Should I, in these my borrowed flaunts, behold
The sternness of his presence?"

"Your resolution cannot hold, when 't is
Oppos'd, as it must be by the power of the king;
One of these two must be necessities,
Which then will speak; that you must change this purpose,
Or I my life."—*W. T.*, Act IV. sc. iii.

So fearful and depressed is she, that her lover is obliged to encourage and comfort her repeatedly, and her sad thoughts are only banished by the arrival of her guests. Full of a native timidity, which however has had only her modesty to encourage it, she shrinks into the background, and her father has to command, and her lover to cheer her, before she will come forward to receive her guests, as her little apology to Polixenes tells us, for the first time in her life. But how exquisite is her greeting to the two strangers, whom, in her youth, she looks on as old men.

"Reverend Sirs,
For you there's rosemary and rue: these keep
Seeming and savour all the winter long;
Grace and remembrance be to you both,
And welcome to our shearing."

Not all Ophelia's Court training has taught her such simple dignity, but Perdita, though timid by nature, has never been cowed. She is full of poetic feeling, and, inspired by the presence of her lover, her flower speeches are among the most lovely and musical that Shakspeare ever wrote. Then she suddenly remembers how

much more than usual she has spoken, apologizes, covered with confusion, and says little else to the end of the scene. For when there is nothing to excite her, Perdita is, as we have said, as silent as Ophelia, though at the same time she has sweet and sensible words in which to clothe her thoughts, with nothing of that dodging and habit of hiding her mind and heart which we find in the Danish girl, produced by the severity and strong repressive tendency of her rearing. After Florizel's public profession of his love for her on their betrothal, the shepherd has to ask her :

"Say you the like to him,"

before she will speak at all; but her answer, though of a rustic plainness, can vie with her lover's courtly periods.

"I cannot speak

So well, nothing so well; no, nor mean better:
By the pattern of my own thought, I cut out
The purity of his."—Act IV. sc. iii.

Ophelia's first scene apparently took place on the same day as that on which Laertes received permission to return to France, and while Hamlet was waiting for the hour at which he was to meet his friends on the platform, and await the Ghost. About two months are supposed to elapse between the 1st and 2nd Acts, during which time Ophelia dutifully obeyed her father's command, shut her doors against the Prince, and refused his letters, while he fell into a state that caused the conscious-stricken King and Queen much uneasiness. Polonius is sending a trusty servant with letters and money to his son, and has given him those elaborate instructions how to play the spy on him, which show with such distinctness the moral blindness of his respectable character, when Ophelia rushes into his presence in such evident terror, that dropping all his ordinary circumlocution he cries, "How now, Ophelia, what's the matter?" and when she gasps out in the extremity of fear, "Alas, my lord, I have been so affrighted," he, frightened too, replies, "With what, in the name of God?" No common emotion on her part could so have shaken Polonius out of his long-winded, usual style of speech. Here we see Ophelia for the only time in her sane senses free from the constraint of her

circumstances and upbringing. Speaking in little short sentences, as though still gasping for breath, she tells how, when sitting alone over her sewing, the Prince, whose madness was already the talk of the Court, comes before her; pale, trembling, dirty, dishevelled, his dress in the utmost disorder.

"And with a look so piteous in purport,
As if he had been loosed out of hell,
To speak of horrors,—"

and which went straight to the heart of her who told the tale. To Polonius's question, "Mad for thy love?" she answers with a kind of appeal, and still with a curious implied doubt,

"My lord, I do not know;
But, truly, I do fear it."

Notice the accent falling on the *know*, and the significance of the pause after it, given by the semicolon at the end of the line. Her next speech is from a more collected mind, as the smoothness of the rhythm and the length of the lines show; but as her terror passes off, she feels more, and describes what took place at greater length.

"He took me by the wrist, and held me hard;
Then goes he to the length of all his arm;
And, with his other hand thus, o'er his brow,
He falls to such perusal of my face,
As he would draw it. Long stay'd he so:
At last,—a little shaking of mine arm,
And thrice his head thus waving up and down,—
He raised a sigh so piteous and profound,
That it did seem to shatter all his bulk,
And end his being. That done, he lets me go:
And with his head over his shoulder turn'd,
He seemed to find his way without his eyes;
For out o' doors he went without their help,
And, to the last, bended their light on me."

Simple as her words are they move us profoundly, and the spectacle of his unhappiness seems to have touched her very soul; even Polonius feels it.

"I am sorry,—
What, have you given him any hard words of late?"

But the long speech with which he prefaces his question, in his ordinary commentary style, brings her back to every-day

life, and gives her time to cool down. Her terror over, and her heart relieved by the unusual outpouring, she drops at once into her accustomed state of reserve. She would like to say how impossible it is to her ever to be harsh or unkind to her hero, but the words will not come, and the feeling only finds expression in the exclamation, "No, my good lord!" and she continues half as though she were confessing and excusing a fault for which she expected a scolding, and half as though she deplored the pain she had caused.

"But, as you did command,
I did repel his letters, and denied
His access to me."

Notice how the accent falls on the "did" in the second line of the speech, and the pause made by the end of the line on and after "denied." Then old Polonius, delighted to find, as he thinks, that the affection of the Prince is real, and that his madness may after all so work on the King and Queen as to give him a Royal son-in-law, prepares to go with his daughter to take the news to the King. For, as he says with characteristic caution:

"This must be known; which, being kept close, might move
More grief to hide, than hate to utter love."

Various commentators have found great fault with Ophelia for her conduct during the interview with Hamlet of which she tells her father, holding that as she certainly gives us the impression that there was something that he desired to say to her, she also must have known it, and should have encouraged and helped him to tell her his troubles. This does not follow, especially in so unperceptive a girl as Ophelia. But even if it were so, the sad thing is that she is not to blame, as Professor Dowden has said. It would have been most unnatural that a girl, whose bringing-up had repressed all spontaneity of speech and action, whose moral courage, never very great, had been crushed out of her, should have done anything but fail at such a crisis, and it is probably to remind us of her upbringing that the scene opens with Polonius's interview with Reynaldo.

Then, again, Ophelia lacks the passion which might have lifted her for the moment beyond her fears; and we feel the want of it in all her scenes; throughout the play she is pure, sweet, and highbred,

but somewhat cold. This scene, for instance, leaves us with the impression that her feeling for Hamlet was tender and pitiful; a very real affection, but not deep enough to give her the power of self-sacrifice, and without the strength and fire of passion. Thus, fully believing Hamlet to be out of his mind, she stands dumb with terror, and then runs away. The fault must be laid not on herself, but on her character and bringing-up. For in a weak woman who has been thoroughly cowed, a kind of paralysis of the will takes place, and her acts come not from her own volition, but from that of the stronger nature, under whose domination she lives; should its influence be for a moment withdrawn, she knows not what to do, and stands without resource, the sport of circumstances.

Off bustles Polonius to the King and Queen, but instead of taking his daughter with him, he appears to have thought it better first to sound their Majesties on the subject. First, he artfully mentions it before the introduction of the ambassadors; then he recurs to it, and makes a long preamble, watching the effect of his announcements as they drop from him one by one. But the guilt of the Royal pair has led them too surely to the real cause of Hamlet's distemperature, for them to give any indication of their thoughts, and, except for an exclamation and an impatient question from the Queen, Polonius unfolds his tale unchecked. On altering his plan he got from his daughter one of Hamlet's letters, probably written before his interview with the Ghost, as she herself tells us that since that time he had had no communication with her.

It was not given up willingly. Polonius says it was shown him "in obedience," and we can well imagine the cross-questioning to which he would subject her to obtain information as to the "time, means, and place" of her princely lover's "solicitations." The Queen only half-believes that Hamlet is mad for love; "it may be," she says, "very likely"; the King is only too glad to be able to watch Hamlet, when he may let fall some word which may be a clue to his real state of mind; Polonius is confident in the truth of his suppositions, and thus it is arranged that Ophelia is to meet Hamlet, as it were by accident, the King and her father being concealed where they can overhear all that passes. Whether Hamlet had some guess of what

was going on or not, as he has later about his being sent to England, is left doubtful, but he twice alludes to Ophelia, though not by name, in the scene which follows. One would almost suspect him of having overheard the whole plan at the lobby-door, whence he enters immediately after; and what more likely, in his then state of mind, than that he should have haunted the steps of the King, trying to discover whether the Ghost spoke truth or falsehood, and that in the passages referred to he was in his turn sounding Polonius, to find out whether he had heard aright or no?

We may remark that in a later scene he is introduced watching Claudius, who is praying.

And now we come to what we must feel is a blot on Ophelia's character: her conduct with regard to her interview with Hamlet in permitting spies to be placed on them, especially when she knew he wished to speak to her on some subject; putting this together with the fact that she had allowed a letter intended for herself alone to be handed about between the King, Queen, and Polonius, we must come to the conclusion that her love for the Prince, if real, was not great. We can only excuse her by remembering she had no idea of the hatred the King bore to Hamlet, which made the interview a species of trap for the ill-fated Prince; and also, the habit of unquestioning obedience in which she had been trained, which had prevented her from ever realizing that, as we leave childhood behind us, the responsibility of our acts must be our own, not that of the person through whose influence we have done them.

When Polixenes discovers himself, and forbids his son's marriage, Perdita is silent; reserved as Ophelia, her pain only breaks out in the petulant line, "I told you what would come of this," and in the pathetic one, "I'll Queen it no inch farther, but milk my ewes and weep." She has no counsels to offer in a matter so much outside her usual daily life, and would give up all as lost; but—and here we find a remarkable difference between her and Ophelia—when Florizel proposes flight from Bohemia, she asks advice of no one. In fair weather she has received her father's approbation, now she stands bravely by her lover, and is ready, without doubt or fear, to follow him to the world's end. She has retained the power of independent judgment,

which has been frightened out of Ophelia, and chooses her course aright when it is presented to her; but to strike out one for herself in any matter outside her familiar experience seems as impossible to her as to Ophelia, so that we feel that she might under other circumstances have indeed become like her. As it is, full of trusting faith, and with no hard worldliness to warp it, Florizel leads, and she follows without a question. He arranges the elopement on board ship; not quite so wild a plan in the days when men sailed to the other hemisphere in quest of the unknown as it would be now. It is Camillo, not she, who persuades him to adopt some definite plan, and go to Sicily instead; Perdita agrees to everything, and obediently disguises herself, as she is directed, leaving all in the hands of those whom she feels know better than herself. She only interferes to rebuke an assertion, which, to her pure unworldly soul, seems a low and a false one. Camillo, the old courtier, says:

" Besides, you know,
Prosperity's the very bond of love;
Whose fresh complexion and whose heart together
Affection alters.

Perdita. One of these is true:
I think affliction may subdue the cheek,
But not take in the mind."—*W. T.*, Act IV. sc. iii.

It is very characteristic that Perdita never suspects that Camillo might have had plans of his own to forward in sending them to Sicily, but there is nothing suspicious in her nature, and, equally so, that she has no expedient ready when he proves false. When she learns what is her real parentage, she has no words ready, she can only listen and weep; neither has she any when Hermione descends from her pedestal to resume her place in her husband's heart and Court; but we leave her certain of a happiness that poor Ophelia's doubting soul could never have compassed, and certain also that Florizel has a sweet, obedient wife, who will know well how to fill her place at his side, and we hope that fortune may never be so unkind as to require her to hold the reins of government. Both the King and Polonius are somewhat uneasy as to the part they are making Ophelia play; she has no such feelings, and gathers together her little remembrances, that the returning of them may provoke a lover's

quarrel, and a reconciliation that she hopes will end in their marriage.

She replies to the congratulations of the Queen with the smooth courtesy of a Court lady to her Sovereign, betraying nothing of her feelings, but perfectly self-possessed. She meets Hamlet joyfully; she is really glad to see and speak to him once more; the two months of their separation have seemed long to her.

"Good, my lord, how does your honour for this many a day?"

Then she produces her little treasures. His "No, not I, I never gave you aught," she interprets as a refusal on his part to take them back, and seems to have expected, and perhaps desired, some such speech, hailing it as the beginning of their quarrel, for she continues with a fearless calm, shown in the length and evenness of the lines, which we never find when Ophelia is frightened. Hamlet's behaviour in this scene has always been a moot point with commentators and actors: why he treated Ophelia in so rude and violent a fashion; whether he saw the King and Polonius in their hiding-place, and acted in this wild fashion in order to deceive them, and if so when he perceived them; and actors have been accustomed to force the sense, or add business nowhere indicated in the text to indicate at what point this took place. Indeed, so inexplicable is this scene, as far as it regards Hamlet, that our hypothesis above-stated may be the true one; not that it is without difficulty, but it presents somewhat more foundation in the text itself than the others. Pausing at the lobby-door, he may have heard the whole or part of Polonius's audience; the last speech of the old courtier just before his entrance would put him in possession of the whole plot, and of Ophelia's part in it.

"At such a time I'll loose my daughter to him;
Be you and I behind an arras then:
Mark the encounter! if he love her not,
And be not from his reason fallen thereon,
Let me be no assistant for a state,
But keep a farm, and carters."—Act II. sc. ii.

Then if he heard one of his letters read aloud to the King and Queen; to find that Ophelia had told her father of all their interviews, of all his tender solicitings, not even in confidence, but that he

might retail it to Claudius and Gertrude, would, as he knew nothing of the circumstances, place her before him in the light of an unscrupulous, designing woman; her late withdrawal from him in that of an artifice to increase his passion. When he now found her alone with her Prayer Book, he would jump to the conclusion that the plot was being carried out; that the Royal spy and his minister were somewhere within earshot; and that she whom he had hitherto worshipped had, like the Queen, fallen from her high estate by consenting to act as a lure to betray him to his enemies for the furtherance of her own ends. Every word she uttered would confirm him in this belief; what wonder then that he should turn upon her with the fierce, "Ha, ha, are you honest? are you fair? If you be honest and fair, your honesty should admit no discourse to your beauty." Stunned, frightened, bewildered, she knows not what to say or do. At the one ray of hope, "I did love you once," she would still turn and nestle in his breast with the words, "Indeed, my lord, you made me believe so." His cruel, "I loved you not," dashes all her hopes to the ground; and her answer, "I was the more deceived," is rather a cry of pain than a set speech. More and more terrified at what she believes his raving madness; only realizing that the love she had come to think her own, and which she was now beginning freely to return, is hers no longer, her terror entirely gets the better of her presence of mind, and when Hamlet, to verify his suspicions, asks her, "Where is your father?" she can only stammer out the evident falsehood, "At home, my lord." Then with prayers to heaven for his restoration, she bears the insults that to her are quite incomprehensible, though to us clear enough, till at his departure she cries out in pain, forgetful of the hidden listeners:

"O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!
The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword:
The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion, and the mould of form,
The observ'd of all observers! quite, quite down!
And I, of ladies most deject and wretched,
That sucked the honey of his music vows,
Now see that noble and most sovereign reason,
Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh.
That unmatch'd form and feature of blown youth,

Blasted with ecstasy : O, woe is me !
To have seen what I have seen, see what I see !"

This, the one expression of her love, is most touching and beautiful. She is full of grief and pain, but more for him than for herself. She never speaks of disappointment at the downfall of her splendid prospects ; it is the great change in him that wrings her heart. But it is remarkable that nearly all her speech, unselfish as it is, refers to his outward qualities ; to his beauty and grace, to his high position and brilliant future, to his courage and accomplishments, his scholarly talk, and the brilliant impression he has made on others. Not to his lovely moral nature, not to his high intellect. Thus showing that her love was rather the romantic, fanciful affection of a very young girl, who makes a dream-lover for herself out of the outward gifts and graces of the real man. Possibly also, trained as she had been by Polonius, who could only recommend his son to ply his music, she had not yet learned to look for and value the nobler qualities of the people with whom she came in contact. Let us notice also, as a proof of her cold, habitually self-controlled nature, that though really deeply grieved, she can still put her sorrow into fitting words, can already measure it so as to be able to describe it. The passionate nature of Juliet, when she hears of Tybalt's death and Romeo's banishment, after searching heaven and earth for words and metaphors in which to vent her grief, finds them all too weak to express it. Ophelia remains sunk in sorrow, while Polonius and the King confer. The latter, keen-sighted through his fears, sees plainly that Hamlet has something on his mind ; Polonius clings obstinately to the idea that neglected love caused his aberration ; he cannot give up the hope of such an advancement for his family as Hamlet's marriage with Ophelia would cause. Then seeing her apparently wrapt in grief, and unconscious of what is passing around her, he rouses her with the words, "How now, Ophelia? you need not tell us what Lord Hamlet said, we heard it all," and then goes on speaking to Claudius as though she were, to his mind, too young for it to be unwise to talk of private matters before her, or perhaps relying on her well-known habit of extreme reticence. Thus she hears the plan for sending Hamlet to England, and the ominous words with which his

uncle-father concludes the scene, "Madness in great ones must not unwatched go."

With the boding words of the King still echoing in her ears, and before she has had time to recover from the shock which her stormy and terrible interview with Hamlet must have given her timorous nature, Ophelia is summoned to appear with the rest of the Court at the play he has commanded. Quiet and self-controlled as she seems, her very outward composure would make the agitation she had undergone act with all the greater power on her nerves. She has received her first intimation of her beloved's danger, and remembrances of Court gossip, of looks and words unnoticed at the time, but full of meaning now, come thronging to her mind. There is a complete change in her behaviour. Throughout this awful evening she tries feebly and awkwardly, as one unaccustomed to such an office, or indeed to act independently at any time, to screen and guard her poor mad lover, for such she believes he is. Hamlet has insisted on sitting by her, that he may the more easily observe the King and Queen. All the loose conversation he addresses to her she takes as part of his madness, quietly and patiently fencing it off, with the slight words with which a young lady puts aside a disagreeable remark. But when he speaks of his mother's hasty marriage, she at once tries to stop him, though with little tact and no success: "Nay, 'tis twice two months, my lord," for he continues to speak after a fashion most dangerous to himself, till the entrance of the Players, and she, having failed to stop him, will not attract attention to him by replying. Her question when the dumb show is over, "What means this, my lord?" gives him the opportunity to answer, "Marry, this is miching Mallecho, it means mischief," and again she uneasily tries to turn the conversation with "Belike, this show imports the argument of the play." But he goes back to his former talk, girding at what he believes to be her unfaithfulness to him, till he is interrupted by the beginning of the play. Again he breaks out with a hit at Gertrude, saying of the vow of faithfulness of the player Queen, "If she should break it now," which Ophelia lets pass, hoping that it may be unnoticed; but he continues to attack first the King and Queen, then Ophelia herself; she, all

innocent of his method in this madness, watching them all with unspeakable anxiety, powerless to restrain her unhappy lover, till when the player King is poisoned, Hamlet bursts out with the savage—"He poisons him in the garden for his estate. His name's Gonzago; the story is extant, and written in very choice Italian. You shall see anon how the murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife;" and then from the watchful Ophelia's lips comes the cry, "The King rises."

We are led to take this view from two lines, both omitted in our acting edition of *Hamlet*. One is that in which Polonius, after his daughter's interview with Hamlet, turns from the King to her, and rouses her from her depression. Why does he speak thus? Why should Ophelia not make her exit after her soliloquy, as she does now when we act the play? It is, theatrically speaking, a better exit for her than to go off later with her father and the King, doing and saying nothing. But the more we study Shakspeare, the more we become convinced that he never gives or omits one touch to a scene or character without good and sufficient reason. It must, therefore, be that she is intended to hear the King's dark threat, and the plan for sending Hamlet to England, though with characteristic silence she says nothing. Then at the end of the play-scene comes the cry, likewise omitted in our acting edition, "The King rises," forming as it were its climax, and announcing to the audience that the Prince's purpose had been fulfilled, and that by his sudden unguarded movement the usurper has betrayed his guilt. That it should come from the reserved and silent Ophelia means, she had not only seen and watched the discomfort of the Royal pair during the play, but that she had done so with an eagerness, an anxiety, and a tension of her nerves, which, at the spectacle of the sudden rage of her lover's deadly enemy, forced from her the cry we allude to. Ophelia in her usual state of mind, if she had seen all, would still have said nothing, and we account for it by her knowledge of Hamlet's danger, and the consequent change in her bearing throughout the foregoing scene.

We now turn to consider for a few moments the character of Miranda: the surface qualities of her nature are indeed identical with many that Ophelia possesses; she is modest, sweet, gentle in

mind and manner, obedient, full of reverent love for her great father ; but there the resemblance ends, and the more deeply do we study the character of Miranda, the wider is the difference that we perceive between her and the hapless love of the Danish Prince. Partly from her retired life and extreme youth, which has prevented their development ; partly from her utter lack of vanity and the self-assertiveness it engenders, her nobler and more active virtues are as yet in the bud ; but we see enough of them in the course of the play to feel sure that she will grow into "a perfect woman, nobly planned."

The most remarkable of her characteristics is her power of vivid sympathy, which seeks at once to express itself in action. Ophelia grieves for Hamlet, not with him ; even though she loves him in her fashion, his danger has to be brought clearly home to her before she is aware of it, and then she shows neither energy nor invention to ward it off from him. Miranda's first words are an eager tearful intercession for the shipwrecked mariners, with whom she has no concern, and she will not be comforted till she receives the explicit assurance that no harm, not so much as to a hair, is betid to any creature in the vessel. Not till then can she listen to her own and her father's story. She has no small curiosity, for she seems to have long known that she had some strange history, and to have been content to wait till her father should tell it her at his own time, not even caring to speculate on it, so great a trust does she give to Prospero. How different to Ophelia, who dreads her father even while she loves him, and fears to ask his counsel ! She obeys Prospero implicitly, speaks to him with extreme respect, "Certainly, sir, I can." "Oh, good sir, I do." But her love never degenerates into fear, magician though she knows him to be, and it is affection as well as pity that makes her cry on hearing of the tendance he had given her during her babyhood :

"O, my heart bleeds
To think o' the teen that I have turn'd you to,
Which is from my remembrance."—Act I. sc. ii.

He has given her a thorough education, for we find her saying many things which the experience of her island home could never have taught her, and Prospero says :

"And here
Have I, thy schoolmaster, made the more profit
Than other princes can, that have more time
For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful."

But when he asks her if she remembers anything of her life before coming to the island, her answer shows the naturally accurate, as well as the highly-trained mind, stating the exact fact, without in any way drawing on the imagination :

"T is far off,
And rather like a dream than an assurance
That my remembrance warrants. Had I not
Four or five women once, that tended on me?"

Prospero's greatest troubles have been caused by his too great love of a life of contemplation and study. Throughout his long exile he has confidently waited for the moment when his star should again be in the ascendant ; thus ever looking forward to a Court life for his daughter, he has carefully trained her to avoid his mistakes, to stand alone, and judge for herself. Thus we find her at once endeavouring to shield Ferdinand from her father's injustice, though with a sweet loyalty she slips back to Ferdinand to say :

"Be of comfort ;
My father's of a better nature, sir,
Than he appears by speech ; this is unwonted,
Which now came from him,"

quite as much to defend her dear parent, as to encourage her lover. She has fallen in love with Ferdinand at first sight, and he with her spiritual beauty, just as Prospero hoped, thus avoiding any future political difficulty as to the destiny of Milan. With what steadfastness does she reply to him, and with what a soft humility when he says :

"To the most of men this is a Caliban,
And they to him are angels.
Miranda. My affections
Are then most humble : I have no ambition
To see a goodlier man."—Act II. sc. i.

Instinct tells her that her fate has come to her, and she will brave the magician's anger, gently and dutifully, but firmly. Her fresh affection is freely and almost unconsciously expressed, as only the

child of a desert island could speak it; even Perdita has a shamefacedness in hers; but for tenderness and purity her next scene with Ferdinand is perhaps the most exquisite of all Shakspeare's love scenes. To make their affection for each other deeper and more real, Prospero has shown exaggerated harshness and unkindness to the young Prince, thus playing on his daughter's gift of sympathy. Puzzled and troubled by this injustice on her upright father's part, she steals out, believing him at his books, to carry comfort to the oppressed; in this doing just as he meant she should; and her part once chosen, she stands by it with womanly constancy. How different to Ophelia, who not only shuts herself from Hamlet when good reason is given her, but who will stand by, and even assist in playing the spy on him! Here Miranda can do more than merely pity; she is ready with active help, and would pile the heavy logs if Ferdinand would let her. Her declaration of love is much warmer and deeper than either Perdita or Ophelia's, and is most characteristic in its tender humility and helpfulness, and its sweet dignity. Ferdinand says to her, "Wherefore weep you?" She replies:

"At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
 What I desire to give; and much less take
 What I shall die to want. But this is trifling,
 And all the more it seeks to hide itself,
 The bigger bulk it shows. Hence, bashful cunning!
 And prompt me plain and holy innocence!
 I am your wife if you will marry me;
 If not, I'll die your maid: to be your fellow
 You may deny me; but I'll be your servant,
 Whether you will or no."—Act III. sc. i.

A child Portia might have spoken this lovely speech. But for all her gentleness she seems to look forward to the day when she will sit on Ferdinand's right hand in thunderstorms, when she answers him, playing on his words:

"Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle,
 And I would call it fair play."

His wife will be his helpmeet, and a right royal one.

Up to this point we have seen Ophelia as a timid girl, silent, loving solitude, and brooding much over the chief events in her life;

a habit never calculated to strengthen or balance a mind so self-controlled that, however strongly she may feel, she rarely gives it expression, the imprisoned feeling preying on her nerves and brain. Again, we notice in her an exaggerated timidity, a shrinking from any unpleasant words or scenes, that we often find in people in whom there is a tendency to mental derangement. She has just passed through three scenes, each one of which would have been enough to cause a serious shock to persons of greater strength of mind and character than she possesses: viz. Hamlet's visit to her at her father's house; her interview with him at the palace, and the scene that occurred during the play. Then must have followed a night of the most intense anxiety, while Polonius, whom she deeply loved, remained at the castle, that, as she very well knew, he might again play the spy on Hamlet, whose violence had terrified her, and for whose safety she feared. What wonder then, that when she received the awful news of her father's murder, her senses left her, and refusing to believe that the white peaceful face belonged to a dead person, she occasioned a distressing scene at the hurried funeral, by trying to prevent his being laid in the cold ground. In the next scene she alludes to it with horror—"to think they would lay him in the cold ground!" The poor child does not appear to have been in any way violent, and was allowed to wander freely about Elsinore and its neighbourhood.

We next meet her in the presence of the Queen, to whom she has succeeded in forcing her way. Now we learn how deep a love she had borne to her stern old father; the grief of his death is, perhaps, even more present with her than the loss of her lover; for though she speaks constantly of both, the references to her father are infinitely more pathetic. It is only now, however, that we learn how strong a hold the words of Laertes and Polonius, with regard to Hamlet, have taken on her mind, strengthened as they must have been by his behaviour during their last two interviews; they seem absolutely to haunt her, showing us how much she must have brooded over them. She says, "She hears there's tricks i' the world; and hems, and beats her heart;" and her very first song is about a disguised lover. This passes at once into a lament for her father,

recalling all the little circumstances of his burial; but when the King speaks to her the sad fancies vanish, and she replies with gracious courtesy: "Well, God 'ield you," a lady even in her madness; then she whispers mysteriously, "They say, the owl was a baker's daughter. Lord, we know what we are, but know not what we may be." Just as if, when her eyes opened to the real facts of Hamlet's life, she recognized that had she been brave enough to stand by him, many of their troubles might have been avoided; and that she felt herself, in her remorse, cursed, like the owl woman, who refused to succour our Lord. No idea, however, long remains in possession of her poor brain, and it floats away into a courteous wish, "Heaven be at your table!"

In studying these scenes we must constantly remember Horatio's description of the mad girl, speaking "things in doubt, that carry but half sense." And also that, as in the owl speech, her central idea, if we may so call it, is constantly changing; some allied subject, or even one suggested to her by the sight of the person she is speaking to, or by some passing remembrance becoming the chief one, as she has lost the power of concentrating her thoughts. Now she would explain her meaning, which she sees the King has not caught; but again she loses the thread of her discourse, and passes abruptly to the merry song, "To-morrow is St Valentine's day;" but through it runs the idea of the frailty of woman, and the falseness of man, which has been so forcibly impressed on her mind during the last months. Then comes a fall into pathos, "I hope all will be well," and the infinitely sad, "we must be patient," the language of a soul that can take no active steps for its own deliverance. Then with a threat that her brother shall know of their treatment of her father, she turns to go. But the calling of her coach suggests new ideas; she imagines herself to be leaving some Court festival, as she has so often left those very rooms in all the pride of her beauty; and with a sense of something omitted, she turns to say, "Good night," and passes out with graceful gestures and sweet smiles. She is a terrible wreck for her brother to see, when she returns laden with flowers, and meets but does not recognize him. Now the evil marriage of Claudius and Gertrude is uppermost in her mind, as we see by the

flowers she gives them, and also her father's death, as we learn from the flowers she gives Laertes; the withered violets, emblems of fidelity, she takes as belonging to her father, whom she doubtless regarded with a daughter's pride as a pattern of upright loyalty. Then her thoughts return to Hamlet, but Laertes' pained face, as she trills out her song of "Bonny sweet Robin," brings back her sad vein. The tender tones change to a heart-broken dirge, and then with a prayer for all Christian souls, perhaps in pitiful remembrance of one who needed help even more than her father, and a blessing on all present, she passes from our sight for ever.

Much has been written about these closing scenes as to whether Ophelia were in truth pure or no. That she sang such a song as "To-morrow is St Valentine's day," is easily accounted for; not only by the cautions of her family, of which, to her, poor soul, it is the echo, but also by the well-known sad fact that in madness, the very things are sung and said that would be farthest from the lips of the poor patients when in their sane senses. That she should ever have heard such a song, by the customs of Elizabeth's days, which permitted broad reference to subjects now studiously ignored among us. This and Hamlet's conversation in the play-scene is the only real evidence against her, and this is fully explained, if we remember, that he was then in the full belief that she was abetting his uncle in his schemes against him. The cautions of Laertes and Polonius are only such as, under the circumstances, would be given to any girl by rather coarse-minded men in a free-spoken age. All her own words and actions show us a pure, sweet woman, with modesty of heart and mind, as well as of manner. We must also consider that it would be very unlike Shakspeare's method of working to draw such a creature as Ophelia, fair, good, and gentle, and then at the last, just when she most needs the sympathy of the audience, to throw her from her high pedestal into the mud. True, he has depicted good and bad men and women, with a great and wonderful toleration; but sin itself he hates with the hate of a thoroughly healthy mind; and he does not lead us to love and sympathize with unhappy vice. Also, we must remember that in his time harmless lunatics were allowed to live with their friends, and wander freely through the

towns and villages; so that an English audience of that date would understand a representation of madness far better than a modern one, and would not need explanations of points now dark to us.

After all, the poor child had a sufficiently large number of faults to link her with ordinary human beings. True, she possessed an unusually large number of those passive virtues, which are so noble, because for their full development they require perfect self-rule, and which form a necessary part of every beautiful female character. Thus she had obedience to lawful authority, as represented in her father; gentleness, patience, and purity; and if active courage is lacking in her, she has at least the essentially feminine virtue of quiet endurance. Still we cannot but feel in her a total lack of all those active virtues which are equally necessary to woman in the proper guidance of her life; but which in a truly strong character are never perceived till the moment comes for their use. With great endurance, she has no courage; with self-control, no presence of mind; she can give a tender, clinging affection, but not a great trusting love; and though she shows perfect filial obedience, she has no judgment to discern where her duty to her father ends, and that to her lover begins; and we must feel that hers was a one-sided, unbalanced character. Committing no deliberate sin, the evil she does and is the cause of all comes from the same want of balance.

But do not let us blame her, or if so, very gently; Perdita's rearing had taught her to stand alone, at least, to a certain extent; Miranda had the power to do so by nature as well as by education; Ophelia had it by neither; her life has been that of a slave, and she has the virtues and the vices of one. To a certain extent she is worldly-minded, but perhaps there is an appropriateness in the fact, that while all Hamlet's associates but one are of the earth earthy, so even the woman he loved, should, though good in herself, have been infected by the breath of the world. If she erred, she also expiated her errors most grievously, and we only do her justice when we turn from the maimed rites of her funeral with a sigh of pity for "poor Ophelia!"

GRACE LATHAM.

3, *Tretower Road, West Kensington,*
London, W.

XX.

SHAKSPERE IN POLAND, RUSSIA, AND OTHER
SCLAVONIC COUNTRIES.

BY DR ZIOLECKI.

(Read at the 92nd Meeting of the Society, Friday, December 14, 1883.)

HAVING examined a great number of Shakspeare's commentators, and looked over all the editions of Shakspeare extant and available in the British Museum, I have not come across a work which mentioned those translations of Shakspeare which have appeared in Poland, Russia, and other Slavonic countries. The study of Shakspeare in Poland and Russia cannot be compared with that of Germany, where Shakspeare is read and admired as much as Goethe and Schiller themselves ; yet the Slavonic literature, as regards Shakspeare, is of too great importance to be passed over in silence. There are but few Shakspeare Societies or reading circles to promote the study of Shakspeare ;¹ but the general interest the educated portion of the Slavonic people take in Shakspeare's plays has produced a great many translations, which at least are worthy of mention.

Shakspeare became generally known in the East of Europe at the end of the last century, through French and German translations. Boguslawski mentions in his dramatic works (vol. i. p. 181) that the first representation of Shakspeare, upon the Polish stage, was that of *Hamlet*, which took place in Lemberg in the year 1797. I could not ascertain whose translation was employed—probably that of Kazincza, who is the first translator of Shakspeare's Plays. Boguslawski, under whose direction *Hamlet* was represented, translated *Hamlet* into Polish in the year 1820. The *Russian Theatre*, a dramatic work of the year 1786, contains a play entitled *Hamlet*, by

¹ There is a special Shakspeare Society in Moscow, the members of which give every year one or two plays of Shakspeare.

Alex. Sumarakow ; but it is rather an adaptation and imitation than a translation of Shakspeare's *Hamlet*.

But long before the first translation of Shakspeare's *Hamlet* was printed, Shakspeare was known through French or German translations.

Coxe, in his *Voyage through Poland*, mentions that the last King of Poland, Stanislas Poniatowski, entered into a conversation with him on Shakspeare, whom the King appreciated very much.

The better translations, however, begin with the year 1842, when Kefalinski or pseudonymous Holowiński made the first attempt to give a complete translation of Shakspeare's works into Polish ; but his works contain only six plays—*Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, and *The Tempest* ; to which Jankowski or pseudonymous John of Dycalb added a third volume. Bohn, in his *Bibliographer's Manual* (vol. iv. p. 2365), enumerates all the translations to the year 1858. Of all these translations that of Shakspeare's historical play, *King John*, by Joseph Korzeniowski, is unrivalled by any of its predecessors.

The first complete translation of Shakspeare's Plays was published in the year 1875 at Varsow, edited by the celebrated Polish poet and novelist, Kraszewski. It contains 37 plays, with 545 illustrations, by H. C. Selous ; and is the work of Stanislas Kozmian, Joseph Paszkowski, and L. Ulrich. Stanislas Kozmian, president of a Learned Society in Posen, edited, in the year 1866, a translation of seven of Shakspeare's Plays : *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King Lear*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *King John*, *King Richard II.*, and *King Henry IV.* Part I. and II., of which the first, the third, fourth, and fifth are inserted in the complete collection. He has promised to give a complete translation of Shakspeare's Plays, and it is to be regretted that he has not done so. Mr Kozmian is a man whose poetic gifts and perfect knowledge of the English language enable him to give a rendering of Shakspeare in the most original form, without losing the beauties and peculiarities of his style. Joseph Paszkowski translated 13 Plays ; viz. *King Henry IV.* Part I., *King Richard III.*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, *Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, *The Tempest*, *The Merry*

Wives of Windsor, Merchant of Venice, and the Taming of the Shrew.

It is to be noticed that this gentleman has devoted a large part of his life to the study and translation of Shakspeare's Works, and intended also to give a complete translation, but death interrupted his work. All his translations are inserted in the edition of 1875. It was impossible for me to compare all the translations with the original, but those of the plays I read—*Macbeth* and *The Merchant of Venice*—must be considered as true and faithful ones. He succeeded also in his attempt to preserve the character and peculiarities of Shakspeare's Plays, avoiding that stiffness or formality which is connected with a servile translation. Prof. Ulrich contributed the largest part—namely, 20 out of 37 Plays—of those wanted for a complete collection, after Kozmian's and Paszkowski's translations had been purchased by the publishers, Gebethner and Wolff at Varsow. On the completion of Shakspeare's translations these publishers applied to Mr Ulrich, and his 20 Plays were published with the 17 translated by Messrs Kozmian and Paszkowski.¹ Prof. Ulrich, a philologist, devoted to the study of modern languages, had already a complete translation of Shakspeare's Plays long before the publishers had applied to him. The merits of his translations are: fidelity to the text, polish, and strength of style. It is to be regretted that Mr Ulrich did not find besides a publisher for all his translations, then we should have a complete translation of Shakspeare's Plays by the same author. In spite of the faults which no doubt the complete translation of 1875 has in common with all, it is nevertheless the best that any Slavonic people can boast of, and may be placed side by side with the best German and French translations. It may be remarked that the great difficulty in translating Shakspeare's Works into Polish lies in the wide difference which exists in the construction of the two languages, rendering it almost impossible to give an exact equivalent of Shakspeare's peculiarities of style, or faithfully delineate the humorous characters. But Poland,

¹ Mr Paszkowski translated also, *Twelfth Night, The Comedy of Errors, and Much Ado about Nothing*, which are included in a collection of his translations, published in 1857-8 at Varsow.

in spite of all the difficulties with which she has had to contend, has done more towards diffusing a knowledge of Shakspeare than could be expected in her critical situation. Although the celebrated Polish modern poets, Mićkiewicz, Malczewski, Krasieński, Odyniec, and Morawski, rather drew their inspirations from Byron, whose principal works they translated; yet, after the first glow of enthusiasm for this poet had died away, Shakspeare took his place, and from that moment his popularity among the educated people has never diminished. In the same way as the gloomy misanthropy of Byron's poems finds favour with the sentimentally disposed Slavonic people, the tragedies of Shakspeare exercise a magic influence over *their intellects*.

The following particulars regarding the representation of Shakspeare's Plays in Poland, have been furnished by one connected with the stage of that country: Of all Polish stages, that of Varsow, having the best artists, represented the largest number of Shakspeare's Plays. The Polish actors who particularly excel in Shakspeare's Plays at the present time are: John Królikowski, Ladnovski, Boleslas Leszczynski (*Othello*), Rapacki (*Hamlet*), and Joseph Rychter (*Merchant of Venice*), now Director of the Polish theatre at Posen. Madam Modrzejowska¹ and Madam Deryng are the best in female characters. The Polish stages at Posen, Cracow, Lemberg, have no eminent Shaksperian performers, and being supported by private means, are unable to spend the great time, care, and training required for a brilliant performance of Shakspeare's Plays. During the last twenty years sixteen of Shakspeare's Plays have been represented on the Polish stage (in the Polish language). *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *King Richard III.*, *King John*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *The Winter's Tale*, *As you Like it*, and probably the *Comedy of Errors*. The Polish people take great interest and delight in the Tragedies, much more so than in the Comedies, of which *The Merchant of Venice* has become the most

¹ See "The Story of Helena Modjeska," by Mabel Collins. (London, 1883.)

popular (perhaps for the typical character of a Jew so common in Poland).

If Poland were in a different position, Shakspeare's Plays would be more popular than they are at this moment. But in the present state of affairs the National Play is in the ascendant. Arguments taken from ancient or modern Polish history and adapted to the Polish stage, or representations of Polish family life (in the Comedies of Count Fredro), are of course more attractive than German, English, or French Plays, of which the last find most favour. Besides Shakspeare and Byron, a great many English novels are translated into Polish, and read with great interest; but to promote the knowledge of Shakspeare among the lower classes, I should propose to translate *Lamb's Tales from Shakspeare*, and to print them in London in a cheap form, so that they might be put within the reach of the poorer classes as well as those who can afford to buy the very expensive Polish edition of Shaksperian translations. The Polish people are very quick to learn foreign languages, of which they like French the best; but towards diffusing the knowledge of the English language in Poland more ought to be done. Of the three Polish Universities at Cracow, Lemberg, and Varsow, the last has perhaps a Professor of the modern languages; Cracow and Lemberg only lecturers acquainted with English. I hope the time will come when Shakspeare will not only amuse on the stage, but become the subject of study in Poland for modern philologists.

With regard to the other Slavonic countries, I am very sorry that I cannot acquit myself of this part of my task with as much fulness as in speaking of my own country. Bohemia, for as long a time as Poland, was desolate of a complete translation of Shakspeare's Plays, of which she can now boast. *Dramaticka Dila Williama Shakspeara Nakladem Kralostvi Ceskeho*—finished in the year 1874—is a complete collection of Shakspeare's Plays in the Bohemian language. The translators are J. G. Kolar, Fr. Doucha, L. Celakovsky, and J. B. Maly. The *Jahrbücher* of the German Shakspeare Society gives many particulars with regard to the representation of Shakspeare's Plays in Prague (the capital of Bohemia), from the year 1878 to 1882. According to that report—

<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> was represented 3 times.			
<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>	...	...	3 „
<i>King Henry IV. Part I. and II.</i>	...	...	2 „
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	...	...	2 „
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	...	...	2 „
<i>Hamlet</i>	...	...	3 „
<i>Othello</i>	...	...	2 „
<i>King Richard III.</i>	...	...	once
<i>Much Ado about Nothing</i>	...	...	„

In the years 1878 and 1879 the Meininger performed Shakspeare's Plays in Prague, in German. I cannot state the particulars about Shakspeare's Plays being represented or acted in the Bohemian language, as those furnished by the German Shakspeare Society regard only the German theatres, and a few other foreign ones at Prague, Moscow, and St Petersburg, which have also German theatres.

The general Catalogue of the German Shakspeare Society mentions among the Slavonic translators a Serbian one of *Julius Cæsar*, by Milosch Zetschewitz; and of *Romeo and Juliet*, by L. Kostitsch, both published in the year 1866. The first of Shakspeare's Plays translated into the Russian language was *Romeo and Juliet*; it was printed in the year 1772 in a periodical called *The Evenings*. Then followed *Richard III.*, translated in 1783 at the provincial town Nishni-Novgorod; then came *Julius Cæsar*, translated by Karamzin in 1786. To the same year must be referred an adaptation to Russian manners of the *Merry Wives*, by the Empress Catherine, under the title "How good it is to have a basket of linen." She also wrote two historical plays, the arguments of which were taken from ancient Russian history, resembling very much Shakspeare's *King John*. Sumarakow's tragedy *Hamlet* (an adaptation from Ducis) was published in 1748, and soon afterwards performed by amateurs.

Of Shakspeare's popularity in Russia one may judge from the circumstance that few of his plays have been exempt from repeated translations by different persons. Thus, for *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* there are seven translations; *Macbeth* has been translated six times; *King Lear* also six; *Richard III.*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Julius Cæsar* four times each, &c.

In the year 1865 Nekrasow and Gerbel edited a complete collection of Shakspeare's Plays in Russian, by eleven different authors, which is considered to be the best, as it is translated from the original. The rest are taken from Polish, German, French, and Italian prose and verse translations. There is a much greater difficulty in translating English into Russian than into Polish; perhaps this will account for the number of translations which have found their way into Russian literature through other languages. These latter are, of course, of very little value as translations of Shakspeare's works, as they are only stage adaptations.

Besides the eleven authors mentioned, who have translated from the original, the following celebrated Russian poets have also taken parts, as I suppose, from the same source: Pushkin, over whom Byron's Poems exerted a very great influence, published in the year 1834 a Poem entitled *Angelo*, the argument of which is taken from *Measure for Measure*.

Lermontov, who was also inspired by Byron's Poems, translated from Schiller's *Macbeth*, the 3rd scene of Act I., entitling his Poem, *Three Witches*.

M. Katkov, the leader of the Russian reactionary party, published his part of a translation of Shakspeare's Play, *Romeo and Juliet*, from the English original, in a Journal called *The Moscow Observer* (1838-9), and inserted afterwards the whole Play in the Panteon of 1841. It is to be regretted that these poets did not attempt something more than the short extracts for which the Russian literature is indebted to them. Before giving some particulars about the representation of Shakspeare's Plays on the Russian stage, I am going to appraise, as far as it is in my power, the numerous Russian translations of Shakspeare's Plays. The best complete translation of Shakspeare's Plays is that mentioned above, edited by Nekrasow and Gerbel (St Petersburg, 1865), in four volumes.

The first volume contains a Preface on "Literature and Theatre in England, till Shakspeare," by W. P. Botkin, and every Play is preceded by an argument. It contains:

1. *Coriolanus*, by A. W. Druzhinin; 2. *Othello*, by P. Weinberg;
3. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, by N. M. Satin; 4. *Julius Caesar*,

by D. L. Michalovsky; 5. *Much Ado about Nothing*, by A. J. Kronenberg; 6. *King Lear*, by A. W. Drujhinin; 7. *Macbeth*, by A. J. Kronenberg; 8. *Timon of Athens*, by J. P. Weinberg; 9. *Twelfth Night*, by A. J. Kronenberg.

Volume II., Preface. 10. *Hamlet*, by A. J. Kronenberg; 11. *The Tempest*, by N. M. Satin; 12. *Troilus and Cressida*, by A. L. Sokolovsky; 13. *Romeo and Juliet*, by N. P. Grekov; 14. *The Taming of the Shrew*, by A. N. Ostrovsky; 15. *King John*, by A. W. Drujhinin; 16. *King Richard II.*, 17. *King Henry IV.* Part I., 18. *King Henry IV.* Part II. by Sokolovsky.

Volume III. 19. *King Henry V.*, 20. *King Henry VI.* Part I., 21. *King Henry VI.* Part II., 22. *King Henry VI.* Part III., by Sokolovsky; 23. *King Richard III.*, by A. W. Drujhinin; 24. *King Henry VIII.*, 25. *Merchant of Venice*, 26. *As you Like it*, by J. P. Weinberg; 27. *Antony and Cleopatra*, by L. Korzeniovsky.

Volume IV. contains a Preface, a Biographical Sketch of W. Shakspeare, by P. Polevoi, and 28. *The Winter's Tale*, by Sokolovsky; 29. *All's Well that ends Well*, by J. P. Weinberg; 30. *Cymbeline*, by Th. B. Miller; 31. *Titus Andronicus*, by A. J. Rijhov; 32. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, by Th. B. Miller; 33. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, by P. J. Weinberg; 34. *Measure for Measure*, by Th. B. Miller; 35. *The Comedy of Errors*, by P. J. Weinberg; 36. *Pericles*, by A. Sokolovsky; 37. *Love's Labour's Lost*, by P. J. Weinberg.

Sokolovsky has translated 10 Plays, Weinberg 9, Kronenberg 4, Drujhinin 4, Miller 3, Rijhov 2, Ostrovsky 1, Grekov 1, Korzeniovsky 1, Satin 1, Michalovski 1, in all 37 Plays. Russian literature has also another complete collection of translations of Shakspeare, by N. Ketzcher, edited by Soldatenkov, between 1862—73, in seven vols., and completed by the appearance of two more volumes in 1878-9. It is of no great value, as most of them are prose translations, and although mentioned by Nekrasow and Gerbel, none are inserted in their collection. Shakspeare's *Sonnets* were translated in the year 1880, by Gerbel; and Tschernoff has translated Dowden's "Shakspeare: His Mind and Art."

There are three biographies in the language; one (by an unknown author) was published in 1796 in the periodical entitled *Pleasant and*

Useful Pastime; the second was written by Slavin and published as a separate book in 1844 under the title *The Life of Shakspeare, and the Opinions of Russian and Foreign Writers about him*; the third was written by Polevoi, who edited a Shakspeare for Schools (St Petersburg, 1876).

It is not within my power to give the same details about the representation of Shakspeare's Plays on the Russian stage (in Russian), as in the case of the Polish theatre. I can only repeat the notices till the year 1865, that I have found in Nekrasow's collection of translations. *Hamlet*, by Sumarakov, was the first Play of Shakspeare represented on the Russian stage, about the year 1787. Then the Empress Catherine II. adapted two Plays of Shakspeare, *King John* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, to the Russian stage. Nekrasow states that Ristori played *Lady Macbeth* twice, at Moscow and Petersburg, after the year 1861, in an Italian translation, by Montanelli, while the other tragedians acted in Russian. In this Play, the negro, Ira Aldrige, played *Macbeth* in English (at Odessa and Kieff), and also the characters *King Lear*, *Othello*, and *Shylock*, at Odessa and Kieff, about the year 1861. Many other Plays of Shakspeare have no doubt been represented till the year 1865 on the Russian stage (in Russian); and if we can trust Nekrasow, only three Plays, viz. *As you like it*, *Pericles*, and, perhaps, *Love's Labour's Lost*, were excluded, and could not be represented till the year 1865 (they are so distinctly specified), as they were not yet translated. Doubtless also many foreign actors and actresses of eminence have appeared upon the Russian stage as characters in Shakspeare's Plays. At the present day there are few Russian actors who have distinguished themselves in an eminent degree in Shakspeare's Plays.¹ The details I found in the *Jahrbücher* of the German Shakspeare Society, state that the German theatre at Moscow represented in the year 1882 *The Taming of the Shrew* twice, and *Romeo and Juliet* once; that German players in Petersburg performed on the 11th of Feb., 1881, *The Merchant of Venice*; on the 28th of Dec., 1881, *The*

¹ Among Russian Actors Samoilow and Lensky have distinguished themselves, I am told, in an eminent degree in Shakspeare's plays, the first especially in *King Lear*, the second in the *Taming of the Shrew*.

Taming of the Shrew; and on the 31st of Dec., 1881, *Romeo and Juliet*. *The Merchant of Venice* was represented thrice in the year 1882, *King Richard III.* twice, and *Hamlet* and *Othello* once. Lobe played, in the year 1882, *The Merchant of Venice* and *King Richard III.*; Barnay played *Hamlet* and *Othello*; Ingelt played *The Merchant of Venice* in the year 1881; while Miss Basté played *Portia*; and Miss Barkany played the *Catherine* and *Juliet*.

M. Alexandre Wolff, in his *Chronique des Théâtres Peterbourgeois*, mentions that during the last twenty-five years (from 1860) there have been played in the Russian capital 1101 dramas, comedies, and vaudevilles, of which 701 were new. One hundred and thirteen representations of Shakspeare were given, 50 of Molière, 8 of Schiller. The *Chronique* itself would, perhaps, explain whether all Shakspeare's Plays were represented, which the oftenest, and which in Russian. From the more numerous translations of the tragedies, I draw the conclusion that they have become more popular than the Historical Plays, with the exception of *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Julius Caesar*, and *King John*, and the Comedies, of which *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* have been represented very often. As far as I am informed, I may state that only the educated Russian people in Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, and Kieff, and in the Baltic provinces at Riga have the opportunity of enjoying representations of Shakspeare's Plays, but much more in the German theatres than on their own national stage. Alex. Nikolaevitch Ostrovsky has also written many national Plays; namely, *Groza* ('Storm') and *Tyagéluite Dni* ('Heavy Days'), extracts of which are inserted in the *Revue Britannique* and the *Edinburgh Review*.

"Ostrovsky, a satirist by nature, attacks unsparingly in his writings the leading national failings and vices of the Russian people. The majority of them enjoy very much his exposure of the Russian merchants' narrow-minded and short-sighted avarice, of his incorrigible tendency to cheat, and of his utter disregard of the laws of God and man, when business is concerned. They chuckle over his attacks on the propensity to drink, which has such a debasing effect on Russian middle-class life, and they are charmed by his thundering tirades against the devices and corruption which characterize the great majority of Government officials. They like to see the vices and follies of their neighbours lashed, even when

the thong of the satirist reaches themselves. A race by no means thin-skinned, in whom conscience has been but little developed, but who are endowed with a large sense of humour, they take their moral chastisement kindly, acknowledge its justice frankly, and then, going home straightway, recommence the habits from which it was intended to deter them. The dramatist must be careful about alluding to the Church; none of its ministers may be represented on the stage. It would be considered a sacrilege to admit an imitation of any of its sacred vestments into the wardrobe of a theatre. Even in a historical drama it is not allowable to introduce a clergyman of any description; a rule which involves the patriotic dramatist in considerable difficulties"—and will, perhaps, account for excluding Shakspeare's historical Plays from the Russian national stage.

I inserted this short extract in order to state that the higher classes only are in the habit of enjoying representations of Shakspeare, while the middle or lower classes go to the representations of national plays. My audience will forgive me for having exercised their patience, and drawn attention to a subject very slightly connected with Shakspeare literature, but not devoid of interest. There is certainly at present but little reciprocity in literature between Russian and Western Europe, which is sufficiently accounted for by the remote and exceptional character of the Russian language, and by the peculiar habits of the people. Yet the writings of English authors are received in Russia with the heartiest recognition. Every book of note that creates a sensation in England, is at once reproduced in Russia, and the leading English novelists would be surprised if they knew how anxiously the fortunes of their heroes and heroines are followed by thousands of Russian readers, not only in the two great capitals of the Empire, but in every town into which the chief magazines make their way. We hope the time will come when Russia will pay back her debt, and make Englishmen translate her best works; for she has her own national literature.

SCRAPS.

baked meats, sb. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 180. "*Pâtisserie*: f. (All kinde of) pies, or **baked meats**; pasterie worke: also, the making of paste-meats." 1611. Cotgrave.—F.

To be naught (*Hamlet*, III. ii. 137). A euphemism for to be licentious, whether in act or in talk. John Bunyan (*Grace Abounding*, &c., 1666), vindicating his character against certain persons who had slandered him, writes thus :—"I also calling all those fools, or knaves, that have made it anything of their business, to affirm . . . that I *have been naught* with other Women, or the like. When they have used to the utmost of their endeavours, and made the fullest enquiry that they can, to prove against me truly, that there is any Woman in Heaven, or Earth, or Hell, that can say, I have at any time, in any place, by day or night, so much as attempted to *be naught* with them." This passage explains Flute's speech (*M. N. D.*, IV. ii. 13) : "You must say *paragon* : a paramour is, God bless us, a thing of naught," where the double meaning of *nought* = nothing, and *naught* in the sense indicated above, seems to be played upon. Also, Ophelia's rebuke to Hamlet for his licentious talk (*Hamlet*, III. ii. 137) : "You *are naught*, you *are naught* : I'll mark the play." And it illustrates *Richard III.*, I. i. 97 :

Brak. With this, my lord, myself have *nought* to do.

Gloust. *Naught* to do with Mistress Shore ! I tell thee, fellow, He that doth *naught* with her, excepting one,

Were best he do it secretly, alone.

W. A. HARRISON.

Prick : *L. L. L.* IV. i. 125. *As Y. L. It*, III. ii. 102. Used in these places as an archery term (with a quibble). It became an archery term because it was the technical term for the centre of a circle (the butt). In Hoby's *Castilio's Courtyer*, 1561, we have in Sig. R. r. 2. v.—"as it is a harde matter in a circle to find out the **pricke** in the centre which is the middle." At present also I am inclined to think that the "noon tide prick," 2 *Henry VI.* I. 4, 34, and the "prick of noon," *R. & J.* III. iv. 105, were phrases derived from the quasi-central or meridian position of the sun in his apparent course, rather than because it was a mark or point in the dial. At least I have never, so far as I remember, met the word "prick" applied to any other dial number.—B. N.

The lazar kite of Cressid's kind : *Henry V.* ii. 1. Cf.—"there was little constancy in such **kites of Cressids kind**." Greene's *Mamillia : a Mirror or Looking-glasse for the Ladies of England*. 1583. Stat. Reg., 3 Oct. 1580. Grosart's reprint, Huth Library, p. 16. So in his *Carde of Fancie*, Huth Lib., vol. 4, p. 132, we find the misprint "in such kites of Creesus kinde." From these two examples we may conclude the phrase to have been one known and in common use.—B. N.

HENRY VIII. AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ORIGIN AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE PLAY.

BY ROBERT BOYLE.

(Read at the 103rd Meeting of the N. Sh. Society, on Jan. 16, 1885.)

THE labours of the New Shakspeare Society may be safely assumed to have shown that *Henry VIII.* is not a play of Shakspeare's in the same sense in which we speak of *The Tempest*, *The Winter's Tale*, &c. as his. The hand of Fletcher is unmistakably present in certain parts. The division at which the New Shakspeare Society arrived may be taken as on the whole correct, as far as it goes. Fletcher wrote the scenes attributed to him, and the results to which the present investigation has led differ very immaterially from those which were given in a former volume of the Transactions. But when it is attempted to put Shakspeare down as Fletcher's partner in this play, as he is by many thought to be in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, it will be worth while to see if there be not grounds sufficient to cast a doubt on the correctness of the generally-received opinion. It is at the very outset singular that a poet who had begun his dramatic career by writing, with other men, at the same play, or, at least, revising the work of others, and who had later on, for almost twenty years, written independent dramas, should return to the practice of his youth after, and almost immediately after, reaching the consummate mastery over his art shown in his later plays. It would be the only known example of such a degradation of art in those days. Shakspeare's great follower, Massinger, after Fletcher's death, wrote all his works alone. And this, as it is the natural, was also the general custom. The poet who, before he had acquired a certain reputation, was fain to cobble up a drama with the help of another, or it may be of others, would of course hardly feel inclined to degrade his art by such an unnatural

proceeding when he had an established reputation. What Massinger succeeded in doing after Fletcher's death, what Jonson did in all his later works, would surely not be too difficult for Shakspeare. We must regard with suspicion the assumption that Shakspeare would have, without the most stringent reasons, consented to have his work spoiled by an inferior dramatist, as is the case in *Henry VIII.*, in which Fletcher again and again spoils the conception of his brother-poet. But what Shakspeare would assuredly not have suffered was of necessity endured by another dramatist of the time—by Massinger, who was doomed in play after play to see his fine conceptions sacrificed to the dramatic incapacity and the love of rhetorical display of his fellow-poet. The following investigation, basing on the results arrived at by the New Shakspeare Society, will try to prove that the play before us was not written by Fletcher and Shakspeare, but by Fletcher and Massinger, to supply the place of the lost Shakspeare play, *All is True*, destroyed in the Globe fire of 1613, and that it was not produced before 1616, probably not till 1617.

It will hardly be necessary to dwell on the fact of the remarkable metrical development shown in Shakspeare's works, from, say, *Love's Labour's Lost* to *The Tempest*. But if we regard Shakspeare's contemporaries during the same time, we shall see that they all show the same progressive development, more or less pronouncedly. This law of metrical development makes it impossible to accept Professor Elze's opinion as to *Henry VIII.*, namely, that it was written in 1603, or shortly after. At that early date it may be safely asserted no poet *could* have written in the metre of the non-Fletcherian part of *Henry VIII.*, for the simple reason that such metre had not then been developed. Nor did the first characteristics of the later Shakspearean metre make themselves felt in the work of any poet till about 1607, when they began to appear simultaneously in Shakspeare, Beaumont, Cyril Tourneur, and others. The extent to which these metrical peculiarities are adopted in *Henry VIII.* shows that the drama belongs to a comparatively very late date. Whoever was the author of the non-Fletcherian part, he certainly did not write this part *before* 1612, and most probably, from the much freer use of all

the metrical peculiarities of the later dramatic style, a few years later. Light and weak endings never acquired the same prominence in the Shakspearean drama which they did in the works of Massinger. In the dramas of the latter poet we sometimes find passages in which the too frequent use of these endings, particularly the weak-ending, produces an effect almost amounting to harshness. Prof. Hertzberg pointed out such a passage in *Henry VIII.*, III. ii. :

“*Wolsey.* What though I know her virtuous
And well-deserving? yet I know her for
A spleeny Lutheran; and not wholesome to
Our cause, that she should lie in the bosom of
Our hard-ruled king.”

The occurrence of the endings ‘for,’ ‘to,’ ‘of’ in three successive lines is, as Prof. Hertzberg said, an instance of harshness which we have nowhere else in this work. But Massinger has numerous instances of a like character, though seldom, perhaps, so harsh as the above. In his *Unnatural Combat*, IV. i. 210, for instance :

“Hath she
Made shipwreck of her honour, or conspired
Against your life? or sealed a contract with
The devil of hell, for the recovery of
Her young inamorato?”

In the same play, V. ii. 83—86 :

“And for
Thy trouble in her custody, of which
I now discharge thee, there is nothing in
My nerves or fortunes, but shall ever be
At thy devotion.”

From the characteristics of the metre alone it would be difficult to decide whether a particular passage, or even play, was written by Shakspeare or by Massinger, so similar is the latter’s style to that of Shakspeare’s later dramas. But we may safely assert that the points in which the metre of the part of *Henry VIII.* commonly ascribed to Shakspeare differs from the metre of *The Tempest*, &c., are just those which characterize Massinger’s plays; so that whatever metrical change has taken place in the interval points rather to Massinger than to Shakspeare as the author. It would, however, be absurd to pretend to rest the question on such minute differences of metre as

those occurring between Shakspeare and Massinger. These slight differences can only lay claim to any part in deciding the authorship of our play, when taken in connection with evidence of more weight. What do we know about the origin of *Henry VIII.*? On the 29th of June, 1613, the Globe Theatre took fire during the representation of a play which Howes (in his continuation of Stowe's 'Chronicle') calls *Henry VIII.* In a letter of the 6th of July, 1613, Sir Henry Wotton says that the Globe Theatre had been burnt down during the representation of a new play, called *All is True*, containing some of the principal events which occurred in the reign of Henry VIII. In the Prologue of the present play we have an allusion to this second title of the play. Thomas Lorkin, in a letter of the last of June, 1613, says, that the day before, while Burbadge and his company were playing *Henry VIII.* in the Globe, the building took fire through the firing off of some chambers. It is plain then that a play by some one, possibly Shakspeare, possibly not, under the title of *Henry VIII.*, was produced at the Globe on the above date. But it is quite another thing to suppose that the play that has come down to us, and which first appeared in the Folio of 1623, was this same play during the representation of which the Globe was burnt down. In the play that has come down to us as Shakspeare's *Henry VIII.*, it is impossible not to recognize the hands of two poets. That one of these was Fletcher, *Shakspeare's successor as stage poet for the Globe*, is, as before said, to be regarded as ascertained. However we may decide as to the authorship of one part of the play, it is plain that Fletcher regarded himself as the principal poet, and the other as his assistant, for he changes what the other has projected, and puts Buckingham's dying speech into the midst of the other's work, thus producing an effect quite contrary to what his assistant had intended. Now, is it to be supposed that Shakspeare, at the height of his fame, would have quietly allowed Fletcher to spoil his conception of Buckingham's character? To avoid such a supposition, Fleay put up the theory that *part of the manuscript had been destroyed in the fire of 1613*, and that what remained was put into Fletcher's hands to complete, which he did, retaining what Shakspeare material was left. As we shall see later on, this theory is also

untenable, for, whoever were the authors, they worked together, and altered each other's parts to suit their mutual requirements. The authors must have been accustomed to work with each other, and, as Beaumont is out of the question, the only other author who was accustomed to work with Fletcher is Massinger. In a paper now publishing in the *Englische Studien*, I have shown that Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger wrote together in 1612 in *The Honest Man's Fortune*. The traces of Massinger's hand in Act III. of this play are too plain to be overlooked. We have thus, before the earliest possible date for *Henry VIII.*, evidence that Fletcher and Massinger had already begun to work together.

But here we shall be met on the threshold with the remark that the editors of the Folio of 1623 must have known that the play was not Shakspeare's. Is it to be supposed that they would have ventured to publish a work as Shakspeare's which they knew was not his? Besides this, both the reputed authors were living in 1623, and would have claimed their work. This latter objection would certainly not be made by anybody acquainted with our early dramatic literature. With the exception perhaps of Ben Jonson, it would never have occurred to a dramatist of that age to claim as his property what was published under another name. But we are so accustomed to judge of Shakspeare's time by the ideas of the nineteenth century, that we cannot quite reconcile ourselves to the thought that our great dramatists were quite indifferent in whose name their works were printed. They wrote for the stage, and if a printer published their work prematurely and without their consent, they rarely troubled themselves at all about the matter. Of course, if we start from the idea that Heminge and Condell were animated by the same scrupulous regard to the genuineness of what they published as a modern editor would be, there is an end to the question. But, to judge by their mode of procedure in other cases, we have no difficulty in supposing that if *Henry VIII.* in its present form had been acted by their company as Shakspeare's play, which is probable enough, after the fire at the Globe, they would have had no hesitation in printing the play as Shakspeare's, even if they had known that it was entirely the production of Fletcher and Massinger. If we only

reflect on the manner in which they treated other plays, we shall have no difficulty in believing this. There are few critics who regard *Titus Andronicus*, and still fewer who regard the three parts of *Henry VI.*, as entirely by Shakspeare. Of the latter, we may regard it as certain that a great part was not his work. But in the Folio there is not a word of doubt about the authorship. *The Taming of the Shrew* is a re-cast of the old play, *The Taming of a Shrew*, of which we have no reason to believe that Shakspeare wrote anything at all. There is not a word said about this in the Folio. *Troilus and Cressida* is not all Shakspeare's. It consists (as Fleay supposes) of three parts. 1st, The love-story, which belongs to about the date to which Fleay assigns it—the transition between the poet's first and second period. 2nd, The Ulysses part, nearly contemporaneous with *Lear*, and before *Macbeth*, as the metre and the many links connecting it, especially with the former of these plays, indicate. This part was woven into the material of the first part by the poet himself, but stops abruptly at the end of Act III. The play was then put into somebody's hands, who added the Hector story, and who thought it his duty to round off the speeches of the Ulysses part with a couple of rhymes in his own peculiar, easily-recognized metre, which hang like tags on the Shakspearean part. He has an allusion to Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Book II., which appeared in 1605 : see Act II. sc. ii. l. 165—8 :

“ Not much
Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought
Unfit to hear moral philosophy.”

The circumstances accompanying the appearance of the Quartos in 1609 point to some unusual interruption, probably an attempt to make an arrangement with the printers who had become possessed of a surreptitious copy on the part of Shakspeare or his company. The editors of the Folio must have known that part of the play was not Shakspeare's, and they betray considerable hesitation about it. It is not mentioned in the Table of Contents. It stands between the Histories and the Tragedies ; the former end with page 232, the latter begin with page 1. *Troilus and Cressida* begins with the Prologue. Then come two pages unnumbered, then pages 79, 80,

while the rest is unnumbered. The editors, however, do not think proper to explain how they got over their scruples.

Timon too is certainly not all Shakspeare's. The Shakspeare part was probably written about 1606. The rest belongs, Fleay supposes, to Cyril Tourneur. Perhaps he is right; at any rate there is no doubt that Shakspeare did not write the whole play. There is no mention of a second author in the Folio. The editors must have known that a great part of the work in the above dramas was not Shakspeare's, and yet did not hesitate to print them all as his. Is it to be supposed after this, that they would have hesitated in going a step further with regard to *Henry VIII.*? As to their assertion that they printed from Shakspeare's manuscripts, it is as clear as day that in many cases they simply copied the Quartos, which they cried out against as pirated editions.

Still more singular is the way in which they dealt with *Pericles*. If in the former case they admitted into their edition without scruple what they knew to be un-Shakspearean, in this case they did not admit a play the greater part of which is undoubtedly genuine. It cannot even be pleaded for them that there was the shadow of a doubt as to the authorship.

In 1640 John Tatham, in a poem prefixed to Brome's *Merry Beggars*, says—

“There is a faction (Friend) in town that cries
Down with the Dagon-poet, Jonson dies.
His works were too elaborate, not fit
To come within the verge or face of wit;
Beaumont and Fletcher (they say) perhaps might
Pass well for current coin, in a dark night.
But Shakspeare the plebeian driller was
Foundered in 's *Pericles*, and must not pass.”

Thus not only the publisher of the successive Quartos held Shakspeare to be the author; it was the universal opinion. There can be no doubt as to *Pericles*. Shakspeare wrote Acts III., IV. (except scenes ii., v., and vi.), and V.; Wilkins wrote Acts I. and II., and Rowley wrote the above-mentioned scenes in Act IV. and part of the Chorus. The rest of the Chorus was written by Wilkins on the model of *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, which these

two authors had written in 1607 with John Day. Their part of *Pericles* they wrote before the appearance of *The Law Tricks* in 1608. In the same year there is an entry about the play in the Stationers' Registers, and the first Quarto appeared in the following year. The printer who has it entered for his copy was afterwards one of those engaged in issuing the second Folio. There can hardly have been any difficulty then in having *Pericles* admitted into the Folio among Shakspeare's plays, had the editors made the attempt. That they did not do so, is simply another proof of the utter carelessness with which they did their work.

It would be absurd to affirm, in the face of these circumstances, that the mere presence of *Henry VIII.* among the plays of the Folio is enough to dispel all doubts about its genuineness. If internal grounds strong enough to raise a doubt as to its authorship can be pointed to, if historical allusions which point to the years 1616, 1617 can be found in it, if links connecting it with other plays of 1616, 1617 can be discovered, it would be absurd to put up the authority of the careless editors of the Folio as a bar to all investigation. We take it for granted then that the genuineness of *Henry VIII.* may be open to doubt. We further take it for granted that the two totally different metres, the presence of which in the drama is not to be denied, are from two different authors.¹ The first question that next rises to the surface is, "Did these two authors write at the same time, or did the one complete a work left unfinished by the other?" I shall proceed to show that the two authors, Massinger and Fletcher, wrote the play together, and worked into each other's hands in a way that inevitably leads to the conclusion that all the parts of the play are contemporaneous.

The arrangement of the parts written by the two authors is such as presupposes that they were in the habit of working together, and if we include *Henry VIII.*, we can trace the hands of these two as joint authors in no fewer than twenty dramas of the time.² The

¹ Delius's favourite idea about some unknown author, who is always imitating the styles of two celebrated dramatists in the same play, is too improbable to need refuting.

² See my article in the *Englische Studien*, Bd. V., VII., VIII., &c.

division of labour is just such as we find in the other plays in which they were jointly engaged. Let us examine the play scene by scene for indications of authorship. The Prologue seems to be by Fletcher, from the confident tone which the poet assumes. The line

"To rank our chosen truth with such a show
As fool and fight,"

may be compared with a similar line in *Women Pleased*, V. i. (p. 199, Routledge's cheap edition):

"To what end do I walk? for men to wonder at,
And fight and fool?"

Women Pleased is wholly by Fletcher, and cannot be later than about 1612.

In the Epilogue, on the contrary, we recognize the modesty which is so prominent a feature in Massinger's productions of this class.

The opening of the drama is almost identical with a passage in Massinger's *Emperor of the East*, III. i.:

A Room in the Palace.

Enter PAULINUS and PHILANAX.

Paul. Nor this, nor the age before us, ever looked on
The like solemnity.

Phil. *A sudden fever*
Kept me at home. Pray you, my lord, acquaint me
With the particulars.

Paul. You may presume
No pomp or ceremony could be wanting,
Where there was privilege to command, and means
To cherish rare inventions.

Phil. I believe it;
But the sum of all in brief.

Paul. Pray you, so take it.
&c., &c.

Henry VIII., I. i.

London. *An Ante-chamber in the Palace.* Enter NORFOLK,
BUCKINGHAM, and ABERGAVENNY.

Buck. Good morrow, and well met. How have you done
Since last we saw in France?

Norf. I thank your grace,

Healthful; and ever since a fresh admirer
Of what I saw there.

Buck. *An untimely ague*
Stayed me a prisoner in my chamber, when
Those suns of glory, those two lights of men,
Met in the vale of Andren.

Norf. *'Twixt Guynes and Arde:*
I was then present, saw them salute on horseback:
Beheld them, when they lighted, how they clung
In their embracements as they grew together;
Which had they, what four throned ones could have weighed
Such a compounded one?

Buck. *All the whole time*
I was my chamber's prisoner.

In these and the following lines it is not only the metre that is similar in the two dramas. The language, the pictures, the tone of thought are so alike, that if the passages were presented to us without our knowing by whom they were, we should not hesitate to accept them as by the same author.

— The same metre continues uninterruptedly through the whole of *Henry VIII.*, Act I. sc. i. and ii. But with sc. iii. metre, language and tone of thought change entirely. Massinger, plunging at once *in medias res*, had shown us the state of parties at Court, the enmity between Buckingham and Wolsey, and the snare prepared by the latter for the former. In the second scene he had introduced the Queen as a party in these quarrels, openly showing her sympathy for Buckingham, and her hate to Wolsey. She speaks of the abuses of which he had made himself guilty, which had drawn not only on him, but even on the King, the hatred of the common people. She had even made a weak attempt to interfere in favour of the unfortunate Buckingham.

But the third scene, instead of advancing the action, or adding new threads to the web of the story, gives us a sketch of the follies of the travelled fops of those days, and contains allusions to contemporary fashions almost identical with those made by Fletcher in his part of *The Queen of Corinth*. The metrical peculiarities which distinguished Massinger from Fletcher have already been worked out in the Transactions of the N. S. S. The latter's style is so peculiar, that it is not too much to say, that any passage of his, of even a

few lines, may be recognized immediately. Lines like the following, which are frequent in his works, are hardly to be found in those of any other of his contemporaries. *Henry VIII.*, I. iii. :¹

Line 7. A fit or two of the face ; but they are *shrewd ones*.

„ 10. To Pepin or Clotharius, they keep *state so*.

„ 14. Their clothes are after such a Pagan *cut too*.

„ 45. A long time out of play may bring his *plain-song*.

„ 52. This night he makes a supper, and a *great one*.

„ 62. They are set here for examples.

True, they are *so*.

Of the above lines, line 45, it may be boldly said, is only to be found in Fletcher's work. In the fourth scene the authors interfered with each other's work. The scene was begun by Massinger, but from the line,

“As easy as a down-bed would afford it,”

Fletcher carried it on to “Enter the King.” From this place on, Massinger strikes in and finishes the scene. In Fletcher's part, lines 19—60, we have the line,

“Go, give 'em welcome, you can speak the *French tongue*.”

We have already noticed this extra accented syllable at the end as an exclusively Fletcherian peculiarity. The conversation between Lord Sands and Anne is of course by Fletcher, and her slippery answers are quite in his style, as in *Women Pleased*, V. ii. :

Isabella. He that would profess this,
And bear that full affection you make show of,
Should do—

Claudio. What should I do ?

Isab. I cannot show you.”

¹ These lines may serve as an answer to a question put by Prof. Delius in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1884 (XIX), with respect to the recently-discovered drama of Barnavelt. Prof. Delius finds it difficult to understand why Mr Bullen should ascribe such a line as “In every Prince's court highly esteemed of,” without more ado to Fletcher. He will find the answer for himself if he tries to discover such lines in any other poet's works. But I hope Prof. Delius will excuse the remark that, to avoid confusion for the future, it would be better if he would condescend to inform himself as to the question at issue, so far as to avoid applying the term ‘weak-ending’ to the above line, and to note that the *absence* of weak-endings is one of the special features of Fletcher's metre.

Compare this with *Henry VIII.*, I. iv. 47 :

“ <i>Lord Sands.</i>	And pledge it, madam,
For 'tis to such a thing—	
<i>Anne.</i>	You cannot show me.”

As Massinger required to show, for the sake of understanding his subsequent scenes, how the report about the divorce (II. i. 147-9) arose, and how Henry came to be so generous to Anne as we find him in II. iii., he (Massinger) struck in here at line 60 to describe the first meeting between Anne and the King. Characteristic of him is the manner in which the King gives us the impression made on him by Anne's beauty.

“The fairest hand I ever touched ! O, beauty,
Till now I never knew thee ! ”

In the 1000 parallel passages cited by me from Massinger's works in *Englische Studien*, Band VIII., there are several similar to the above.

Like the last scene of the first act, the first scene of the second act also shows how the poets wrote alternately in the same scene. The first few lines are in the favourite Massinger manner. Two gentlemen meet, and relate to each other what it is necessary for us to know in order to be able to follow the course of the action, while, at the same time, this necessary knowledge is kept in the background. Massinger's finer tact for the requirements of the stage recognized that it would be necessary to keep Buckingham's fate in the background, in order not to weaken the interest in Wolsey's fall by diverting it to the Duke through our sympathy for his fate. He meant to tell us about his execution through the two gentlemen, without introducing him personally. But Fletcher struck in at line 53, and in Buckingham's pathetic dying speech stopped the progress of the action, and kept our sympathies chained to a figure just about to disappear from the stage. He paid no attention to the hints which Massinger had dropped, from which we have already formed a tolerably distinct picture of the Duke. Buckingham's whole being seems all at once transformed in Fletcher's hands, as we later on see in the case of Wolsey, and as is also the case in Barnavelt. The latter and Buckingham are both sent lamenting to

✓ Scene ii. is by Fletcher, and details at large what Massinger merely glanced at concerning the separation. This and the episode about Doctor Pace and Gardiner have nothing to do in the drama.

Scene iii. is by Massinger, and seems quite out of place. It disturbs the interest in Katharine, which comes to a head in the next scene.

✓ Scene iv. is by Massinger. If the drama had been harmoniously developed, this scene should have come at the end of the third act. Then the death of Katharine might have been mentioned in the fourth act, and the attempts of the nobles to ruin Wolsey would have brought about the change in the movement of the action bringing on the catastrophe, which would have shown us at the end of the fifth act the fall, and perhaps the death, of Wolsey. This was probably Massinger's idea when he wished to keep Buckingham's fate in the background. But, after the manner in which Fletcher had brought the Duke before the eyes of the reader, this plan could no longer be realized. The fault lies at Fletcher's door, because he wilfully destroyed Massinger's plan. But Massinger is also guilty of a mistake shortly afterwards. In scene iii., by introducing Anne, and trying to interest us in her, when he ought to have been preparing us for the crisis in Katharine's fate in the next scene, he does his best to weaken our interest in the Queen. It was a mistake altogether to introduce Anne, if there were no intention of making her a prominent figure. She should either have appeared openly in a contest against Katharine, or have been only so noticed as to make Wolsey's ruin through the King's passion for her intelligible. This is not the only play in which Massinger has made a similar mistake, after his first design has been crossed by the dramatic incapacity of his associates. The closing scene of the second act is by far the finest in the whole play; but even here we have nowhere the compact thought and happy touches which

Buckingham's fate in the background (the only possible explanation of the introduction of the two gentlemen) abortive. As was mentioned above, the last scene of the first act, and several passages in the fifth, show these interferences of the one author with the work of the other, and changes resulting from such interference, in such a way that we cannot but come to the conclusion that the two authors wrote contemporaneously.

characterize Shakspeare's latest period. On the contrary, all the pictures are worked out into their minutest details, and leave no room for the play of our imagination. To give one instance, Wolsey says to the Queen, "Be patient yet," and she answers—

"I will, when you are humble; nay, before,
Or God will punish me."

The passage is, as occurs in Massinger so often, a reminiscence of Shakspeare in *The Tempest*, I. i. 16:

"Gonzalo. Nay, good, be patient.

Boatswain. When the sea is. Hence! What care these roarers for the name of king?"

The *Henry VIII.* instance is weakened by the addition of "Nay, before, or God will punish me." In the second—the *Tempest* instance—we have Shakspeare's quick turn and close-packed thought, which I find, in common with Mr. Furnivall, in the later dramas in the highest degree, but which I cannot find with him in *Henry VIII.*

Act III. sc. i. is Fletcher's. It is quite out of connection with what precedes and follows. After Katharine has left the Court, we should only see her, if we see her again at all, when, robbed of her crown and deprived of her rights, she yet towers above the double-tongued tyrant in the greatness of her equanimity and patience on the approach of death. The catastrophe has broken in on her when she leaves the Court. She has shown herself equal to the emergency, and rises queen-like to the call on her womanly pride and fortitude. Her death-scene shows her in the same favourable light; but this intermediate scene, which shows her exhausting the treasury of her woman's wit in combat with the two churchmen, is by no means calculated to raise her in our opinions. Nor can the interposition of this scene between the crisis in her fate and that of Wolsey take away from us the feeling that it is a great dramatic mistake to make two such terrible catastrophes follow each other so quickly.

In the second scene—that of Wolsey's ruin—both poets are again concerned. Massinger writes up to 203, and Fletcher finishes from here on. He seems to have felt no little pride at his success in this scene, and in his later dramas, particularly in *Barnavelt*, he looks back on it with pardonable vanity.

Act IV. consists of two scenes, of which the first is by Massinger, and the second by Fletcher. Massinger again introduces the two gentlemen whom he had before made use of when he wished to keep Buckingham's fate in the background. They expressly refer to their former meeting. There are two passages in this scene which are characteristic of Massinger, and which will be quoted later. Fletcher's scene, the death of Katharine, is perhaps the best sustained piece of work in all his dramas. In it he rises above his usual level, and gives us a sketch of the last moments of a noble woman, with all her greatness and her weaknesses, in a manner which has rarely been equalled; but still his fatal defect of giving every detail, of 'sprawling,' is seen even here.

Act V. bears the marks of haste and confusion. The main plot is at an end, and the act is only loosely attached to III. and IV. by a chain of allusions. The first scene is Massinger's, the second is Fletcher's, and contains a remarkable incident which the poets afterwards made use of in *Barnavelt*. In the third scene the first 113 lines are by Massinger, the rest by Fletcher. The fourth and fifth scenes are also Fletcher's. The whole of the fourth scene is remarkably like a scene of Fletcher's in the *Maid's Tragedy*, with which it will be compared later on. This division of the play differs in some particulars from that which appeared in the Transactions of the N. S. S. But it will be seen from the table in which it is resumed, that it sharply separates the two metres in every case. Some of the scenes I ascribe to Massinger show a considerable falling off in his usually harmonious style. This may be explained by his being forced to interpolate these scenes, or parts of scenes, hastily, owing to changes rendered necessary by what Fletcher had added. This falling off is most perceptible in the meeting between the King and Anne, and in the fifth act.

The historical allusions contained in the play are of the greatest importance as to the date and authorship. Such an allusion we have perhaps in the very opening of the drama. The mention of the Field of the Cloth of Gold is not required by any dramatic necessity. It is not essential for the understanding of the subsequent action, and only serves as a convenient means of making us

acquainted with the state of parties at Court. When we remember that this scene has a general resemblance to many of Massinger's opening scenes (*Great Duke of Florence*), particularly to *The Emperor of the East*, in which that writer has a strikingly similar scene, we must admit that it is more in his style than in Shakspeare's. It is not improbable that in this case an allusion to a contemporary event is concealed under this historical reminiscence. In July 1616, Lord Hay, who went to France ostensibly to bring about a marriage between Prince Charles and the French king's sister, entered Paris with a magnificent train, and dazzled the French with a splendour which was long remembered. Now in *Henry VIII.*, II. ii. 42, Fletcher mentions Wolsey's efforts to bring about a match between Henry and the French king's sister. Massinger had before this mentioned the breach between Wolsey and France, and his advances to Charles V. This was the principal accusation that Buckingham meant to bring against him. The Emperor (II. i., end) had not made Wolsey Archbishop of Toledo, which honour he had hoped for. The latter therefore tries to bring about the divorce between Henry and Katharine, to be revenged on Charles. In III. ii. 85, Massinger accordingly informs us that Wolsey was planning a match between Henry and the Duchess of Alençon. The mention of these two points, the Field of the Cloth of Gold and the French match, would gain new importance if we found other allusions to events occurring in the years 1615—1617. Such an allusion we have in *Henry VIII.*, I. ii. 29 :

“Not almost appears,
It doth appear; for upon these taxations,
The clothiers all, not able to maintain
The many to them 'longing, have put off
The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who,
Unfit for other life, compelled by hunger,
And lack of other means, in desperate manner
Daring the event to the teeth, are all in uproar,
And Danger serves among them.”¹

¹ I admit what Mr W. G. Stone urges, that “the source of these lines is Halle's *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 745. The Duke of Norfolk (who is the speaker) appeared a threatened outbreak of the people thrown out of employment. The only variance between the dramatist and the chronicler is, that the latter attributes the stagnation in the cloth trade to the war then going on with

From the second volume of Gardiner's *History of England between 1603 and 1642*, page 385, we learn that from 1613 on, if not earlier, the King's attention had been directed to the state of the cloth trade. From time to time regulations had been issued in favour of the trade, with the particular purpose of providing that the cloth should not only be woven, but also dyed and dressed in England. With the greater part of the cloth exported this legislation had been successful. But the great company of merchant adventurers trading in the country between Calais and Hamburg found no market for the cloth dyed and dressed in England. Whenever, in obedience to legislative enactments, they had exported such cloth to the countries with which they traded, they found that they could not even realize the price which they could get for undyed and undressed cloth. Under these circumstances they ceased to export it. Alderman Cockayne pressed on the King the necessity of making a new effort in favour of the English trade. Permission to export undyed cloth was withdrawn. The merchant adventurers refused to trade under these conditions, and gave up their charter on the 21st of February, 1615. A new company, with Cockayne at its head, was formed. When in 1616 the Dutch saw that the English meant to force their dyed and dressed cloth on the market, they determined to take the remedy into their own hands. They promised a premium for every new loom started, and in a few weeks the sound of the shuttle was heard all over the country. The consequences were not long in showing themselves. Gloucestershire sent in a petition complaining of the numbers thrown out of employment by the new regulations. Worcester and Wiltshire joined in the complaint. In 1617 Cockayne's company were compelled to give up business, and the merchant adventurers resumed their charter on their own conditions.

Taking these circumstances in connection with the talk of benevolences and impositions about this time, which might well figure in a play as 'taxations,' and which were much talked of in 1615, 1616, &c., we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the

Charles V." But I contend that Massinger's selection of this incident from Halle is due to its later parallel when the play was written.

allusions in *Hen. VIII.* are to contemporary events.¹ Even the accusation brought by the Queen, "The king our master . . . even he escapes not language unmannerly," finds an explanation. In 1614 Oliver St John, speaking of the benevolences, accused the King of breaking his coronation oath, and declared that all who paid a benevolence supported him in perjury. It should also be remembered that the whole contest between James and his Parliament in these years turned on the question of 'impositions.' Any one, in short, who reads chapters xviii. and xxi. of Gardiner's History will find his thoughts involuntarily turn to our play. And by a singular coincidence, Prof. Gardiner himself has shown, in a paper read before the N. S. S., that Massinger was continually in the habit of making such allusions.

Fletcher also in his own way makes allusions to the times in which he lived. But politics evidently did not attract him as they did Massinger. He liked to ridicule the "travelled gallants," with their new fashions and their "remnants of fool and feather that they got in France" or Italy. In I. iii. he interrupts the action to tell us of a proclamation for the reformation of these travelled fools, who filled the Court with quarrels, talk, and tailors. (Compare Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, which appeared in August 1616.) They are to put off the remnants of fool and feather that they got in France, with all the honourable points of ignorance pertaining thereunto, as fights and fireworks (*i. e.* the regulations for conducting a quarrel according to rule). They are to renounce the faith they have in tennis, tall stockings, and short blistered breeches.

In the *Queen of Corinth*, which is with certainty to be placed not earlier than the end of 1616 or 1617, and in which Massinger, Fletcher, and another, till now unknown, dramatist were engaged, we have exactly similar language (*Queen of C.*, II. iv.):

¹ 'And in *Hen. VIII.*'s reign also,' I fully admit, with Mr W. G. Stone. He adds: 'See *Halle*, pp. 694, 696, 697—701, the sources for the one-sixth levy, and Wolsey's practice in taking the credit of its remission to himself. At pp. 699, 700 we have an account of the disturbance amongst the clothiers' men, (they were in arms,) which the Duke of Norfolk managed to pacify. As to another exaction (of $\frac{1}{4}$ th) which Wolsey pressed, see pp. 655, 656.' These topics were put into the play on account of their like later parallels.

“Now you that trust in travel,
And make sharp beards and little breeches deities,
You that enhance the daily price of tooth-picks,
And hold there is no home-bred happiness,
Behold a model of your minds and actions.”

A little further on we have :

“Play with your Pisa beard.”

The part of the play from which this passage is taken is by Fletcher. In both *Henry VIII.* and *The Queen of Corinth* he ridicules, in almost the same words, the absurdities of the travelled coxcombs, just as Jonson does in *The Devil is an Ass*. To this group of dramas belong further by Massinger and Fletcher, *The Custom of the Country*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and *The Elder Brother*. These six dramas are all so closely connected with each other by a net-work of allusions to contemporaneous events and fashions, that they must necessarily belong to the same date. And this date is, as we can pronounce with certainty in the case of *The Devil is an Ass* and *The Queen of Corinth*, 1616 (for the latter, 1616 is the earliest possible date). *Henry VIII.* and *The Elder Brother* seem to come close after these dramas, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* shortly before them. Jonson's drama is decisive as to the date of *The Elder Brother*. In his usual manner he brings the humours and extravagances of the time (1616) on the stage. Among other things he gives us a humorous description of the office of a Master of the Dependencies, whose business it was to settle quarrels according to the honourable points of ignorance. Charles, the Elder Brother, refers to this office in the play of the same name, V. i. :

“Your high offers,
Taught by the Masters of Dependencies.”

Consequently we can place *The Elder Brother* shortly after *The Devil is an Ass*. Further, in *The Elder Brother* there is an allusion to a class of gallants who made it the fashion to wear no swords to protect themselves. In *The Custom of the Country* one of these gallants is abased by Duarte, and is forced to bear it, as he says himself, because he is of the fashion (*i. e.* a : is plain from the

context, he wears no sword, but a dagger). Again, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* we have an allusion to the custom of wearing no sword, and of a peculiar way of cutting the beard. In the part of *The Queen of Corinth* which was written by the unknown author, we have an allusion to the wearing of a stiletto instead of a sword, to the wearing of the beard in the form of the Roman T, to the fork-using traveller, and to the disfavour into which yellow starch fell after the execution of Mrs Turner in November, 1615. So many points of contact with reference to fleeting fashions in so many different dramas show that they originated at the same time. There remains a point to be established which I have not the means of settling. It is the change of fashion indicated by the words "short blistered breeches." In 1607 and 1608, in Middleton's *Family of Love*, and *Honest Whore*, "great breeches" are mentioned as fashionable. Query, when did short breeches,—the "little breeches" mentioned in *The Queen of Corinth*, 1616,—become fashionable, and what is meant by the word 'blistered'?¹ Puffed, I suppose; covered with small puffs, the hollows being stitched down.

In *Henry VIII.*, V. ii. we find a peculiar indignity offered to Cranmer. He was kept at the door of the council-house amongst pursuivants, pages, and foot-boys. It is remarkable that the same incident occurs in *Barnavelt*, written in 1619 by Massinger and Fletcher. Here the insult is offered to the Prince of Orange, and it is described in exactly the same way. In the MS. of the *Barnavelt* play there is a note in the hand-writing of Sir George Buck, in which the latter expresses his dislike of the passage. No insult of the kind, he says, had been offered to the Prince. But something of the kind had occurred in England towards the end of the year 1616.² Coke had been dismissed from his office as Chief Justice, under circumstances which secured to

¹ It would be interesting to find out whether Buckingham, who was rapidly rising into favour in those years, did not originate the fashion of wearing short breeches, and the peculiar manner of wearing the beard mentioned in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Captain Dillon states that slasht breeches are shown in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, *t.* Hen. VIII.

² It might also refer to the story of Bacon's being kept waiting later in 1617, after the Coke-Villiers marriage affair.—S. R. Gardiner.

him the public sympathy (Gardiner, *Hist.* III. chap. xxii.). This sympathy was increased by the treatment he received at the hands of men who were far his inferiors. It was remarked, that when he was called upon to answer to the questions put to him on the subject of his reports, he was not even asked to sit down. Ellesmere's servants even went so far as to keep their hats on in his presence. This may be the basis of the incident related in two dramas so near in point of time (if my present theory be correct). That there was some foundation for the story in contemporary history we may conclude from the uneasiness displayed by Sir G. Buck in his note.

Finally, there is a passage in *Henry VIII.*, V. iv. 34:—"Or have we some strange Indian with the great tool come to court." The word 'tool' is printed small in all the editions; but in the Folio it is in Italics, and begins with a capital. This is a peculiarity common to all the proper names quoted in the text, as, Sampson, Sir Guy, Colebrand, Master Puppy, Limbo Patrum, &c. The word was evidently meant for a proper name. A misprint in such a case is hardly to be thought of. There must evidently be some allusion intended. Now in Middleton's *Fair Quarrel*, which appeared in 1617, we have, Act IV. scene iv. :

"I yield; the great O Toole shall yield on these conditions."

Dyce explains in a note that, in 1622, Arthurus Severus O Toole was the subject of a poem by Taylor the Water Poet, to which a portrait of the celebrated Irishman is prefixed. His youth had been devoted to Mars, and his old age to the town of Westminster, which was at the date of the poem honoured with his residence.

In Middleton's *Fair Quarrel* an Indian is mentioned in the same scene, a little earlier. "How I and my Amazons stripped you as naked as an Indian." That Middleton was poking his coarse fun at the comical Irishman is plain. What has escaped all commentators till now is, that Fletcher is doing exactly the same in *Henry VIII.* In 1611 five Indians came to England. In 1614 three of them returned, one went to the Continent, one died and was exhibited as a show. The allusion in the text is probably to the

latter. But we must not forget that in the year 1617 there was much talk of the Indians. In that year the famous Pocahontas came to England, and was presented to the Queen ("come to court") by the equally famous Captain Smith. These allusions are well calculated to excite our suspicion as to the correctness of any date earlier than 1617 for our play.

Let us now examine the language of the play, and compare it with Massinger's in his other dramas. One passage at the opening of the play, we have seen already, is strikingly similar in its language to Massinger's *Emperor of the East*. But the language in this passage is typical for all the pictures which occur later on, and is similar to Massinger's, but totally unlike Shakspeare's. At line 9 we have :

"How they clung
In their embracements as they grew together ;
Which had they, what four throned ones could have weighed
Such a compounded one?"

The picture is substantially the same as that in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. iii. 4 :

"Were they metamorphised
Both into one!—O, why, there were no woman
Worth so composed a man."

If we compare with the former picture the short pithy passage in *Hamlet*, I. iii. 62 :

"The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel,"

we shall find it weak and diffuse. Even compared with the form the picture takes in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, it shows a decided falling off. The weight of Henry and Francis, exceeding that of any other four throned ones, can, in the face of Henry's obesity in his later years, only excite a smile.

In a manner peculiar to Massinger, an idea is repeated further on, line 22 :

"Their dwarfish pages were
As cherubins, all gilt : their madams too,
Not used to toil, did almost sweat to bear
The pride upon them, that their very labour
Was to them as a painting."

And at line 83, a remark used by others :¹

“ O, many
Have broke their backs with laying manors on them.”

Massinger, in his part of the *Honest Man's Fortune* (besides many other passages in other plays), has, III. i. 26 :

“ *Lamira.* My back shall not be
The base on which your soothing citizen
Erects his summer-houses.”

Compare, again, the passage beginning line 33 to

“ That Bevis was believed,”

with a similar passage in Massinger's *Picture* :

“ By what he did, we boldly may believe
All that is writ of Hector.”

Line 130,—a common phrase—

“ Let your reason with your choler question,
What 'tis you go about,”

is repeated in *Barnaveit*, I. i. (Grotius) :

“ What 'tis you go about ;”

and in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. ii. 98 :

“ 'Tis bad he goes about.”

A little further in our drama we have :

“ To climb steep hills
Requires slow pace at first ; anger is like
A full-hot horse, who, being allowed his way,
Self-mettle tires him.”

In Massinger's *Unnatural Combat*, IV. ii. 6 :

“ Let his passion work, and like a hot-reined horse
'Twill quickly tire itself.”

At line 140 we have :

“ Heat not a furnace for your foe so hot
That it do singe yourself.”

This is a common picture in Massinger. In *The Bondman*, III. iii. 160 :

¹ See *Var. Sh.* xix. 318, note 9. (Reed's references are to the *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, 1607, and Wilson's *Discourse upon Usury*, 1572. See Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. pp. 490, 491, for both these references.)—W. G. S.

“Or yield up
Our bodies to the furnace of their fury
Thrice heated with revenge.”

A *Very Woman*, II. i. 2 :

“Into the furnace of your father’s anger.”

And in many other plays.

At line 154 we have :

“Proofs as clear as founts in Júlý, when
We see each grain of gravel.”

In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. i. 112 :

“There through my tears,
Like wrinkled pebbles in a glassy stream,
You may behold them.”

In the third act of our drama the King goes off frowning on Cardinal Wolsey. In the fifth act he enters frowning, and Cranmer speaks of it as his ‘aspéct of terror.’ This is a common trait in Massinger’s characters. (In other men’s too, I admit.)

Custom of the Country, V. iii. :

“What a frown was there.”

Renegado, II. i. (Carazie) :

“What a frown was that.”

In *The Maid of Honour* the King goes off frowning on Bertoldo. In the *Picture* Honoria goes off frowning on Mathias.

In *Henry VIII.*, V. iii. 30 we have an allusion to the Peasants’ War :

“As of late days our neighbours,
The upper Germany, can dearly witness,
Yet freshly pitied in our memories.”

Compare *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, III. ii. :

“The sad example
At Rome between the Ursins and Colonnas,
Nay, here at home in Florence, ’twixt the Neri
And the Bianchi, can too mainly witness.”

In the play itself thoughts are repeated which have been expressed

shortly before. Such a case we have seen in sc. i. In II. i. the one Gentleman says of Buckingham's fate—

“I'm sorry for't,”

the other answers—

“So are a number more.”

Katharine has before said to the King—

“I am sorry that the Duke of Buckingham
Is run in your displeasure,”

and he answers—

“It grieves many.”

A passage in II. iii. 78—

“But from this lady may proceed a gem
To lighten all this isle,”

is repeated in III. ii. 50—

“I persuade me, from her
Will fall some blessing to this land, which shall
In it be memorized.”

These repetitions are characteristic of Massinger. In II. ii. we learn that the King is alone, “full of sad thoughts and troubles,” a favourite situation with Massinger. More than twenty such passages may be cited.

The passage IV. i. 59, borrowed from *Julius Cæsar*—

“I am stifled
With the mere rankness of their joy,”

can hardly be supposed to be Shakspeare's. At the end of the same scene we have—

“As I walk thither
I'll tell you more.”

Barnavelt says in the drama of the same name, p. 219—

“As we sit
“I'll yield you further reasons.”

From these examples, which are a fair specimen of the average language of the play, it is plain that the language of *Henry VIII.* is in no respect above the level of that of Massinger's other plays. That it does not reach the level of Shakspeare's language in his later

plays, will be plain to any one who takes the trouble to compare a later play with our drama.

The picture in *Henry VIII.*—

- (1) "Anger is like
A full-hot horse, who being allowed his way,
Self-mettle tires him,"

is given in *Coriolanus*, IV. ii. 50, thus—

- (2) "Anger's my meat; I sup upon myself,
And so shall starve with feeding."

In prose it is in the same play, II. i. 63—

- (3) "Give your disposition the reins, and be angry at your pleasure."

In *Henry VIII.*, I. i. 14, we have—

- (4) "We may outrun,
By violent swiftness, that which we run at,
And lose by overrunning,"

and further on—

- (5) "The fire that mounts the liquor till't run o'er,
In seeming to augment it, wastes it."

In *Macbeth*, II. iii. 16—

- (6) "The expedition of my violent love
Outruns the pauser, reason,"

and in the same play, I. vii. 25—

- (7) "I have no spur,
To prick the sides of my intent, but only
Vaulting ambition, that o'erleaps itself,
And falls on the other."

Coriolanus, IV. ii. 19—

- (8) "You might have been enough the man you are,
With striving less to be so."

Henry VIII., I. i. 134—

- (9) "Not a man in England
Can advise me like you,"

and—

- (10) "I say again there is no English soul
More stronger to direct you than yourself,
If with the sap of reason you would quench,
Or but allay, the fire of passion."

Winter's Tale, I. ii. 20—

- (11) "There is no tongue that moves, none, none i' th' wor'd,
So soon as yours could win me."

Henry VIII., I. i. 40—

- (12) "The tract of everything
Would by a good discourser lose some life
Which action's self was tongue to."

Winter's Tale, I. ii. 90—

- (13) "One good deed, dying tongueless,
Slaughters a thousand waiting upon that."

In these examples we see two modes of treatment common in Shakspeare. In the one case the image presented to us is so complete in all its details, that a painter could give us just as lively an interpretation of it as the poet does. These may be called pictorial images. They are the products of the fancy. Or, if the subject be unfit for pictorial representation, it is at least so detailed that it exhausts the subject. Such are pictures 1, 4, 5, 10, all from *Henry VIII.*, 3, which is in a prose scene, and 11. But when the poet raises his tone, when passion imparts feathers to the wings of his imagination, the pictures run into each other as in 7, in which Macbeth runs into one two distinct images, or he throws a gleam of light upon one feature of the picture, and leaves the rest for the imagination to fill out, as in *Coriolanus* (2). These may be called symbolic images. Their characteristic is that one trait is seized upon to represent a whole picture. The latter class of images are hardly ever fit for pictorial representation, and embrace the most striking passages in Shakspeare's dramas. They are the products of imagination, the others of fancy, and the blending of these two classes of images, those of fancy clear and plain to the eye as well as to the mind, in the less elevated portions of a play, with those loftier images which impress themselves on the soul with one stroke, but which the eye alone cannot realize, in passages trembling with inner fire, is one of the characteristics of Shakspeare, especially in his later dramas—a characteristic possessed by no other poet in anything like the same degree. Massinger had not the inner fire which expels the dross, and leaves us the noble ore; he never rises into the higher realms of

imagination; and to this want of passionate power we may ascribe the fulness of detail with which his pictures are encumbered. To my mind, one of the most convincing arguments against Shakspeare's authorship of *Henry VIII.* is the total absence of that passionate power which is the undertone in all his later dramas, and which, when it rises to the surface, makes itself felt in the manner in which he flashes his thoughts upon us in a way we can feel but not express. We wade through Massinger, and get at his meaning through a fulness of detail. We spring at Shakspeare's thoughts at one leap.

Where have we, for instance, in *Henry VIII.* anything like the following from *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 84?—

“ This avarice
Sticks deeper, grows with more pernicious root,
Than summer-seeming lust, and it hath been
The sword of our slain kings”;

or, IV. iii. 81—

“ And my more-having would be as a sauce
To make me hunger more.”

In the first case it is Macduff's inner fire which gives the thought its compressed form, stripped of all useless accessories. In the second, the compression of a whole thought into the word ‘more-having’ gives the passage a force which could not be given in any other way. Massinger would assuredly have expanded the word into a sentence. The collocation of two pictures such as “avarice growing with more pernicious root,” and forming “the sword of our slain kings,” would never have disturbed his well-ordered gallery, in which every picture hangs in its proper place.

Shakspeare did not reach this compressed form of expression till comparatively late in his career. It forms an essential part of his technical resources in his later dramas. But this technical perfection of expression is just what strikes us most forcibly as wanting in *Henry VIII.* We have examples of poets living till their once glowing imaginations became cold. The fire that lighted up all the objects it fell upon hardly smoulders under the ashes. But we have no example of such a change taking place in so short a time as that which separates the *Tempest* from *Henry VIII.* We have no

example of a poet, even when the mere ruin of what he once was, losing that mastery over the technical part of his art which was the outcome of a life-experience. It may be asked, Why did Shakspeare, with unabated force of imagination, and with all the resources of a rich life's experience still unimpaired at his command, keep silence during the last few years of his life? The key to his silence may perhaps be found in a reason of a quite external nature. The public taste had altered, and it must not be forgotten that Shakspeare wrote exclusively for the stage. Two young rivals had arisen, who had taken the public ear by storm, and who were long prized far more than Shakspeare himself by the public, if we may judge by the frequency with which their plays were represented. Before the earliest possible date for *Henry VIII.*, even before his *Tempest* and *Winter's Tale*, they had produced three of their most celebrated works. Beaumont and Fletcher were Shakspeare's official successors. What more natural than that the elder poet, seeing the altered direction of the public taste, yielded his place silently and without bitterness to his young rivals? Fletcher, however, must soon have found that, in order to supply the stage with all the material it needed, he wanted more help than Beaumont could give him. As early as 1612¹ we trace Massinger's hand, together with his and Fletcher's, in *The Honest Man's Fortune*. The play was begun by some unknown author whose style is remarkably like Cyril Tourneur's. He wrote Acts I. and II., Massinger wrote III., Beaumont IV., and Fletcher V. From this time on we are continually coming on traces of Massinger's participation in the Beaumont and Fletcher dramas; sometimes, as in *The Knight of Malta*, together with Beaumont, oftener, as in *The Bloody Brother* and *Thierry and Theodoret*, without him. The number of dramas which show unmistakable traces of Massinger's co-operation amounts to twenty. His share is easily ascertainable by his inveterate habit of repeating himself. This arose probably from his profession as an actor. Fletcher, who was not an actor, does not repeat himself to anything like the same degree. It is comparatively seldom that he, in one play, makes allusions to his

¹ See my article on Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger in the *Englische Studien*, 1883, 1884.

work in another. But the play before us is an exception. He seems to have been proud of his share in it, and in his part of *Barnavelt*, written in 1619 (two years later if my theory be correct), the similarity in situation recalled expressions from *Henry VIII.* to his memory which he freely makes use of.

Vandort says to Barnavelt in III. i.—

“Methinks he bears not in his countenance
The fulness of that grave and constant spirit,
Nor in his eye appears that heat and quickness,
He was wont to move withal.”

These words remind us of a scene in which the nobles comment on Wolsey immediately before his disgrace.

The parting between Leidenberg and Barnavelt—

“Farewell! my last farewell!
A long farewell, sir!”

has exactly the ring of Wolsey's farewell.

In *The Double Marriage* (belonging to 1619) Juliana says, III. iii.—

“Farewell, sir! Like Obedience thus I leave you,
My long farewell!”

Wolsey's exclamation at the end of *Henry VIII.*, Act III.—

“O Cromwell, Cromwell!
Had I but served my God with half the zeal
I served my king, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies,”

occurs in *The Double Marriage*, II. iii. (Violet to Ascanio)—

“Had we served our country
Or honesties as we have served our follies,
We had not been here now.”

Wolsey's exclamation, III. ii. 213—

“O, negligence!
Fit for a fool to fall by,”

occurs in *Barnavelt*, III. i.—

“What a dull fool was I,
A stupid fool, to wrap up such a secret
In a sheep's heart!”

Massinger's part of *The Double Marriage* has a repetition of the idea, V. ii.—

“Had I never trusted
So deep a practice unto shallow fools,
The honour of this action had been mine.”

Wolsey says, III. ii. 226—

“I shall fall
Like a bright exhalation in the evening,
And no man see me more.”

Massinger repeats the image in his *Virgin Martyr*, V. ii. 318 (belongs to 1619)—

“In the evening,
When thou shouldst pass with honour to thy rest,
Wilt thou fall like a meteor?”

Fletcher comes back on the idea (*Barnavelt*, IV. iii.)—

“Must all these glories vanish into darkness,
And Barnavelt pass with them and glide away
Like a spent exhalation?”

and once more in *The Double Marriage*, II. iii.—

“A woman's mirth or anger, like a meteor,
Glides and is gone, and leaves no crack behind it.”

Wolsey says of Anne, III. iii. 408—

“There was the weight that pulled me down.”

Barnavelt says to Leidenberg, III. iv.—

“When you gave way to the Prince to enter Utrecht,
There was a blow, a full blow, at our fortunes!”

Besides these remarkable links connecting Fletcher's work in *Henry VIII.* with his shares in *Barnavelt* and *The Double Marriage*, we have a remarkable similarity to note between *Henry VIII.*, V. iv. and a scene in *The Maid's Tragedy*.

Porter. You'll leave your noise anon, ye rascals; do you take the court for Paris-garden? ye rude slaves, leave your gaping.

(*Within.*) Good Master Porter, I belong to the larder.

Porter. Belong to the gallows, and be hanged, ye rogue! is this a place to rear in? Fetch me a dozen crab-tree staves, and strong ones: these are but switches to 'em. *I'll scratch your heads* . . .

How got they in and be hanged?”

Maid's Tragedy, I. ii.*Enter* CALIANAX and DIAGORAS.

Cal. Diagoras, look to the doors better, for shame! you let in all the world.

Diag. What now?

Melantius (within). Open the door!

Diag. Who's there?

Mel. Melantius

Diag. Stand back there! Room for my Lord Melantius! Pray, bear back; this is no place for such youths and their trulls. Let the doors shut again. No! do your heads itch? *I'll scratch them for you.* (*Shuts the door.*) Again! who is't now? I cannot blame my Lord Calianax for running away; 'would he were here! he would run raging among them, and break a dozen wiser heads than his own in the twinkling of an eye. What's the news now?

(*Within.*) *I pray you, can you help me to the speech of the master cook?*

Diag. If I open the door I'll cook some of your calves' heads. Peace, rogues!

The scene in *Henry VIII.* is simply an elaboration of this earlier scene of Fletcher's. A little further on in *Henry VIII.*, V. iv., the Porter says, "These are the youths that thunder at a play-house, and fight for bitten apples; that no audience, but the Tribulation of Tower Hill, or the limbs of Lime-House, their dear brothers, are able to endure."

A similar allusion to the rude behaviour of the apprentices at plays is to be found in Fletcher's *Wit without Money* (about 1612). IV. 5 :—

"Till you break in at plays like 'prentices,
For three a groat, and crack nuts with the scholars,
In penny rooms again, and fight for apples."

These passages show that the prose scene in *Henry VIII.*, V. iv., is Fletcher's. He has left us very little prose, but amongst that little, the scene in *The Maid's Tragedy*, which formed the model for the one in *Henry VIII.*, bears all the marks of his hand. In *Henry VIII.* he came back on these early dramas, but in all the Fletcher dramas between 1612 and 1616 there are no such links to be found. Then we have about the year 1616-17 the group of plays to which *The Queen of Corinth* belongs, making allusions to the fashions that

are also mentioned in *Henry VIII.*; and finally, two years afterwards, in 1619, we have plentiful reminiscences of *Henry VIII.* If *Henry VIII.* existed in 1613, why do we not find such allusions to it in plays of the years 1613-14-15, &c., as we have in 1619? Are we to suppose that Fletcher forgot his work for six years, and then suddenly began to make plentiful allusions to it? No theory but the acceptance of a later date than 1613 for *Henry VIII.* will meet the necessities of the case.

All that remains of my task is to see whether the point in which Shakspeare is at once to be distinguished from his contemporaries, the way in which he develops his characters, favours the present theory or not. All critics have felt more or less difficulty with *Henry VIII.* in this point. The indistinctness with which they are drawn is perhaps the reason why some critics, like Elze, wish to put our play back to 1603. Others shut their eyes to the difference between the characters of this play and those of the latest period in general, and comprehend them all in general terms of praise. Anne, and especially Katharine, have been singled out for notice in this way. Now the plays of Shakspeare's fourth period are all remarkable for a certain common trait running through almost all the principal female figures. (The exceptions are in the Roman dramas.) These later creations differ from his earlier figures in a greater idealization. Yet the process of idealization has not gone so far as to destroy their reality. They are "spirits, but yet women too." With all their lofty purity, in the presence of which earthly passion feels itself rebuked, they are "not too bright and good for human nature's daily food."

It is this mixture of the spirit-world with the world of flesh and blood which gives Imogen, Miranda, Marina, and Perdita their unspeakable charm. To this class, if she be a creation of Shakspeare's, Anne Boleyn must belong. That the poet means us to have a high opinion of her is plain from the trouble which he takes to show what an impression she makes on her surroundings.¹ The Chamberlain says of her, II. iii. 75—

¹ No. II. iii. is a revelation of the true character of A. B. She cannot conceal the essential vulgarity of her nature from the old Lady, who is a kindred spirit. But A. B.'s beauty, graceful bearing (see IV. i. 82 and sqq.),

“ I have perused her well ;
 Beauty and honour in her are so mingled,
 That they have caught the king : and who knows yet
 But from this lady may proceed a gem
 To lighten all this isle ! ”

In a similar way, Suffolk says of her, III. ii. 49—

“ She is a gallant creature, and complete
 In mind and feature ; I persuade me, from her
 Will fall some blessing to this land, which shall
 In it be memorized.”

Even Wolsey says of her, III. ii. 97, 98—

“ What though I know her virtuous
 And well-deserving ? ”

In IV. i. 43 the second Gentleman says of her—

“ Heaven bless thee !
 Thou hast the sweetest face I ever looked on.
 Sir, as I have a soul, she is an angel ;
 Our king has all the Indies in his arms,
 And more, and richer, when he strains that lady ;
 I cannot blame his conscience.”

And Sir Thomas Lovell, V. i. 24, says—

“ My conscience says
 She’s a good creature, and, sweet lady, does
 Deserve our better wishes.”

If Anne be a creature of Shakspeare’s, we must expect her to come up to the golden opinions which she has acquired among all sorts of people. We must expect to find a picture of her in some measure justifying these praises ; but we have hardly even a sketch of her. In I. iv., after the above-mentioned conversation between

and modest speech impose upon outsiders, all of whom, observe, are men. I do not believe that we are meant to regard the A. B. of II. iii. as really deserving the golden opinions which she has won from many, but that we are to be enabled, by this scene, to perceive the falsity of popular judgment. One point deserves notice. The A. B. of II. iii. accords, I think (so far as she is sketched for us), with her presentment through modern historical research. Whence was this characterization derived ? There is not a trace of it in Halle. Foxe praises her almsgiving, good order at Court, piety, and evangelical leanings. He denies the gross charges brought against her by Cardinal Pole and Paulus Jovius. In all contemporary printed matter, I suspect we should find either praise or the coarsest abuse.—W. G. S.

Lord Sands and her, Fletcher takes her up, and shows how the King fell in love with her. He calls her a "dainty one," "sweet heart," &c., and declares it would be unmannerly to take her out to the dance and not to kiss her. Anything more un-Shaksperean it would be difficult to imagine. All this time Anne does not once open her mouth. In one scene, II. iii., with the old lady, who could never come pat between too early and too late, she does speak, but hardly in a way calculated to gain golden opinions for her from any sort of people. The scene begins after Massinger's usual manner in the middle of a conversation. (Fletcher generally begins conscientiously from "Good morrow.") The old lady has just been speaking of something which would make the divorce, of which all are speaking, particularly painful for Katharine. Anne seizes the opportunity of expressing herself on this subject. We should expect to hear from her, that the brutal disregard of twenty years of marriage love would take up the first place among the cares now pressing on the Queen. This would naturally be the first thought of any sterling woman. But Anne does not lose a word on the subject. She praises the conjugal fidelity of the Queen, a singular subject of praise for a young girl to choose from among the virtues of an elderly woman. (Note that this is not the only place in *Henry VIII.* in which we are surprised to find the Queen's conjugal fidelity praised, as if such a virtue were something hardly to be met with.) What Anne imagines will be the greatest trial to the Queen is the leaving of the majesty and pomp, the parting from which, after being so long accustomed to them, will be a sufferance panging as soul and body's severing. Giving up such majesty and pomp, she says, is a thousand-fold more bitter than they were sweet at first to acquire. Thus she shows us where her own thoughts are. She is so occupied with the idea of how sweet it will be to acquire that pomp and majesty herself, that her thoughts will not away from the subject, and she pictures Katharine grieving over what, to her own shallow nature, is the only thing worth grieving for in the misfortune that has befallen her mistress. The old lady sees that she is not speaking out all that is on her mind, and takes occasion to try to make her speak freely. She is rewarded by a reproof, which takes

quite a different tone from what Anne was accustomed to use to her before the Chamberlain's message. The anticipation of her royal rank has already caused a change in her manner of treating one who but a minute ago was her equal. But she is cunning enough to warn the old lady not to speak to the Queen of the Chamberlain's message. In short, she is playing a part in the whole scene, and plays it so badly, that even the old lady has no difficulty in seeing through her. Her sympathy for Katharine is the conventional hypocrisy of such shallow natures, the full value of which we see when we find her accepting the King's advances, but prudently trying to keep well with the world at the same time, by expressing a cheap sympathy with the sufferings of her whom she is trying to push from her throne.

Katharine is a figure of another mould ; loftier and purer in her nature than her rival, she by no means equals the higher types of the later dramas. Her heart is as firmly set on the vanities of her high station as that of her selfish and cunning rival. We see her first in I. ii., where she supports the nobles against Wolsey, and makes a very weak attempt to save Buckingham.¹ In the trial scene we are allowed to cast a glance into her inner nature, before Fletcher takes her up in the following scene, and, in the fourth act, to make quite a different figure of her. But this trial scene, which shows us Katharine at her best, naturally provokes to a comparison with another trial scene, which, under the supposition that Shakspeare wrote *Henry VIII.*, would be almost contemporary. Katharine is, it is true, a noble creature when compared with the cunning, shuffling tyrant, with the unscrupulous Wolsey, or the empty heart of her rival ; but it cannot be contended, even by her most ardent admirers, that she reaches the height of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*. We can look deep into the pure soul of the latter, and recognize the motive that lies at the root of all she says, and, what is more, of all she does not say. Both insist on their wifely obedience. But Katharine exaggerates when she declares that she has never kept any one in her favour whom the King did not like. Her weak attempt in favour of Buckingham contradicts her words. She asserts like-

¹ This is not in Halle or Holinshed.—W. G. S.

wise that she has always tried to keep the King's favourites in her liking.¹ This wrong idea of wifely obedience (which she evidently looks on as equivalent to servility) is not at all consistent with her queenly bearing during the trial. There she is natural and consistent, and we judge of her from her actions, and forget her words and the claim she puts in for slavish obedience in her relations with her husband. There is a great difference between the two women in the way in which they mention their high birth. Hermione, the daughter of the emperor of Russia, wishes that her father could see his daughter's misery, but with eyes of pity, not revenge. Katharine, who remembers that she is the daughter of a king, will change her tears to sparks of fire.² Hermione, after defending her dignity as a woman, and her fair fame, with as much energy as Katharine, is carried seemingly lifeless out of the Court. But Katharine shows no trace of the softening influence of misfortune. She leaves the Court stern and defiant, after hurling her appeal to the Pope at the head of her tyrant.³ She makes no mention of her love to the King, nor does she intimate anywhere the existence of such a feeling on her part.⁴ It costs Hermione a severe effort to repress the words of love that well up in her heart, and she reveals her whole loving soul when she wishes her dead father might see her misery, but *with eyes of pity, not revenge*. She is penetrated with the trait which we find, in a greater or less degree, in all the later dramas—the softening influence of adversity. This is something quite distinct from the Fletcherian shrivelling up of everything manly in Buckingham's nature and in Wolsey's in the presence of death, or under the pressure of misfortune. Prospero's character acquires the lofty humanity which forms its chief attraction during his solitude on the island. Leontes becomes so much milder under misfortune, that even Paulina fears that she has reproached him too unsparingly. We wonder at the

¹ Here Holinshed has been followed, except in 'what friend . . . discharged,' II. iv. 31—34, for which I find no source.—W. G. S.

² 'Katharine . . . sparks of fire.' Holinshed is the authority for II. 75—84, the sequence of this speech.—W. G. S.

³ 'She leaves . . . tyrant.' From Holinshed.—W. G. S.

⁴ 'She makes . . . her part.' Why should she? She pleads her wifely duty. The character is clear and consistent, following, as it does, the lines laid down in Holinshed.—W. G. S.

depth of soul which flashes on us through the dark cloud of Pericles' melancholy. In *Cymbeline*, in *Coriolanus*, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, though this idea of the softening influence of adversity does not occupy such a prominent place in the plans of these dramas, or is treated in a different way, it no less pervades them all. This is a trait in harmony with the whole psychical development of the poet's nature. It is the outcome of his own life-experience. This truth dawns upon us with the force of a revelation when we see in *Measure for Measure*, under the figure of the Duke, the poet himself described by Escalus as "one that, above all other strifes, contended especially to know himself." Mariana in the same play, V. i., speaks the inmost thoughts of the poet when she says—

"They say, best men are moulded out of faults,
And, for the most, become much more the better
For being a little bad."

Taken together, the two utterances lay clear the life-principle that conducted the poet to the height of his wonderful and harmonious development. The continual striving to know himself, to make use of his faults and weaknesses, in order by their help to mould his character into a nobler form, was the guiding principle which led him through his dark life-struggle to the sunny heights beyond, on which his eye had been steadily fixed, even when the gloom in and around him was at its darkest. Such a process of self-purification must of necessity have left its mark deeply stamped on his works. We can trace it plainly to the close in all but one play, and that play is the one before us.

When we find a play like *Henry VIII.*, which must have been written, if written at all, by Shakspeare after he had attained that wonderful balance of intellect and heart, of reason and imagination, which once acquired may be destroyed, but can never be impaired; when we find such a play in utter contradiction with the story that the other works tell us of his psychical development, are we not justified in looking at it with distrust? Can we accept a work as his which destroys the picture which that story so vividly calls up before us of the poet in his later years, a picture so harmonious and

complete that it impresses itself with irresistible conviction on our minds?

Still less than the female characters are the male characters of the play calculated to produce the impression that they are Shakspearean. To begin with Wolsey; he is meant to convey the impression of a great nature. But we see that he owes his greatness not to himself, but to his position with the King.¹ Thus, when the latter withdraws his favour, he sinks at once, without an effort to save himself, to his natural insignificance. He has not the qualities which would have impressed respect on the common-place natures of the nobles, and forced them to keep their distance after his fall. Even though it is Fletcher's blundering hand which represents Wolsey and his enemies vulgarly quarrelling, it must be granted that the Cardinal, all through the play, has so little true nobility in his nature that this does not even strike us as a degradation. He is just the sort of man whom we should expect to see take part in such a vulgar scolding scene. The means by which he betrays Buckingham we know to have been the help of a traitorous servant of the Duke's, and a cunning use of the cowardly fears of the King.² When the Queen accuses him of oppressing the common people,³ he takes refuge under the shadow of the authority of the Council, which, it was notorious, was only his tool. He impresses on the Secretary the necessity of representing him as the one who had obtained a pardon for the offenders.⁴ He cannot repress the triumph of a low nature over the ruin of his adversary, in his words to the Queen:

"Now, madam, may his highness live in freedom,
And this man out of prison?"

The whole littleness of the man appears in the trial-scene, when Katharine accuses him of urging on the King to the divorce. He in

¹ 'To begin . . . King.' The play follows the historical authority.—W. G. S.

² 'The means . . . King.' Taken from Holinshed. Compare the plot against the Duchess of Gloster in 2 *Hen. VI.*, and Richard's 'G' prophecies-scheme against Clarence.

³ Here the play departs from the historical sources. The disturbance amongst the weavers (see note on p. 459) brought Wolsey's doings to the King's knowledge.—W. G. S.

⁴ 'he takes refuge . . . offenders.' Holinshed or Halle.—W. G. S.

a manner forces Henry to a lie, to clear him in the eyes of the world. He ought to have known that such a defence was the surest proof of guilt he could have given.¹ Up to the moment of his fall, we find him entirely occupied with plans how to strengthen his influence with the King, in which influence alone he sees his greatness. Fletcher makes him fall below contempt when, in the conversation with Campeius, he says of Dr Pace, "He was a fool; for he would needs be virtuous." The reasons he gives for removing Dr Pace—"We live not to be griped by meaner persons"—and for advancing Gardiner—"That good fellow, if I command him, follows my appointment"—are not such as a Cardinal Wolsey would avow, even to himself, much less to another. This trait of cynical openness is in contradiction with all that we have elsewhere learned about the character of the Cardinal. Just as unnatural is his utter collapse after his disgrace.

This same unnatural collapse we have to remark in Buckingham's case. The latter is one of Massinger's typical figures. The same 'impotence,' as Massinger defines the utter want of self-restraint in his headlong, passionate characters, hurries him to destruction, which we observe in *The Duke of Milan*, *The Unnatural Combat*, and many other Massinger plays. In both cases Fletcher is responsible for the moral collapse which follows on misfortune, as is also the case in the newly-discovered play of *Barnavelt*.

Compare Buckingham's mild

"But those that sought it, I could wish more Christians,"

and his praise of his noble treatment at his trial, his flattery of the King, who sends him to the scaffold to free himself from his own cowardly fears, with Barnavelt as he shows himself at his trial under Massinger's hand, and the same Barnavelt as Fletcher makes him appear in his dying speech: Bullen's *Old Plays*, II. p. 291:

"Give me leave
Only to smile, then say all these are false,
Your witnesses suborned, your testimonies
And writings forged, and this elaborate form
Of justice to delude the world, a cover

¹ 'The whole . . . have given.' Taken from Holinshed.—W. G. S.

For future practices : this I affirm
 Upon my soul : Now, when you please, condemn me,
 I will not use one syllable for your mercy
 To have mine age renewed, and once again
 To see a second triumph of my glories,
 You rise and I grow tedious ; let me take
 My farewell of you yet, and at the place
 Where I have oft been heard."

This is not only what Barnavelt felt, it must also have been Buckingham's inner conviction. Fletcher, however, gives us Barnavelt's last speech, and in reading it we feel again the same disappointment which the collapse of all manly dignity in Buckingham caused us :
 p. 313 :

"Commend my last breath to his Excellence ;
 Tell him the sun he shot at now is setting,
 Setting this night, that he may rise to-morrow,
 For ever setting. Now let him reign alone,
 And with his rays give life and light to all men.
 May he protect with honour, fight with fortune,
 And die with general love an old and good Prince."

In reading *Barnavelt*, the conviction comes strong upon us that the same hands which drew the great advocate also drew Buckingham and Wolsey.

The person of the King is the most impalpable in the whole drama. He is represented as a blind tool in Wolsey's hands,¹ and yet we are expected to believe that the latter fears him. Nobody ventures to speak to him as the nobles and Paulina do to Leontes in *The Winter's Tale*, II. iii., and yet nobody has the slightest hesitation in playing on his fears in a way that must not only inevitably lead to a feeling of contempt towards the weak tyrant in those who so abuse him, but also in all who witness such abuse. Yet when he sends the nobles away like lackeys, all their anger is directed, not against him, but against Wolsey. I find it impossible to believe that the same hand that—with the most intimate knowledge of the inner springs of human action, and of the contradictory impulses that divide the human heart—drew the life-like portrait of

¹ This is the impression produced by the chronicles. For example, see what Holinshed says of Wolsey's influence at p. 886, col. 2, ll. 34—41 (2nd ed.).—W. G. S.

Leontes, whose passion springs from his weakness, also limned Henry VIII., who is utterly unintelligible on any hypothesis. I find it still more impossible to believe that the latter picture, by the same hand, was sketched but two years at most after the former. And I ground this firm belief that *Hen. VIII.* is not genuine, on the fact that a great change in dramatic treatment is visible in the dramas. In *The Winter's Tale*, as in all Shakspeare's, particularly in his last, plays, the characters develop and reveal themselves. They allow us freely to look at the inner workings of their souls. We not only see them as we do living men and women, but we hear them thinking, and so receive from themselves the key to their characters, which in the case of real men and women we acquire through years of observation. But in the case of *Henry VIII.* the manner of treatment is quite different. We receive our impressions of the characters from the opinions formed of them by others. We do not see Wolsey as he is; we see him through the eyes of Katharine and the nobles. Thus we get only a very one-sided picture of him. Whenever we attempt to get a direct view of him, we are repelled by the discovery that he nowhere shows us his real self. The few utterances which we might hope to use in order to get a true insight into his inner nature we find to be misleading. What is true of Wolsey is, in a still higher degree, true of all the other figures,¹ with perhaps an exception in favour of Katharine, who is more fathomable than any other character in the play.

This change of treatment is like the difference between the work of a master and that of a beginner. Massinger never acquired that ease in allowing characters to develop themselves which Shakspeare showed. In his riper works he approaches his great predecessor nearer in this respect than any other dramatist of the age. But even in his most successful figure, as in Katharine, he relies more on outer mechanical means for letting us into the secrets of character, than on Shakspeare's method of letting them reveal themselves. This I take to be the sense of what Dr Johnson says about the play,

¹ Compare what has already been said about the impression Anne makes on her surroundings, from which it is evidently meant that the reader is to form his opinion of her.

that the genius of Shakspeare comes in and goes out with Katharine. He felt instinctively that Katharine was the only figure in the play sketched out, at least partially, in Shakspeare's manner. She is different in this respect from all Massinger's earlier creations, and may at least in the trial-scene have more of the original Shakspeare conception about her than any other figure in the play.

This would explain the difficulty of seizing fast hold of the figures in *Henry VIII.*, a difficulty that is not felt in any other play. If we examine our impressions of these figures, we shall find, to our surprise, that we have transferred the picture which the historian gives us to the drama, whereas, in the earlier historical plays, the case is exactly the opposite, and we find it difficult to separate the historical picture from the one given us by Shakspeare, so powerful a hold has the latter over our imaginations.

Should the foregoing lead to the opening of a discussion on the genuineness of the play, my object is attained. I feel most strongly the danger of misconstruction to which I expose myself in attacking a belief, seemingly so well-grounded. I can only say in my justification, that I have been driven to do so by the necessity of removing the disharmony which this play causes in the picture of the poet which has formed itself in my mind in the course of years. Should this have caused me to lay too much stress on any particular ground for the rejection of the play, I have no doubt but that such a mistake will be set right by an investigation. Nor do I doubt but that such an investigation, conducted with the resources at the command of the New Shakspeare Society, will lead to other and more convincing proofs against the genuineness of the play than I have been able to discover.

R. BOYLE.

St. Petersburg, Nov. 23, 1884.

SCRAPS.

Berlioz. *Apthorp's Selections from his Letters.* He loved Henriette Smithson, whom he saw as Ophelia at the time when Shakespeare became the idol of a flaming enthusiasm in him. He writes: "Shakespeare coming upon me thus suddenly struck me as with a thunderbolt. His lightning opened the heaven of art to me with a sublime crash, and lighted up its furthest depths. I recognized true dramatic grandeur, beauty, and truth. I measured at the same time the boundless inanity of the notions of Shakespeare that had been spread abroad in France by Voltaire ('that ape of genius, and emissary from the devil to man'), and the pitiful poverty of our old poetry of pedagogues and ragged-school teachers. I saw . . . I understood . . . I felt . . . that I was alive and must arise and walk."

Henry V. Prol. For a good character of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, by one who knew him and had been by him in the field, see Barnabe Barnes's *Four Bookes of Offices*, 1606, p. 179—180.

In Frederick Pollock's *The Land Laws*, p. 211 (Macmillan, '83), he mentions an estate settled to Sir John Holcroft, "and then to the use of Hamlet (Holcroft)" in 1554-5. He adds a note, "Whence this Hamlet as a Christian name?" You will perhaps like to have a note of this, if you have not met with it already.—F. D. M.

Perge. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 50. This Latin word is used in the same sense of "go on, proceed" in a brass on the north wall of the nave of Hunsdon Church, Hertfordshire, near the pulpit. This brass is cut on wood in Mr J. E. Cussan's *History of Hertfordshire*, 1870, Hunsdon, p. 52, and represents "a huntsman shooting at a deer with a cross-bow, and the figure of Death standing between them, striking both [? each] with a dart. On a label, issuing from the mouth of Death, is engraved, "Sic **pergo**," which may be freely translated, "Thus I go ahead." Shakespeare uses the word in the same sense in *Love's Labour Lost*:—"Perge, good master Holofernes, **perge**." As what the worthy schoolmaster is to **perge** about is the killing of a deer or pricket, the cut is appropriate to the occasion. The inscription is—

"Beloved of all whilst he had lyfe,
Vnmoened of none when he did die,
Iames Gray, interred of his wife,
Neer to this Deaths-signe brasse doth lye.
Yeares thirty-five, in good renownne,
Parke and house-keeper in this towne.

Obiit 12 die Decembris A° Dñi. 1591.

Ætatis sve : 69 : "

A cut of this brass is in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1795, opposite p. 13, and comments on it on p. 13, viz. 200, 462.—Mr. A. Rhodes gives me the reference.—F.

XXII.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE PLAYERS AT THE
RED BULL, CLERKENWELL, AND THE COCKPIT IN
DRURY LANE, IN THE TIME OF JAMES I.

BY JAMES GREENSTREET, ESQ.

(Read at the 106th Meeting of the N. Sh. Society, on April 10, 1885.)

THE documents which are here printed in full, throw some light upon the early history of Drury Lane Theatre, and matters connected with the Stage in the reign of James the First. They illustrate Shakspeare's position as a 'Sharer' in the Burbages' Company or Companies at the Globe and Blackfriars, tho' here no lessee's or landlord's share of the receipts is mentioned; they show the probability that the retiring value of his share was fixed in his original contract with his Burbage Company, and paid to him on leaving it; and they confirm the practice of Sharers hiring other actors to play for them at wages with no share of profits. But the documents disclose a state of poverty in the Red-Bull and Cockpit Company which happily cannot have existed in the Burbage-Shakspeare fellowship, as our great poet's prosperity witnesses. They relate to a Suit commenced in the Court of Chancery by certain actors of the Cockpit or Drury Lane Company, who sought to obtain release from further payment of two annuities, which the actors in question, three in number, together with other their then fellows, had many years before bound themselves to pay.

Of these Complainants when the Bill was filed—to wit, Ellis Worth, John Cumber, and John Blany (each being described "gentleman")—the second-named died, we gather, almost immediately after.

The contention of the Complainants in the said Bill (exhibited May 23, 1623) was, that Susan wife of James Baskerville, formerly wife to Thomas Greene (a quondam fellow of the Complainants, and one of the principal actors in their Company), being appointed by Greene his sole executrix, pressed for the payment of certain monies owed by the Company to her late husband. Also that, being aware the members of the Company would abide by what might be arranged in their behalf by one Christopher Hutchinson, *alias* Beeston, who managed their financial affairs, she resorted privily to him, and offered him a sum of £20 if he would support her claim, and do his utmost to procure a speedy settlement. That she desired the settlement to be in the form of an annuity in lieu of her demands, and offered a further sum of £20 for division among the members of the Company if they would agree to this. That thereupon the following arrangement was mooted between the said Susan and Christopher, namely, that, instead of her claims being forthwith satisfied, the Complainants and the said Christopher, together with Thomas Haywood, Francis Walpole, Robert Reynolds, William Robins, Thomas Drew, and Emmanuel Read, should pay to her during her life, and Francis Baskerville her son's, and that of the survivor, two amounts, viz. two shillings, and one shilling and eight-pence, on each of the six days of the week that they or any four of them should act together. That the amounts were paid for five years, and, the said Francis dying about the end of the term, the said Susan again repaired to Christopher Hutchinson, and (as they believe) bribed him to continue the reversion to the above amounts to one William Browne, another of her sons, in place of the one deceased. Further that, fearing the legality of this arrangement might at some future time be called in question, she instructed a scrivener to draw up a Deed settling the aforesaid sum of 3*s.* 8*d.* *per diem* upon one William Jordan, in trust for the use of herself and her said son William Browne.

The Complainants, however, say that at the last-mentioned date some actors of other Companies had recently joined theirs, who of course had not been party to the previous transactions connected with the granting of the annuities. Moreover, that when the Deed

which had been drafted by the scrivener came to be read by the whole Company, a clause was found inserted by which they were each and all bound to find other players in the stead of any of their fellows who might die, or depart into other Companies, to assist in continuing the payment of the amounts in question.

The Complainants further contend that they are now advised they could not lawfully bind beforehand, in this manner, those who might in the future join their Company; but they say, that upon the said Susan assuring them that, notwithstanding the said inserted covenant, none of them or their fellows should be tied to pay the 3s. 8d. *per diem* any longer than they or any four of them should play together in any Play-house, or other place in the City of London, within two miles thereof, or at the Court wherever it might be, they and a few of the rest of their fellows—for some, they say, abstained from signing—did about the year 1617 seal the said Indenture, and also several bonds of 100 *marks* apiece for the performance of the covenants. But since then all who signed and were bound, the Complainants excepted, are dead or departed into other Companies; and they, the Complainants, being poor men, conceive it to be very hard for them to have to pay more than £60 a year for little or nothing, the said Susan having already received that amount *per annum* from them and their Company for about ten or eleven years, making a sum total paid to her of at least £500; and yet she never pretended that they were indebted to her more than £50 in the first instance, which does not, they say, amount to one year's value.

Moreover, the said William Jordan is likewise dead, and Susan Baskerville now threatens to have the Complainants arrested upon their several bonds of 100 *marks* apiece—unless they pay the amounts she claims, and procure such others as are now come into their Company to enter into the said covenants—to the utter undoing of the Complainants, and of their wives and children. Wherefore the Complainants, having no relief at the Common Law, pray the Lord Keeper to interfere and stay such “excessive usury,” which, they urge in conclusion, “if it might in any fashion be suffered, will turn to the great prejudice, not only of your orators,

but the whole commonwealth, in regard of the ill president thereof." They also beg that the said James Baskerville, Susan Baskerville, and William Browne, may be served with a writ of subpœna, requiring them to appear personally in the Court of Chancery, and make declaration as to the truth of the premises.

Susan Baskerville and William Browne, two of the Defendants, by their joint and several Answers, sworn on June 16, 1623, set out that, at the time of the death of the before-mentioned Thomas Greene, the Company of actors or players in question, namely, that of the late Queen Anne (of Denmark), usually frequented, or performed at, the sign of the Red Bull, in St. John's Street, Clerkenwell parish, co. Middlesex. The said Greene, they say, not long before his death, disbursed for the Company about £37, and died a full sharer of the profits of the Company; his share being worth £80, it is argued, because the relatives of one George Pulham, who was sometime a half-sharer in the Company, received after Pulham's death £40 in respect of his share. Moreover, that the said Greene, about ten years before the date of the suit, made his Will, leaving the Defendant Susan his sole executrix; and died in or about the month of August 1612. That she duly proved his Will, and not long after repaired to Mr. Hutchinson, and demanded payment of the said sums of £37 and £80; but the members of the Company refused to satisfy her claims, especially so far as regarded the item of £80. That, in consequence, being informed the Right Hon. the "now Earl of Leicester, then Lord Chamberlain of the Household of the said late Queen Anne (of Denmark)" had jurisdiction over these actors, she petitioned him for relief, and he directed the members of the Company to satisfy her right demands "without further troubling of him." Whereupon they came to an agreement with her, to the effect that, as they were then, as they gave out, poor and unable to make immediate satisfaction, they would pay her a full half-share of the profits of the Company as they accrued from time to time, until both the sum of £37, and that of £80 for the whole share, were fully discharged.

The Answer also sets forth, that subsequently, in June 1613, the

said Susan married James Baskerville, in the Bill named, at which time only about £6 of the debt had been paid. And that, in or about June 1615, at the solicitation of the Complainant Worth, the said Baskerville purchased of the Company of players, for £57 10s., a pension of twenty pence *per diem*, to be paid out of the profits of the playing, during the lives of the said Baskerville and his wife, and the life of the longest liver of them. Moreover, that on July 7, 1615, the said sharers of the Company entered into several covenants, under their hands and seals, for payment of the said pension; and also entered into divers bonds in several sums of money for the performance of the said covenants. But that they paid the said pension of 20*d. per diem* to James Baskerville for a short time only, and on or about July 20, 1615, broke their covenants by non-payment, and paid from thenceforward so little in liquidation of the said debt of £37, or thereabouts, and £80 the value of the full share as aforesaid, that in or about June 1616 they were in arrear and indebted to Baskerville and his wife, as in her right, close upon £72. That in consideration of a further sum of £38 advanced by Baskerville and his wife, making the then debt of the players to them £110 in all, the players agreed with Baskerville to pay to, or for the use of, Susan his wife and Francis her son (since deceased) two shillings *per diem* more, besides the said 20*d. per diem*, making in the whole a pension of 3*s. 8d. per diem* for each of six days of every week the players should perform during the lives of the said Susan Baskerville and Francis Baskerville her late son, and during the life of the longest liver of them. For the performance of which the said players entered into other covenants and bonds, to which the Defendants refer themselves for proof thereof.

But, the Answer proceeds to relate, on or about July 26, 1616, the parties mentioned in the new covenants for the payment of the said 20*d.* and 2*s. per diem* broke their covenants and bonds. Moreover, in Lent then next following, the said James Baskerville, "for somme reasons which these Defendantes desire they maie be spared from expressing, departed this realme, and withdrew himself into the kingdome of Ireland, where he yett remaineth, as these Defendantes have heard, and do beleive." After which the Company of

players being indebted to William Browne about £16 9s. 9*d.*, wages for acting in the Company, as also to the said Susan about £13 7s. 2*d.*, arrears of the pension of 20*d.* *per diem* upon the first covenants, and about [£9 9]s. more, arrears of the pension of 2s. *per diem* upon the second covenants—in all amounting to £39 5s. 11*d.*—the said William Jordan, on the behalf of James Baskerville and Susan his wife, instituted legal proceedings against the Company for the recovery of the debt, at a cost to said James and Susan of £6 13s. 4*d.*

That afterwards, the said Company desiring to be quit of the indebtedness aforesaid, and the further legal charges incurred, agreed to make a new grant of a single pension of 3s. 8*d.* *per diem* (the amount of the two former pensions) to the said Jordan in trust for the said Susan and Browne—the latter's name being substituted for that of Francis Baskerville deceased, as had been before desired by the Defendants. That in pursuance of this arrangement the said Christopher Hutchinson, *alias* Beeston, Thomas Haywood, the Complainant Ellys Worth, the Complainant John Comber ("then living, but now newly deceased"), Francis Walpole, John Blaney, William Robins and Thomas Drew, being all fellows and sharers of the Company, and "now come, or shortly to come from the said Playhouse called the Red Bull to the Playhouse in Drury Lane called the Cock-pit," by their Deed, dated in or about June 3, A° 15 James I. [1617], made between them and Richard Perkins, Robert Reynolds, Thomas Basse and Emmanuel Reade, also sharers of the Company, of the one part, and the said William Jordan, of the other part, granted to the said Jordan, his executors and assigns, the said pension of 3s. 8*d.* *per diem* in trust for the use of the said Susan and William Browne, during their lives and the life of the survivor, to be paid for six days in every week during which the said actors, or any four of them, should perform together in any Playhouse or upon any public Stage in the City of London, or within two miles thereof, any Interlude, Comedy, Tragedy, or other Play for which they, or any four of them, should take money. The said daily payments of 3s. 8*d.* to be paid at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane, or at the other Playhouses within two miles of London, immediately after the actors had received their money, if so demanded; otherwise payment to be

made to the said Jordan, his executors or assigns, every Saturday, of so many days as might remain unpaid, to the use of the Defendants. And that the then members of the Company, before-mentioned, further covenanted by the Deed to procure to be bound, similarly, those others who in future should come into the Company to act in place of such as might die, or depart into other Companies.

The text of the documents runs as under :—

CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS, JAMES I., BILLS & ANSWERS, W 2,
N^o 67. WORTH, &c., v. BASKERVYLE, &c.

[*Bill of Complaint.*]

(Exhibited) “xxij Maij 1623.”

“To the right honourable and right Reuerent father
in God John, Lord Bishopp of Lincoln, and Lord
keeper of the great Seale of England.

Humbly complayning, Sheweth vnto your good Lordshipp, your dayly oratours Ellis Worth, of London, gentleman, John Cumber, of the same, gentleman, and John Blany, of London aforesaid, gentleman, all late servants and players to the late Queens most excellent matie, That whereas Susan Baskerville, now the reputed wife of James Baskerville, and late the wife of Thomas Greene deceased, did about nyne or tenn yeares since, presently after the decease of hir said husband Thomas Greene who was a fellowe player wth your oratours, pretend that there was divers sommes of money behind and due from your oratours and the rest of your oratours fellowes for and in regard of some reckonings betweene the said Thomas Greene and your oratours and the rest of thier fellowes. W^{ch} said somme of money she the said Susan Baskerville then pretended to be upon the account of hir said husband Thomas Greene about the somme of thirty pounds. And whereas your oratours and the rest of thier fellowes at that tyme and long before and since did put the managing of thier whole businesses and affaires belonging vnto them ioyntly as they were players in trust vnto Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, of London, gentleman, who was then one of your oratours fellowes, She the said Susan Baskerville, well knoweing the same, and that whatsoever the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston did promise your oratours and the rest of thier said fellowes would allowe of the same, repayed vnto the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston and acquaynted him wth hir demaunds, desiering some satisfaction for the said debt so due vnto hir deceased husband Thomas Greene. But finding the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston to be something Backward in giving any satisfaction vnto hir the said Susann Baskerville, she the said Susann begann to insinuate wth the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, alleadging vnto him that it should be no way

preiudicial vnto him the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston if he would but drawe your oratours and the rest of the company to allowe of hir demaunds; for that she the said Susann would give him twenty pounds for kindnes therein, and would likewise give vnto the rest of the company twenty pounds more, So as they would but grant some annuity vnto hir in lieu thereof. Vpon w^{ch} offer of hir the said Susann Baskerville, the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston and she the said Susann Baskerville fell to this agrement, that, in regard of the poverty of your oratours and the rest of thier fellowes, she the said Susann Baskerville shold not be payd the money she demaunded, but that in lieu thereof, and for the consideration of twenty pounds more to be given amongst the company, your oratours, together wth him the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, Thomas Haywood, Francis Walepool, Robert Reynolds, William Robins, Thomas Drue, and Emanuel Read, Should graunt vnto the said Susann Baskerville two seuerall annuities amounting in all to three shillings and eight pence by day for sixe dayes in the weeke, viz., two shillings by one grant, & one shilling eight pence by the other, for and during the naturall life of hir the said Susann Baskerville and ffrancis Browne, and the longer liver of them, so longe as your oratours and the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, Thomas Haywood, Francis Walpoole, Robert Reynolds, William Robins, Thomas Drue, and Emanuel Read, or any foure of them, should play together; w^{ch} promise, soe made by the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, your oratours and the rest of thier said fellowes, then conceiueing the said Susan Baskerviles debt to be very great, and in truth more then it was, but yet not examyning the same, condiscended to pay the said three shillings and eight pence by the day, and did pay it by the space of five yeares; about w^{ch} tyme the said Francis Browne dyed, and then she the said Susann Baskerville repayred agayne vnto the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, and for some reward and brib of money given vnto him, the certeynty whereof your oratour[s] knoweth not, obteyned of the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston a promise that he himself, together with your oratours and the rest of thier then fellowes, should pay the said three shillings and eight (*sic*), so formerly graunted, for and during the life of hir the said Susann Baskerville and William Browne, another of the sonnes of hir the said Susann Baskerville, in such sort and mannour, and during the same tyme the said former three shillings and eight pence was to be payd vnto hir the said Susann Baskerville and Francis Browne hir sonne deceased. Vpon w^{ch} promise of him the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston the said Susann relying, yet fearing if she had not some security for the same she might at any tyme [be] questioned, and so long the said three shillings, eight pence per diem, She the said Susann repayred vnto a Scrivenour, desiering him the said Scrivenour to drawe vp a grant for the said three shillings, eight pence per diem from your oratours

and the rest of thier then fellowes vnto one William Jourdan, for and in trust and to the use [of] them the said Susann and William Browne hir said sonne, and the longer liver of them; and did also give directions vnto the said Scrivenour to drawe up in the said graunt of annuity of three shillings and eight pence per diem divers other covenants, and to make also seuerall bondes for performing of the said covenants. According vnto w^{ch} instructions so given by hir the said Susann vnto the said Scrivenor, he the said Scrivenour did drawe vp a grant of annuity of three shillings and eight pence per diem from your oratours and the rest of thier then fellowes vnto the said William Jourdan, vnto the vse of the said Susann and William Browne hir sonne, and the longer liuer of them, With other covenants and bonds also for performance of the said covenants, as by the said deed of Indenture and bonds may appeare. W^{ch} being so drawn up and perfected, she the said Susann Baskervile repayred vnto the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, desiering him to seale the same, and also to procure your oratours and the rest of thier then fellowes; thier being at that tyme some others new come into your oratours company, w^{ch} were of other companyes at the tyme of graunting the first annuity. Whereupon, the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston acquaynting your oratours and the rest of thier said company therewth, your oratours and the rest of thier said fellowes condiscended to seale the same, they being altogether ruled by the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston who had the sole managing of all thier affayres, and accordingly repayred vnto the said Scrivenour for to seale some indenture or grant to the same purpose. But See it is, may it please your good Lordshipp, That when your oratours, before they wold seale any indenture or grant, did take the said indenture drawn by the said Scrivenour to read it over, your oratours and the rest of thier fellowes then found a covenant in the said Indenture, that if it hapned any of them that then were to seale the said Indenture to dy or to depart from thier company vnto another play house, That then the Survivours or remaynders of them shold procure such other person and persons as should be admitted to play or ioyn in company wth the said Survivours and remaynders, instead of them so dying or departing, to enter and become bound wth the said Survivours and remaynders in the like covenants, condicions and bonds as the said person or persons so dying or departing as aforesaid were bound in; wth other covenants as by the said Indenture more at large doth and may appear. W^{ch} said Indenture, when your oratours and the rest of thier said fellowes had read and vnderstood how, contrary to thier meaning, thier was such a preiudicial covenant to thier vtter vndoeing, yt not lying in thier power to perform the same wthout the consent of such as should come anew into thier company, and conceiving it to be very hard for them being poore men to pay above threescore pound per annum for litle or nothing, Your oratours and the rest of the said company vtterly

refused either to seale the said Indenture or bonds. Yet, at length, your oratours and divers of the company who had formerly sealed to the first grant, being perswaded therunto in re[spect] the said Susann Baskerville did faythfully promise that, notwthstanding the said covenant, neither your oratours nor any of thier said fellowes should be tyed to pay the said three shillings and eight pence per diem for sixe dayes in the weeke any longer then they or any foure of them did play together in any play house or other place wthin the Citty of London, or wthin two miles of the same Citty, or at the Kings Ma^{ties} Court of estate wheresoever it shalbe. Vpon w^{ch} promise and agreement your oratours and some fewe of the rest of thier fellowes, for some refused, did about one thousand, six hundred and seaventeen, in the fifteene yeare of his Ma^{ties} raigne, bond (*sic*) seale the said Indenture, and seuerall bonds of a hundred marke apiece for performing the covenants; the meaning being only for the true payment of the said three shillings, eight pence by the day so long as they or any foure of them that sealed the same should play together as aforesaid. According to w^{ch} Indenture and agreement your oratours have ever since continued the payment w^{ch}, together wth five yeares before the said last recited grant, your oratours have payd the said three shillings, eight [pence] per diem about tenn or eleaven yeares, in w^{ch} tyme she the said Susann Baskerville hath received from your oratour[s] at the least the somme of five hundred pounds; and yet she the said Susann Baskerville never gave any other consideration then as aforesaid, w^{ch} in truth doth not amount vnto one yeares value, as she hath received. Since w^{ch} tyme all your oratours sail fellowes that sealed to the said deed of Indenture and bonds are dead, or departed from your oratours to some other company, So that in all right the said payment is and ought to cease; and the said William Jourdan is likewise dead. Yet Soe it is, may it please your good Lordshipp, that she the said Susann Baskerville, pritending the trust to remayne to hir notwthstanding the death of the said William Jourdan, or some assignment to hir, or some other to hir use, pritendeth that your oratours ought still to continue the payment thereof, and likewise threatneth your oratours to arrest them upon thier seuerall bonds of a hundred markes apiece if your oratours will not both pay the same and allso procure such others as are now come into your oratours company to enter into the said covenants afor recited, contrary vnto all equity, and contrary to hir direct promise and agreement, and to the vtter vndoeing of your oratours, thier wives and children, except your oratours shalbe herin by your Lordshipp relieved. In tender Consideration whereof, for as much as your oratours are not able by the strict course of the comon lawe to make such profe of the said agreement & promise that the said payment should continue no longer then any of your oratours, thier then fellowes, or any foure of them, did play together, as by the strictnes of the said comon law is required; And in regard your oratours have

for these tenn or eleaven yeares payd above threscore pounds a yeare for fiftye pounds at the most as she pretends; Which excessive usury, also, if it might in any fashion be suffred, will turne to the great preiudice not only of your oratours but the whole comon wealth, in regard of the ill president thereof; May it therefore please your good Lordshipp, the premisses considered, to grant vnto your oratour[s] his Ma^{ties} most gracious writt of Subpoena directed to the said James Baskerville the reputed husband of the said Susan Baskerville, and also to Susann Baskerville his reputed wife, and to William Browne, comaunding them and every of them personally to be and appeare before your Lordshipp in his Ma^{ties} high court of Chauncery, and then and ther to declare upon thier oathes the truth of the premisses, and whether she the said Susann Baskerville did not make such a promise as aforesaid; and likewise to sett downe what consideration she ever gave vnto your oratours; and further to stand to and abide such order therein as vnto your Lordshipp in your wisdom shall seeme most meet and agreeable to equity and good conscience. And also to grant vnto your oratours his Ma^{ties} most gracious writt of Iniunction, to stay all proceeding upon the said seuerall bonds vntill your Lordshipp shall have heard and determined the same. And likewise to shew cause why she should not deliuer up the said Indenture & bonds to be cancelled. And your oratours, according to thier bounden duty, shall ever pray for your Lordshipp long life wth increase of honours.

NATH. FINCH."

[Answer.]

"Vterque Juratus xvj^o Junij 1623."

"The ioint and seuerall answeres of Susan Baskervyle and William Browne, two of the Def^{tes} to the Bill of Compl^t of Ellys Worth, John Comber newly deceased, & John Blany, compl^{tes}."

The said Def^{tes}, savinge to themselues now and att all tymes all advantages and benefitt of excepcion to thuncertainties and all other thimperfeccons and insufficiencies of the said bill of Compl^t, for full and perfect answer therevnto doe say, That true it is That the said Thomas Greene, deceased, in the bill of Compl^t mencioned, late husband of the Def^t Susan Baskervile, about the Tyme in the said bill expressed, was a fellow Actor or player of and in the Companie of the Actors or Players of the late queenes Ma^{tie} Queene Anne, then vsuallie frequentinge & playinge att the signe of the Redd Bull in S^t Johns Street, in Clerkenwell parishe, in the County of Midd[']; And was one of the principall and cheif persons of the said Companie, and a full adventurer, storer and sharer of in and amongst them; And did in his life tyme and not long before his death laie out or disburse in and for diuers necessarie Prouisions for the said Companie of Players the somme of seauen & thirty poundes, or therabouts

as neere as these Def^{tes} canne collect the same, of the proper monies of the said Thomas Greene. And they further say, that att and by the death of the said Thomas Greene, hee beeing a full and whole storer and sharer of and in the said Companie of Players, there accrued and grew due vnto this Def^t Susan, beeing his wife & executrix, the somme of fowerscore poundes more, as due and payable for and in respect of her said Late husbandes full share, as aforesaid, payable by the suruivours of the said Companie of Players, by and according to an agream^t amongst themselues formerlie made in that behalfe Concerninge the part and share of euerie one of the sharers and halfe Sharers of the said companie according to the Rate and proporcion of their shares or half shares in that behalfe. According to w^{ch} agream^t thexecutors or assignees of George Pulham, sometymes a half sharer of and in the said companie, who died one of the said Companie not long before this Def^t Susans said husband, hadd forty poundes of the suruivours of the said companie for and in respect of his half share in that behalfe. And these Def^{tes} further say, that about Tenne yeares now last past the said Thomas Greene made his last will and testam^t in wryting, and therin made this Def^t Susan his then wife his executrix; And in or about the moneth of August 1612 the said Thomas Greene died. After whose decease the said Def^t Susan duely proued the said will, and tooke on her thexecucion thereof. By force wherof the said debt of seauen and thirtie poundes, or therabouts, and the said fower score poundes for and in respect of the said full share of the said Thomas Greene, did of right belong vnto this Def^t Susan in course, as aforesaide. And not long after shee repayred vnto the said Hutchinson and others the then fellowes of the said companie of Players, and demaunded of them satisfaccion and paym^t of the said seuerall somes of the said seauen and thirty poundes, or therabouts, and of fowerscore poundes, so due and payable as aforesaid. Butt the said companie refusing to make satisfaccion vnto the said Susan of the said seuerall somes according to her said demaunde, especially touching y^e said fower-score poundes, Shee the said Susan was informed, and accordinglye did petition the Right Honorable the now Earle of Leicester, then Lord Chamberlaine of the Howshould of the said late deceased queene Anne, who hadd a kind of Gouvernm^t and suruey ouer the said Players, for her releife for and concerninge the getting of the said seuerall somes of monie; who writt to the said Companie that they should satisfy the Def^t Susan of her right demaundes wthout further troubling of him therabouts. Whervppon the said companie were contented and did agree to allowe and paie the said seuerall somes of seauen and thirtie poundes and Eighty poundes vnto the Def^t Susan, out of the gaines or proffitt to arise or growe by the said company, as well knowinge and acknolwedginge the same to be iustlie due vnto her in Course, as aforesaid. Butt the said Company pretendinge that they were then poore and vnable to

make presente satisfaccion vnto this Def^t Susan of the said seuerall somes, It was att last agreed betweene her and the said companie, And shee in respect of their pouertie was Content to accept the said monie to bee paid vnto her out of the proffittes and by a full half share out of the gaines of the said Companie, from tyme to tyme as it came in, vntill shee should haue receaued therby the said full somme of seauen and thirty poundes, or theraboutes, and also the said some of fflowescore poundes. And these Def^{tes} further say, That afterwardes, that is to say in the moneth of June 1613, the said Def^t Susan married and tooke to husband the other Def^t James Baskeruile in the bill named. Att the tyme of whose intermarriage there due and vnsatisfied vnto the Def^t Susan the said seuerall somes of seauen and thirtie poundes and eightie poundes, saving sixe poundes, or theraboutes, in seuerall paym^{tes} out of the proffittes of the said half share w^{ch} shee receaued somme two moneths before her said mariage wth the said James Baskervyle. And these Def^{tes} further say, That in or about the moneth of June 1615 the said other Def^t James Baskervyle, beeing first moued therunto by the Compl^t Worth, did treat wth the then fellowes of the said Companie for the purchase of a penceion of twentie pence by the daie to bee paid by the said companie out of the proffittes of the playing for the Lyues of the said James and Susan and the longest liuer of them, W^{ch} beeing dryuen to a full conclusion amongst them, the said James Baskervyle did therupon disburse and paie vnto the said Compl^t Worth, and to one Rychard Perkins, and to the said Christopher Huttchinson alias Beeston, and to the rest of the said Companie, beeing all of them at that tyme fellowes and full sharers of and in the said companie, seuerall somes of monie amounting to fiftie seauen poundes tenne shillinges of the proper monies of the said James Baskeruile and of this Def^t Susan. And in consideracion therof, and according to the said Conclusion betwixt them, hee the said James Baskeruile, in or about the seauenth daie of Julie 1615, hadd and tooke a graunte from the sharers of the said companie for the paym^t of twentie pence per diem vnto the said James Baskeruile and this Def^t Susan his wife during their liues, and the longest liuer of them, for euery of six daies in the weeke wherein they should plaie, for and in recompence of such monyes last mencioned as amounted to the somme of seauen and fifty poundes tenne shillinges, as aforesaid. And the said sharers of the said companie did enter into seuerall covenantes, vnder their handes and sealles, to and wth the said James Baskeruile and this Def^t Susan to paie vnto them the said somme of one shillinge eight pence per diem for euerye of sixe daies in the weeke wherin they should play duringe the lyues of the said James Baskeruile and of this Def^t Susan, and the longest liuer of them, as aforesaid. And att or about the same tyme, also, the said sharers of the said Companie entred into diuers bondes in

seuerall somes wth condicions for the performance of the said Covenantes. And these Def^{tes} further saye, That after the said covenantes entred into, as aforesaid, the persons therin named, or somme of them, duely paid vnto the said James Baskeruile the said twenty pence per diem for a short tyme only; for on or about the seauen and twentieth daie of the said moneth of Julie 1615 the said persons brake their said Couenantes wth the said Def^t Baskeruile by their not paym^t of the said twentie pence per diem in manner and forme aforesaid, By meanes whereof the said bondes for performance of the said covenantes became forfeited. And the said companie did make such ill and badd paym^{tes} from thenceforth of the said pencion that, by reason therof, and for and in respect of such parte and so much of the said seauen and thirtie poundes debt, or therabouts, and Eightie poundes full share, as aforesaid, as was vnpaid out of the proffittes of the said halfe share allotted for the paym^t therof, as aforesaid, the said companie in or about the moneth of June 1616 were arere, and rested indebted vnto the said James Baskeruile and to this Def^t Susan, as in her right, in the somme of threescore and twelue poundes, or therabouts, as neere as they canne collect the same. Whervpon, and in consideracion of seuerall somes of monie besides amounting to Eight and thirtie poundes more satisfied and paid by the said James Baskeruile and this Def^t Susan to the said Hutchinson alias Beeston and to the said Perkins, to the Compl^t Worth, and the rest of the said Companie; And allso for and in Consideracion that the said James Baskeruile and this Def^t Susan should and did remitt vnto the said Companie of Players the some of threescore and twelue poundes then arere and due as aforesaid; Namely, in all for the Consideracion of one hundred and tenne poundes more, the said Companie of Players did agree with the said Baskeruile to paie vnto, or for the vse of this Def^t Susan Baskeruile and ffrancis her sonne, since deceased, two shillings per diem more besides the said twenty pence per diem, in the whole three shillings, eight pence per diem for euery of sixe daies in euery weeke wherein they should play during the liues of this Def^t Susan and of the said ffrancis Baskeruile her late sonne, and the longest lyuer of them. And to that purpose diuers of the said Companie of Players entred into other Covenantes, wth seuerall bondes allso for the performance therof, as by the said seuerall covenantes and bondes aforementioned, to w^{ch} for more certaintye in that behalfe these Def^{tes} referre themselues, maie appeare; the same nor anie of them being in the handes or power of them, or either of them, but yeilded vp vpon taking of the latter Covenantes and bondes hereafter mencioned. And on or about the sixe and twentieth daie of July 1616 the said persons mencioned in the said Covenantes for the said twentie pence and two shillings per diem broke their said seuerall Couenantes and bondes thervpon. And these Def^{tes} further say, that in Lent then next followinge the

said James Baskeruile, for somme reasons w^{ch} these Def^{tes} desire they maie bee spared from expressinge, departed this realme and wthdrew himself into the kingdome of Ireland, where hee yett remaineth, as these Def^{tes} haue heard and doe belciue. And these Def^{tes} further saie, that afterwarde the somme of sixteene poundes, nine shillings and nyne pence, or therabouts, beeing due vnto the said William Browne for wages belonging vnto him for acting in the said Companie; And also there beeing in arere and due vnto the Def^t Susan vppon the said first mencioned Covenantes, for the non paym^t of the said pencion of twentie pence per diem, the somme of Thirteene poundes, seauen shillings, two pence, or therabouts; And also, for the non paym^t of the said other pencion of two shillings per diem, the somme of N[in]e poundes, [nine] shillings more, or therabouts; in all the somme of Nyne and thirtie poundes, fiue shillings, eleauen pence, or therabouts; The said William Jorden, in the bill named, for and in the name of the said James Baskeruile and this Def^t Susan, and by lawfull warrant, [power] and appointm^t in that behalfe, did putt the said bondes for the performance of the said last mencioned Covenantes in suit of lawe against the seuerall persons therein mencioned, to the verie great charges and costes of the Def^t Susan, amounting to sixe poundes, thirteene shillings, fower pence, or therabouts. And afterwarde the said Companie, beeing desirous to bee whollie freed and released from the paym^t of the said costes and charges att lawe, as also from the paym^t of the said wages due vnto this Def^t Browne, and from the paym^t of all tharrearages of the said seuerall somes of monie for the said seuerall pencions due to the said Def^t Susan as aforesaid, Itt was agreed by and betwixt these Def^{tes} and the said Jorden on their behalf, And for the said James Baskeruile, of the one part, and the said Compl^{tes} and others the then fellowes and sharers of the said Companie of thother parte, for a finall Conclusion of all differences betwixt them, that the said Companie should bee discharged of all the said arrearages of pencions and wages, and of all the said costes except seauentcene poundes, ten shillings, parcell of the said arrearages, wages and costes; And that in Consideracion therof the said former covenantes and bondes should bee discharged, and the said ffrancis Baskeruile beeing now dead, the said companie should make and renew a new Covenant for both the said pencions all vnder one amountinge to the somme of three shillings, eight pence per diem to the said Jorden in trust for these Def^{tes} during the liues of these Def^{tes} and the longest liuer of them, therby alteringe the name of the said James Baskeruile into this Def^t Brownes name, for twentie pence per diem parcell therof, and adding this Def^t Brownes name in stead of the said ffrancis Baskeruiles name touchinge two shillings per diem residue therof; And that the said companie should giue securitie by seuerall bondes for the performance of the said intier pencion of three shillings, eight pence per diem, And

the Covenantes therof, and should also by three other bondes giue securitie for the paym^t of the said seauenteene poundes, tenne shillings att three payementes by fve poundes, sixteene shillings, eight pence att a payment att daies agreed on, and long since past. And accordinglye the said Christopher Huttehinson alias Beeston, Thomas Haywood, the Compl^t Ellys Worth, the Compl^t John Comber then lyuing, but now newly [deceased], Walepoole, the Compl^t John Banie (*sic*), William Robyns and Thomas Drewe, beeing all fellowes and Sharers of the said Companie, and now comme, or shortlie to come from the said Playhowse called the Redd Bull to the Playhowse in Drurie Lane called the Cockpitt, by their Deed indented, bearing date on or about the third daie of June in the fifteenth yeare of the raigue of our now soueraigne Lord King James ouer England, hadd and made betweene the said seuerall persons last mencioned and the said Richard Perkins, one Roberte Reynoldes, Thomas Basse and Emanuell [Reade], Sharers also of the said Companie of thone parte, And the said William Jorden in the bill named of thother parte, did for the consideracion of a Competent somme of monie, to them before the seallinge of the said Deed indented mencioned to bee paid by the said William Jorden on the behalfe of the Def^{tes} Susan and William Browne, intendinge therby the Consideracion aforesaid w^{ch} was the true consideracion in that behalf, Covenant and graunt to and wth the said William Jorden, his executours & assigns, to paie and allowe vnto the said William Jorden, his executours or assignes, To thonly use of these Defendants Susan and William duringe their liues or the life of the longest liuer of them, the somme of three shillings, eight pence per diem for sixe dayes in euerye weeke wherein the said Huttehinson alias Beeston, Perkins, Haywood, the Compl^{tes} Worth and Comber, Walepoole, Reynoldes, the Compl^t Blany, Basse, Robins, Drue, and Reade, or anie fower of them, should plaie together in anie Playhowse or other publike stage wthin the citty of London, or wthin two miles therof, anie interlude, comedie, tragedie, or other play, for w^{ch} they or anie fower of them should receaue or take anie monie; the said daylie paym^t of three shillings, [eight] pen[ce] per diem, to be paid att the play howse called the Cockpitt in Drurie Lane, or att such other place or play howse wthin two miles of London, where the said Players or anie fower of them should Play together, allwaies and immediatlie after the receipt of their monie w^{ch} should bee gotten for plaie as aforesaid, if the Def^{tes}, or either of them, or anie for them or either of them, should bee there to demaunde or receaue the same; Butt if default should bee made of such demaunde by the said William Jorden his executours or assignes, That then the said Huttehinson alias Beeston, Perkins, Heywood, the Compl^{tes} Wroth and Comber, Walepoole, Reynoldes, the Compl^t Blanye, Basse, Robyns, Drewe, and Read, or one of them, should on the Satterdaie of euerye weeke, or allwaies wthin fve daies next after the Satterdaie of euery weeke

during the tyme aforesaid, paie vnto the said William Jorden, his executors or assigns, or to one of them, to the vse of these Def^{tes} during their liues, and the life of the longest liuer of them, att the place or places of paym^t aforesaid, So manie of the said daylie paym^{tes} of three shillings, eight pence per diem as by such default of demaunde, or otherwise, should bee behind [and] vnpaid according to the true intent of the said Deed Indented. And allso did therin further covenaut and grant to and wth the said William Jorden, his executors and assignes, That if itt should happen anie of them the said Huttchinson alias Beeston, Perkins, Heywood, the Compl^{tes} Worth and Comber, Walepoole, Reynoldes, the Compl^t Blany, Basse, Robyns, Drewe, and Reade to dye or departe from the said Playhowse,¹ That then the suruiours and remainders of them should procure such other person and persons, as should bee admitted to plaie wth the said suruiours or remainders instead of him or them soe dyeinge or departinge from the said Playhowse, to enter and becomeme bounde wth the said survivours and remainders in the like Covenantes, Conditions and bondes as the person or persons so dying or departing from the said Playhowse were bound in to the said William Jorden, for the more sure paym^t vnto [the] said Jorden, to these Def^{tes} vse during their lyues, and the longest liuer of them, the said dayly paym^t of three shillings, eight pence per diem; w^{ch} said Collaterall Covenantes, bondes and assurances, so to bee made, should bee so made, sealed and deliuered to the said Jorden, his executors and assigns, to the vse aforesaid [at] or before such tyme or tymes as such person or persons should bee admitted to play or ioyne in Companie wth the said Suruiours and remainders instead of him or them so dying or departing from the said Playhowse; as by the said Indenture of Covenantes remayninge in the Custody of the Def^t Susan, whervnto these Def^{tes} referre themselues, it doth and maie appeare. W^{ch} said Indent^r was sealed and deliuered by all the parties thervnto, except the said Perkins, Reynoldes, Basse and Reade, who neuerthelesse were parties to the said agream^t for the same, and did promise to seall it. And these Def^{tes} further say, That on or about the said tyme of the sealling & deliury of the said last mencioned Deed Indented of Covenantes the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston and the Compl^t John Comber entred into one bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the penall somme of sixty three poundes; And the Compl^t Ellys Worth, William Robyns, and ffrancis Walepoole att the same tyme entred into one other bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the like penall somme of other sixty three poundes; And att the same tyme allso the said Thomas Heywood, the Compl^t John Bany (*sic*), and the said Thomas Drewe entred into one other bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the like penall somme of other sixtie three poundes; All of w^{ch} said three seuerall bondes

¹ Drury Lane clearly had in mind.

or obligacions were alike condicioned for performance of the said Covenantes in the said last mencioned Deed Indented containned. And also att or shortlie before the same tyme, and after the said last agream^t, in expectacion or towards the performance therof, the said Christopher Huttchinson alias Beeston and the Compl^t John Comber entred into one other bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the penall somme of tenne poundes, wth condicion to paie five poundes, sixteene shillings, eight pence at a daie then to comme and now past; And the Compl^t Ellys Worth, William Robins, and ffrancis Walepoole entred into one other bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the like penall somme of tenne poundes, wth like condicion to paie five poundes, sixteene shillings, eight pence at a daie then to come and now past; And also the said Thomas Heywood, the Compl^t John Blanie, and the said Thomas Drewe entred into one other bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the like penall somme of tenne poundes, wth like condicion also to pay five poundes, sixteene shillings, eight pence vpon the last day of August 1617. All w^{ch} said seuerall bondes or obligacions, both for the performance of Covenantes and also the said bondes for the paym^t of the said three seuerall sommes of ffive poundes, sixteene shillings, eight pence a peice, were also sealed and deliuered vnto the said William Jorden by the seuerall and respectiue persons in the said bondes or obligacions seuerally and respectiue mencioned, to the vse of the said Def^t Susan and William, and in trust for them, and in performance and execucion of the said finall and latter agream^t. And these Def^{tes} and the said Jorden did thervppon discharge the said Compl^{tes}, and others of the said Companie, of and from the said former seuerall covenantes and bondes for the said twentie pence and two shillings per diem, And of and from the said arrearages of wages, pencion and costes, except the said seauenteen poundes, tenne shillings, parcell therof, w^{ch} was and ought to bee now secured as aforesaid, and wherof two paym^{tes} were performed and the bondes for the same since then deliuered vpp; but the last of the said bondes beeing for five poundes, sixteene shillings, eight pence, payable the said last daie of August 1617, is yett vnsatisfied. And this Def^t Susan Baskeruile for herself saith, That shee beleiueth it to bee true that the Compl^{tes} and the rest of their said companie, before and since the decease of her said late husband Thomas Greene, did putt much affiance in the said Huttchinson alias Beeston concerninge the managing of their affaires, Butt knoweth not that the said Huttchinson had anie such power ouer the said Companie of Players as in the said Bill is alleaged. And this Def^t Susan further Confesseth, that after the decease of the said Thomas Greene, whose executrix shee was, shee the said Susan repayred vnto the said Christopher Huttchinson alias Beeston, and to the rest of the said Companie, and demaunded satisfacion of such somes of monie as the said Companie then owed vnto her said deceased husband Greene;

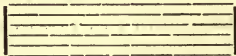
Butt shée absolutely denieth that shée did anie way insinuate wth the said Huttchinson alias Beeston therby to drawe the Compl^{tes} and the rest of the said Companie to allowe of her said demaundes, Or did offer to giue to the said Huttchinson alias Beeston the somme of twenty poundes in the bill mencioned, or anie other somme or sommes of monie whatsoever for his kindnesse therein, or to anie such purpose as in the bill is surmised. Or that the said Susan offered to giue vnto the said Companie the somme of twenty poundes more, or anie somme of monie whatsoever to graunt vnto her anie annuities in Lieue therof, as in the said bill is vntuely suggested. And this Def^t Susan further absolutely denieth, That vppon anie offer of the said Susan to the said Huttchinson alias Beeston they fell to such agreement, That in regard of the Compl^{tes} pouertie and of the rest of their fellowes, This Def^t should nott be paid the monie shée demaunded, but that, in Lieue therof, And for twentie poundes more to bee giuen to the Companie, the Compl^{tes}, together wth the said Huttchinson alias Beeston and the rest in the bill named, should graunt vnto this Def^t two seuerall annuities amountinge in all to three shillings, eight pence per diem, as in the said bill is also vntuely alleaged; Or other agreem^t, or in anie other manner then as these Def^{tes} haue before sett forth. And this Def^t Susan absolutely denieth that the said Compl^{tes} and the rest of their said fellowes for anie promise of the said Huttchinson alias Beeston, Or for their conceyvinge her debt to then it was, or wthout examininge the same, did agree to pay the said three shillings, eight pence per diem, or did paie the same for fyue yeares vnto this Def^t; Or that the said graunt of three shillings, eight pence per diem was made for anie other Consideracion, or in anie other manner large expressed. And shée also saith, that about Michaelmas 1616 the said ffancis Baskerville dyed, And this Def^t Susan vtterly denieth that for anie reward or bribe of monie whatsoever giuen vnto the said Huttchinson alias Beeston by the said Susan or by anie other person [h]er priuities or direccion the said Huttchinson alias Beeston promised That the Compl^{tes} and the rest of their fellowes should paie the said three shillings, eight pence for the life of the Def^{tes} Susan and William, in such sorte & manner, and during the said Tyme, that the said [shi]llings, eight pence was to bee payde vnto the said Susan and ffancis Baskerville her sonne, deceased, As in the said Bill is falsely surmised. And these Def^{tes} doe absolutely denie, That for anie the causes in the said bill alleaged the Def^t Susan repayred vnto in the bill mencioned to drawe vpp the said graunt of three shillings, eight pence per diem from the Compl^{tes} and the rest of their fellowes vnto the said William Jorden in trust and to the vse of these Def^{tes} and the longer liuer of them, or gaue the said Scriuener direccions to draw any the said graunte of three shillings, eight pence

per diem other then such as were truly intended and agreed to be putt therein. Butt these Def^{tes} doe confesse, that vpon composicion wth the Compl^{tes} and their fellowes for the said graunte of three shillings, eight pence per diem, these Def^{tes} a Scriuenour to drawe vpp the said graunte in manner and forme as before is expressed by these Def^{tes}, wth such bondes for performance of Covenantes and paym^t of monies vnto the said Def^{tes} as aforesaid, w^{ch} was in all thinges agreable to true agream^t betwixt them and the said Compl^{tes} and their fellowes. And these Def^{tes} absolutely denye, That the said Compl^{tes} and the rest of their fellowes did agree to sealle the said graunt as beeing ruled by the said Hutchinson alias Beeston, or anie wayes by him vnduely drawn or perswaded ther-vnto. And these Def^{tes} doe Confesse, That there is such a Clawse or Covenant containd in the said graunte as in the bill is expressed, Butt the Def^t Susan denieth that the same Clawse or Covenant was preiudiciallie incerted Contrarie to the true meaninge of thagream^t, And hoapeth that it is not materiall to her whither or noe the same was not in the power of the Compl^{tes} and the rest to performe the same wthout the Consent of such as should comme anewe into their Companie, And also denieth that the Compl^{tes} and the said Companie were to paie sixtie poundes per annum for little or nothing. And these Def^{tes} doe saie, that their onelie securitie for the True paym^t of the said three shillings, eight pence per diem is the said Clawse aforesaid, There beeing a prouisoie Contayned in the said Indenture of Covenantes that the heires, executours or administrators of the said parties in the said Indenture mencioned, or anie of them, should not bee charged, sued, molested or troubled by force of anie Clawse or thinge therein Contained, or vppon anie of the obligacions or bondes for performance of the Covenantes therein mencioned; wherby itt appeareth that it was so meant, That if anie departed the said howse” [the rest of the document is cut off].

S C R A P S.

affront, face the enemy. “gave the affront,” *Cymb.* V. iii. 87.

Compare *affront*, v. t., form the front rank of a column :



“the Rankes are called Fronts, because they stand formost, and doe (as it were) **affront** the Battailles, and looke vpon the Enemie.” 1625. Gervase Markham. *Souldiers Accidence*, p. 6.

embossed, a. done-up. *Shrew*, Induction, I. 17. “*Mal mené*. Ill handled, abused, hardly vsed; sore layed to; wearied, tyred, iaw-fallen; **imbossed**, or almost spent, as a Deere by hard pursuit.” 1611. Cotgrave.

XXIII.

RICHARD III.

BY THE REV. STOPFORD A. BROOKE, M.A.

(Read at the 110th Meeting of the New Shakspeare Society, on Friday,
Nov. 13, 1885.)

IN *Richard III.* the long tragedy of the civil wars which Shakspeare conducted down from *Richard II.* is closed. It winds up the vengeance of Fate on all those who have torn the heart of their country. Margaret's worn and wasted figure hovers over it, and her curse broods in the air. One by one the guilty—Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan, Buckingham, and Richard; one by one the innocent—the innocent boys, the innocent Elizabeth—are made by Shakspeare to feel her presence in the hour of death and sorrow, and to recognize her, not so much as Margaret, as the impersonated moral vengeance for the wars that have defiled England with fraternal blood. Richard is himself her avenger in his bloody passage to the Crown; and having finished this work, he is himself destroyed by the evil he has done.

The play turns on the evolution of this idea of the justice of heaven working within law. Secondary to that is the evolution of Richard's character, the main ground of which, in Shakspeare's thought, is politic intellect, divorced from morality and from love; or, to put it better, divorced from love, and therefore destitute of morality. As he stabs Henry he cries,

“Down, down to hell; and say I sent thee thither,
I, that have neither pity, love, nor fear.” (*Henry VI.*)

This is not the Richard of the original play of *Henry VI.* (*The*

Contention and True Tragedy). The writer of that play made ambition for a crown the leading note in Richard's character (Act I. sc. ii. 29 ; sc. iv. 15). As such he has human sympathies—he loves ; he is not a monster incapable of affection. We hear of his passionate grief for his father. He has no joy till he finds he is alive. His very revenge is coloured by love : it is the wrath of affection. What love he has rushes forth naturally—utterly unlike the semblance of it which Shakspeare puts into his own Richard's mouth. We see nothing of the hypocrite, nothing of the mask-wearer in the Richard of the original *Henry VI.* The intellectual power of Shakspeare's Gloucester, the mastery of guile, the deliberate anger against God, the deliberate self-contempt, the unrelenting scorn of all men and women ; the pleasure, when he is alone, in the cleverness of his own evil—none of these exist. But when Shakspeare recast the play—whether before or after he had written *Richard III.*—he did it with his own Richard in his mind, and added with his own skill the elements of the tyrant.

One thing especially of the conception of the Gloucester in the first play is destroyed in the last act of the recast of *Henry VI.* All love, or capability of feeling it, is blotted out. Without it Gloucester is isolated from humanity—that unique position in Shakspeare's work ; even Iago is malignant, he thinks, from jealousy, and he hates ; but Richard has no passions—none such, at least, as are derived from or opposed to love. Thus isolated, without passions, he has of course no morality, no repentance. His remorse is more the agony of failure than of sin ; and when we are given to understand, towards the close, that conscience does intrude, it is obliged to do it in a præternatural manner—in dreams. Richard awake does not care a pin for his crimes, and passes on from one villainy to another without a single touch of human emotion to check him. This state of mind accounts for the unbroken rapidity of crime in the play, which else would be unnatural. Macbeth is far less rapid. Conscience frequently makes him pause, and he is full of human feeling. He is suddenly hurried into guilt, and acts swiftly, lest his conscience should get the better of him. Guilt is not his natural element, he is conscious throughout of conscience.

At almost every point he differs, in moral condition, from Richard, who does not know good except as evil, and whose air and light are evil.

Shakspeare felt that he was obliged to account for this unredeemed wickedness, and he does so by making Richard a monster from his mother's womb. At his birth Nature rebelled.

"The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign !
The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time ;
Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempest shook down trees ;
Thy mother felt more than a mother's pain."
(*Henry VI.*, Act V. sc. vi.)

Love, he cries, forswore him in his mother's womb ; and his mother gives the same account of him. (*Richard III.*, Act IV. sc. iv.)

But this is not enough. Shakspeare felt he must motive still more this unnatural character. Therefore he dwells on Richard's feeling that all the world hated him for his misshapen and hideous person, and on his belief—the only touch of religion in Richard—that Providence had made him in its anger. This is how he speaks of himself, and it is worth comparing him as he speaks with Goethe's Mephistopheles, of whom Gretchen says that it was written on his brow that he had never loved. He quotes King Henry's phrase about his being born with teeth, and goes on to describe his own nature—

"Then, since the Heavens have shap'd my body so,
Let hell make crook'd my mind to answer it.
I have no brother, I am like no brother :
And this word love, which greybeards call divine,
Be resident in men like one another,
And not in me ; I am myself alone."

That is the real key-note of Richard's character. He knows it and repeats it—"I am I, alone. I live to myself and die to myself." He is alone, because he has no love. He has no love, and therefore he is alone. The sole representative of conscience in him is that instinct which tells him what is good for himself and evil for himself ; and when evil from without falls upon him, it is, as I said in another connection, not repentance that he feels, but the pains

of hell, the pains of failure ; and it is that which he calls conscience once, at midnight, before the battle.

It is also this total absence of love, and therefore of conscience, which makes him try to do things which to any one who believed in love would seem impossible. No other man would have wooed Lady Anne as he does, or asked Elizabeth for her daughter. It is only these wants in Richard which make on his side these scenes natural.

“What though I kill’d her husband and her father,
The readiest way to make the wench amends
Is to become her husband and her father,”

is a speech incredible on the lips of any one who had ever loved. It is only when he has won her that he is astonished ; and in the astonishment a faint gleam of belief in the existence of moral right and wrong *for others* comes upon him. “She has God and her conscience against her.” But this only serves to deepen his scorn of himself and others, and the mixture of bitterness, contempt, and isolation is wonderful in that long soliloquy, which ends with the passage beginning thus,—

“Upon my life, she finds, although I cannot,
Myself to be a marvellous proper man.”

This is followed by that masterly scene in the palace, where Gloucester—the lord here of politic intellect, putting himself forward as soft and pitiful and too childishly foolish for the world—sets all his enemies at loggerheads, plays the interest and passions of each against those of the others, and makes use even of Margaret, the foe of all, to develop and win his schemes. His mere intellect here is superb. It is this very intellectual cunning which is afterwards broken down.

The second idea of the play, but the first in importance, comes in with the presence of Margaret ; so that the key-note of doom is struck. “Small joy I have in being England’s queen,” cries Elizabeth. And in the background, like an avenging Fury, Margaret cries, “And lessen’d be that small, God, I beseech thee.”

Margaret is a mighty figure : more Greek in conception than any other figure in Shakspeare—the Fate and Fury together of the

play. She does nothing for its movement. She is outside its action, but broods above it, with arms outstretched in cursing, an evil bird of God—the impersonation of all the woe and crime of the civil strife of England, and of its avenging punishment. Worn, like “a wrinkled witch,” tall, with the habit of command, she has not, like Richard, been inhuman, but she has outlived humanity, and passed into an elemental power. She has also been so long under the curse of men for her cruelty, that the curse has divided her from men. So also has her strange sorrow—she is altogether joyless. It is not till she finds the Duchess of York and Edward’s queen in their hopeless pain that she feels herself at one, even for a little, with any human creature. Then she sits down and curses with them, but soon leaves them, as one removed, and curses them, towering over them, angry that she has been at one with them for a moment. And she has all the eloquence of primeval sorrow and hate. Her curses have the intensity and the passion of an immortal. “O well skilled in curses—teach me how to curse,” cries the Queen. “Life is her shame,” but she “waits vengeance,” hungering for it like a wolf. It is the only thing that brings a smile to her withered lip. And her vengeance is felt, like an actual presence in the air, by all who die. She is not only Margaret and hate to them, but the spirit in whom, for punishment, the Divine justice abides. And when she sees the end she passes away, still alive—departs in an awful joy, like one of the Immortals.

“These English woes will make me smile in France.”

It is the most supernatural conception in Shakspeare.

The curses and accusations of murder that are bandied about from party to party among the “wrangling pirates,” the curse of Margaret on them all,—unequalled for intensity in literature, but wrought too long by Shakspeare,—the seeming repentance of Gloucester at the end which heightens the curse and the strife by its contrast, follow on the introduction of Margaret, and immediately on her departure the curse and the punishment begin to act. Gloucester is left alone, and the murderers of Clarence enter. This murder fills the fourth scene. Shakspeare does not leave it unrelieved.

He feels that the passion has been somewhat too loud and furious in the last scene, so he introduces—not to lessen, but to deepen the tragedy, to deepen it with pity, not with horror—the wonderful piteousness of the dream of Clarence. Nevertheless, he does not let loose his main end. The chief idea of the play is dwelt on. The murder is murder, but it is also part of the great punishment; of the working out of the law that greed begets greed, and the sword the sword. Clarence confesses it; his conscience awakens, he feels that his coming death is morally accounted for. He is the first. Immediately, pat on the point, and done in Shakspeare's way of seeing over against a grave thought the same thought in a grotesque or ghastly setting—there is now a parody, with a grim earnestness in it, of this same question of the vengeance of conscience. The murderers debate the whole matter from their lower and coarser stand-point, and they settle the matter as the kingly robbers and nobles settled it. They have a warrant for their crime; they do it on command; they remember their reward; and then, with infinite variety in the turn of every sentence, they attack conscience as the most dangerous thing in states and society.

The same elements appear in the second act. The hatreds of all parties are brought out more clearly in the hollow reconciliation round the death-bed of the king. Buckingham concentrates the falsehood of them all into his false vow. By that falsehood his death, as a moral matter, is accounted for. But even here Shakspeare, though in his sternest mood, does not forget to awaken the expectation and heighten the pity of the audience by the form in which Buckingham casts his oath. He prays for the very fate which falls on him,—

“Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate
On you or yours (*to the Queen*),
God punish me
With hate in those where I expect most love!
When I have most need to employ a friend,
And most assured that he is a friend,
Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,
Be he unto me! this do I beg of God,
When I am cold in zeal to you or yours.”

The words make us think of Gloucester, and Shakspeare answers our expectation. “We only want Gloucester,” says the king,

“To make the perfect period of this peace.”

He enters, and flings among their quiet, like a shell, the news of the death of Clarence.

Then—Clarence having been the first—Edward is the second to feel the judgment which broods over those guilty of the blood of England. His conscience wakens, and he dies; and it is characteristic of Shakspeare's art, that the form of his confession—recalling Clarence and their early affection—throws back a new light of pity and pain upon the last scene, and keeps up the continuity of the dramatic movement and of the dramatic pity.

During the next scene—a quiet, domestic scene between the boys and their mother and grandam—the main end is not lost sight of. Shakspeare never lets loose his grip of the catastrophe. The coming fate of the children is shadowed forth in their unconscious sayings; the shadow of the fate of the whole play broods over all in the grief of the elder women. Indeed, these two—the wife and mother of Edward IV.—serve the uses, in some sort, of the Greek chorus.

I pass over the third scene, which takes us into the ordinary burgher life of the city; but it also, while it relieves the play with humour, keeps close to the point. We realize the troublous times in another setting.

Now comes the third act, which, amidst an infinite variety of circumstance and character which the Greek dramatists would not have allowed, keeps as close as the rest to the tragic development of the end. The audience knows what fate hangs over the princes on their arrival in London. It expects to have that shadowed forth. And it is. Touch after touch in their graceful prattle awakes our pity and terror, and purifies our soul. Some are put into the mouth of Gloucester. Then the gallant bearing of the boy; his hopes to be a famous warrior like Cæsar, while his murderer stands by; his misliking of the Tower; the sketch of young York; his light, peevish talk; his allusion to Gloucester's deformity; the sudden overshadowing of his heart when he hears of the Tower,—all deepen the tragic gloom, and are of the greater force for this in the mouth of young and joyous children. Over all this darkness hangs the greater

darkness of the plot of Buckingham and Gloucester. The blindness of Hastings, when he is sounded by Catesby, to his coming fate is an additional touch; it increases our horror, and deepens the pity which Shakspeare never fails to wake.

Then the judgment of God continues its work. Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan are slain, the third, fourth, and fifth after Clarence and Edward of those who feel the sentence of conscience—the first three who feel the curse of Margaret. Their last words are of her. Next, Hastings meets his unexpected fate. While the Protector is talking of strawberries, while Hastings thinks that he knows the heart of Gloucester in his face,—Shakspeare is at home in these bitter contrasts of life,—Gloucester breaks in suddenly, “Off with his head!” —“He’s sudden if a thing comes in his head,”—and Hastings also sees Margaret in the hour of his death.

The seventh scene, where Richard is induced to accept the crown, as it were by force, is, I think, overdone. So, I say, is Richard’s dissimulation in many passages in the play. It is too gross, too palpable. The scene of Richard between the two bishops is ridiculous, over-sensational; it almost trenches upon farce. It lowers the dignity of English citizens. It exhibits Shakspeare’s contempt, it may be said, for the mob, but he has here transferred that contempt from the mob to the Mayor and grave burghers of the city; and I wonder the people endured it when it was represented. It is a worse blot on the play than the scene with Lady Anne. That is excusable, on Richard’s side, on the grounds I have represented. It is not excusable on Anne’s side, and I cannot help thinking that in the drawing of Anne and Elizabeth we have some temporary personal bitterness of Shakspeare towards women.

In the scene with Elizabeth Richard’s dissimulation seems also to me to be overdone. It passes tragic bounds. We admire Shakspeare’s infinite variety and richness of thought in dramatic clash of talk, each sentence answering the last and accounting for the next; but we feel that, in the pleasure of the exercise of his intellect, Shakspeare has been carried away, and has lost his hold on the main movement of the drama, and lowered the note of tragedy. Yet, with regard to Richard’s over-doing of his dissimulation,

Shakspeare is so nearly always right, as if by natural instinct, that one asks if there may be no reason for this grossness on the part of Richard. And there may be such a reason in the two essential wants in Richard's character. He is not a man like other men. He has no conscience, and he has no love. And intellect alone, without conscience and without love, is sure not to be fine intellect; it is sure at least to make mistakes in dealing with humanity; sure not to take love or conscience into consideration; sure then to make a fool of itself in dealing with the life of men and the movements of the world; sure, as here, in Richard's case, to overdo dissimulation; sure, as in Richard, to break down in the end.

Mephistopheles is another type in literature of intellect without love or conscience, and Mephistopheles is a fool. So also has the common sense of mankind decided. In all folklore stories, the devil—intellect without love—is made a hare of in the end.

In the fourth act the coronation of Richard brings about the first movement of the personal catastrophe of Richard. Elizabeth sends Dorset to Richmond, and we scent the fall of the new king; but in her message she, anticipating doom, also remembers the curse of Margaret. Then, Richard's fate is brought still more in view by the story Anne tells of his restlessness at night. By day his will subdues the memories of crime which visit him only in dreams. But the worry of the night abides during the day in the nervous excitement which now begins to possess him, and which develops fully afterwards. The doom of Richard is begun.

As the speakers of this first scene part they are standing in front of the Tower. Shakspeare, who always prepares his audience, and grasps, at the same time, his main tragic end, does not let them part without hinting at the coming murder of the princes. "Stay," cries Elizabeth—and the lines are of exquisite tenderness—

"Stay; yet look back, with me, unto the Tower.
Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes,
Whom envy hath immur'd within your walls!
Rough cradle for such little pretty ones!
Rude ragged nurse! old sullen play-fellow
For tender princes, use my babies well!
So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell."

Fancy—how effective on the stage! Shakspeare never forgets to provide for the action of the play.

And now in the next scene begins the break-down of Richard's intellect, of his one force. We have seen the state of his soul when at night it is not curbed by will. This throws his intellect out of gear, and his nerves out of restraint. Moreover, he begins to feel the pull of the universe against unrepented crime, and this shows itself in the awful necessity of adding crime to crime. That corn produces its fruit, some thirtyfold, some sixtyfold, some a hundred. He proposes the death of the princes to Buckingham. "I wish the bastards dead."

B.—"Your grace may do your pleasure.

R.—Tut, tut, thou art all ice; thy kindness freezes."

In this wild course of sin every opposition to his will seems like a mountain. Buckingham hesitates—seals his own fate; the curse has come on him. Buckingham shall die. And more—Anne shall die, and the princes; and he will take Elizabeth to wife, and then she *may* die. This is the wild hurry of crime—"sin plucking on sin." To double it, the news comes of Richmond preparing a power. This news is Richard's inner thought; and when Buckingham comes to ask reward, Richard is not like the old Richard—at the very point of action, with his powers all in hand; he is lost in thought; he does not hear Buckingham. The inner meditation appears in soliloquy; it is too much for his will; he betrays himself. The man is breaking down. Mingled with it, and another proof of his failing intellect, is superstition. He talks of prophecies. Conscience is replaced by superstition in those who deny her claims. But though he is haunted by these nameless fears, he does not pause for a moment in crime. Nay, he is hurried on; driven from sin to sin.

Nowhere, not even in *Macbeth*, is this sin-begetting power of sin more awfully elaborated than here. And now—just at the turn of things, when Richmond begins to increase and Richard to decrease—Margaret, the Fate of the play, the incarnate ruin of the civil wars, fitly appears for the last time, and at first, *alone*. On her withdrawal

Elizabeth and the Duchess enter. It is a scene of extraordinary power. One after another they sit down, ravished by sorrow, and pouring forth its curse, like three elemental powers, on the earth of England, "unlawfully made drunk with innocent blood;" and concentrate all the woe of the civil wars into their speech, and bring all the horror and sin of them to a point in Richard—on whom their accumulated curse falls. It is magnificently conceived. It is like a Greek group of Fates, and Margaret soars above the others in passion and sorrow, and in the joy of revenge. She leaves them to their fate, and to their session on the earth. In fine contrast Richard enters, marching to overthrow Buckingham. In his pride he is met with his mother's curse. It falls heavy on him, and in it we hear his doom. It is the prophecy of that which all his victims will say to him on Bosworth field, and is couched in the same manner. It is often Shakspeare's habit—and a fine dramatic habit it is—to anticipate in a short passage a scene which he means to give in full. He makes a sketch of the completed picture.

"Therefore, take with thee my most grievous curse;
Which, in the day of battle, tire thee more
Than all the complete armour that thou wear'st!
My prayers on the adverse party fight;
And there the little souls of Edward's children
Whisper the spirits of thine enemies,
And promise them success and victory." (Act IV. sc. iv.)

Then follows a kind of repetition of the scene with Lady Anne, on which I do not dwell. Richard finally persuades the mother whose children he has murdered to give him her daughter. It is the *last* effort of his contemptuous scorn of all natural human feeling. "Relenting fool, and shallow changing woman!" It is the *last* pure intellectual effort that his politic hypocrisy makes; and it is too much for him! It brings to a head the inner confusion and fear, and they become outward. His temper, his intelligence, his power of seeing events as they are, his foresight—all break down.

It is wonderful the art with which this is shown in his talk with Catesby, Ratcliff, and Derby. He is no longer the calm, smooth, cautious, deliberate, unimpassioned self-politician, all his powers, held in hand by will, to win his will. He gives half orders, and

stops short, yet thinks he has fully given them—as with Catesby. He gives orders and withdraws them, suspicion darting into his mind—as with Ratcliff. He flies into a passion with Lord Stanley; and Richmond's name makes him furious. Here is the passage:—

Stan. Richmond is on the seas.

K. Rich. There let him sink, and be the seas on him!
White-liver'd runagate, what doth he there?

Stan. I know not, mighty sovereign, but by guess.

K. Rich. Well, as you guess?

Stan. Stir'd up by Dorset, Buckingham, and Morton,
He makes for England, here to claim the crown.

K. Rich. Is the chair empty? Is the sword unsway'd?
Is the king dead? the empire unpossess'd?

What heir of York is there alive but we?

And who is England's king but great York's heir?

Then, tell me, what makes he upon the seas?

Stan. Unless for that, my liege, I cannot guess.

K. Rich. Unless for that he comes to be your liege,
You cannot guess wherefore the Welshman comes?
Thou wilt revolt, and fly to him, I fear.

Stan. No, my good lord, therefore mistrust me not.

K. Rich. Where is thy power then, to beat him back?
Where be thy tenants and thy followers?
Are they not now upon the western shore,
Safe conducting the rebels from their ships?

Stan. No, my good lord, my friends are in the north.

K. Rich. Cold friends to me: What do they in the north,
When they should serve their sovereign in the west?"

(Act IV. sc. iv.)

Then messenger after messenger pour in with bad news. The third brings good tidings. Richard anticipates it as misfortune, and strikes him down.

"Out on ye, owls! nothing but songs of death?"

The Furies are upon him.

The fifth act opens with the death of Buckingham, and now all the interest centres round Richard. He alone is left. He has been used to punish the rest. His own doom is now come. We are made to feel that the justice of God is marching along with Richmond. But though justice is to be done, yet Shakspeare will not degrade Richard out of the sympathy, in some sort, of the audience. Action has partly healed his temper. He speaks with

some king-like and warrior dignity to his people concerning the battle. At least, he dies a soldier and a prince. Shakspeare knew the relief which the fact of the crisis having come gives to a courageous man ; and he knew also that no amount of crime could do away with physical courage, or make a man forget he was of high lineage, if that feeling had ever been a power in his life. Such a man could never fear death in battle. And that was Richard's feeling.

“Our aery buildeth in the cedar's top,
And dallies with the wind and scorns the sun.”

Yet he is conscious all is not right within.

“I have not that alacrity of spirit
Nor cheer of mind that I was wont to have.”

This is a phrase that prepares us for the well-known scene where the predominant idea of the drama—that it is the working out into catastrophe of all the evil of the civil wars—is brought into full prominence ; where the connected moral idea of the supremacy of conscience is wrought out so forcibly that, as it were, for a brief hour, Richard himself recognizes that there is a conscience in him, but argues against it as impossible ; where Richmond is seen as victorious, not by force of arms, but as the instrument of the justice of God.

All have bent before conscience but Richard,—Clarence, Edward, Rivers, Gray, Vaughan, Buckingham ; and now the ghosts of all he has slain pass before Richard at night in sleep. He wakes, and in the terror, and in the state between sleep and waking, talks of conscience, recapitulates his sins, feels the vengeance of conscience, but at the same time meets it by again and again dwelling on his solitary self-isolation ; on his want of love, save for himself ; on his freedom from such human passions as derive from love ; so that he seems to feel as if he, being so made, could not have a conscience at all—which indeed is true.

“Give me another horse,—bind up my wounds,—
Have mercy, Jesu !—Soft ; I did but dream.
O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me !
The lights burn blue.—It is now dead midnight.
Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.
What, do I fear myself? there's none else by :

Richard loves Richard ; that is, I am I.
 Is there a murtherer here? No;—Yes; I am :
 Then fly,—What, from myself? Great reason : Why?
 Lest I revenge. What? Myself upon myself?
 Alack, I love myself. Wherefore? for any good,
 That I myself have done unto myself?
 O, no : alas, I rather hate myself,
 For hateful deeds committed by myself.
 I am a villain : Yet I lie, I am not.
 Fool, of thyself speak well :—Fool, do not flatter.
 My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
 And every tongue brings in a several tale,
 And every tale condemns me for a villain.
 Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree ;
 Murther, stern murther, in the dir'st degree ;
 All several sins, all used in each degree,
 Throng to the bar, crying all,—Guilty ! guilty !
 I shall despair.—There is no creature loves me ;
 And if I die, no soul shall pity me :—
 Nay, wherefore should they? since that I myself
 Find in myself no pity to myself.
 Methought, the souls of all that I had murther'd
 Came to my tent : and every one did threat
 To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.”
 (Act V. sc. iii.)

It is night, and he is momentarily overcome. The weakness, as Richard thinks it, does not last. In him, continued, it would make him die ignobly. Day comes, and he scorns the night, and all his talk of conscience.

Go, gentlemen, every man unto his charge :
 Let not our babbling dreams affright our souls ;
 For conscience is a word that cowards use,
 Devis'd at first to keep the strong in awe ;
 Our strong arms be our conscience, swords our law.
 March on, join bravely, let us to 't pell-mell ;
 If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell.”

And he perishes like a king, fighting to the last. His death is the death of despair, but as it were greater than despair itself.

And the drama closes in that speech of Richmond's, in which the wrong and misery of the civil wars of England is dwelt on, resumed and absolved in reconciliation.

XXIV.

THE PROSE IN SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS, THE RULES
FOR ITS USE, AND THE ASSISTANCE THAT IT GIVES
IN UNDERSTANDING THE PLAYS.

BY HENRY SHARPE.

(Read at the 111th Meeting of the New Shakspeare Society, on Friday,
December 11, 1885.)

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MR WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD published a short time ago an edition of *Much Ado About Nothing*, in which he changed the prose into what he said was the original metre. He stated that he considered that the whole of Shakspeare's plays were written in metre. *Much Ado* is a favourite play of mine, and I had twice seen it acted a short time before, so that I had got it well into my head. I spent some time over Mr Lloyd's play in order to see how far I could agree with him. In doing this, it struck me that I could see why, in

ordinary editions, some parts are in prose and some in metre. I worked carefully through *Much Ado* and *Hamlet*, and found that there certainly were rules for their use of prose and verse. Therefore, with regard to these two plays, it is clear, that it is not a printer's mistake that some parts appear in prose, and that it was not from laziness or want of time that Shakspeare did not give them to us entirely in metre. I do not wish to go into Mr Lloyd's question of lost metre. For my present purpose it is sufficient that I call prose all parts usually printed as prose, and I shall call all plays Shakspeare's, that are usually attributed to him. Here I part company with Mr Lloyd.

Any reader of Shakspeare may have observed that there are in certain plays rules as to when prose and metre are to be employed. The most palpable place is in *Henry IV.*, where all the historical part is in metre, and all the Falstaff part in prose. Looking further than this, I find that there are some general rules running through most of the plays. They are not very positive rules, and they vary in strength in different plays, but they serve as a ground-work to start from. I find that poor uneducated men speak prose, even in plays that are mostly in metre. Letters, of which there are a great number, and other written documents, are in prose. Pompous, sentimental, and tragic parts are usually in metre, and comic parts usually in prose. Then there are rules in many plays about certain persons speaking prose, and others metre, or rather, these should be called particular applications of the general rules. The use of prose or metre by a person depends upon his character, or the state of mind that he is in at the time, or who he is speaking to. There are also in some plays—*Hamlet*, for instance—*special* rules for prose, the reasons for these being different from those in the other plays. I prefer calling them *special* rules, and not variations from the general rules, because they are so distinct from them that it is often difficult to find out what they are. Any one might work through *Hamlet* and *Othello* half-a-dozen times without being able to find out what the rules for prose in them were.

The changes between prose and metre, when carefully studied, help us to understand the plays and the characters in them. If the

rules were always absolute there would be little interest in the inquiry. It is the variation in the strength of the general rules, the particular applications of them, the *special* rules, and the clashing of the rules with one another that gives interest to the enquiry.

The quantity of prose and metre used in a play does not appear to depend much upon the subject of the play. The Historical plays vary from *John*, all metre, to *Henry IV.*, Pt. II, more than half prose. In Comedies, *The Comedy of Errors* is one-eighth prose, and the *Merry Wives of Windsor* nine-tenths prose. In Tragedies, *Macbeth* is one-twelfth prose, and *Hamlet* nearly one-third prose. The time at which the plays were written does not appear to have much to do with the quantity. Roughly speaking, there is least prose in the early and late plays, and most in those in the middle as to date. The actual quantity of prose is not important, and must be distinguished from the thoughtful use of it under varying and conflicting rules.

The edition that I have used is Knight's Cabinet Edition, published by Chambers in 1856, and the numbers of lines of prose and of the whole of plays are from a list of Mr Fleay's.

The way that I set to work upon *Much Ado About Nothing* was this. In order to get a general idea of the prose and metre in the play, and to see what points would require further examination, I made out a table [see end], writing the names of the characters down the side, and the acts and scenes along the top, and marking whether each person spoke prose or metre in each scene. Then I marked at the bottom whether each scene contained prose or metre, and at the end whether each person spoke prose or metre through the play.

I found that there were seventeen scenes in the play; that nine were all in prose; that two were all metre, the scene of the ladies in the garden and the tomb scene; that six were part prose, part metre, three of these containing very little metre; so that the play contains much more prose than metre.

In this play, when two or more people are talking together, they either all speak prose or all metre. The educated people always give way to the poor ones and speak prose. These rules are the same in many other plays, but are not universal. There are often changes

between prose and metre in the middle of a scene, in consequence of some person going in or out, or for some other reason. The careful study of these changes, and of the reasons why certain people speak sometimes prose and sometimes metre, is most interesting.

There are several points of interest running through the play, with reference to which the question of prose and metre has to be studied. First, there is the comparison of the two pairs of lovers : the sentimental Claudio and Hero, whose love makes them so shy that they hardly ever speak to one another ; and the lively Benedick and Beatrice, always chaffing one another. Then there is the fun of the four gentlemen, Don Pedro, Claudio, Benedick, and Leonato. Then there are the sour-tempered, plotting Don John and his followers. And lastly, Dogberry, Verges, the watch, and the sexton.

The table shows that Dogberry, Verges, the watch, and the sexton, being rough uneducated men, speak prose. Don John and his followers, Borachio and Conrade, always speak prose, except that Don John speaks a little metre in the church scene, when every one else is speaking metre, and Borachio speaks a little metre in Act V. scene i. when others are speaking metre. Balthazar and the friar are unimportant characters, speaking prose or metre, just as it suits other people. Margaret and Ursula, the gentlewomen attending, not servants, usually speak prose. Leonato and Antonio do not appear to have a preference for either prose or metre, but speak one or the other according to who they are with, or the state of mind they are in.

Having cleared off the minor characters, I will now see how the principal characters speak. I find that the four gentlemen, when having their fun together, speak prose. Claudio, when away from the fun, grows sentimental, and speaks metre. Benedick nearly always speaks prose. He speaks a little metre in the church scene, and in the last scene, when others are speaking metre, but he goes back to prose as soon as he can. Hero's natural way of speaking is metre, and she objects strongly to speaking prose. Beatrice's natural way of speaking is prose, and she objects to speaking metre.

Most of this agrees with the general rule, that comic parts are in prose, and sentimental parts in metre.

I will now go through the play scene by scene, and show how far these rules are carried out, and where they are altered to suit circumstances.

Act I. scene i. This scene introduces all the ladies and gentlemen, all in high spirits, except Hero and Don John, who are very quiet. There is a great deal of fun going on, principally between Beatrice and the messenger, and Beatrice and Benedick. All speak prose. Hero is quite out of her element, and does not join in the conversation. She only speaks one line. After the others have gone out, Claudio tells Benedick about his love for Hero in prose. Then Benedick goes out, and Claudio tells Don Pedro about his love for Hero, both speaking metre. It appears from this, that Claudio, when he grows sentimental, prefers metre. He is not at his ease when speaking to Benedick about love, because he knows that Benedick will laugh at him; that is why he speaks prose to him. On the other hand, he knows that Don Pedro will listen to him and enter into his feelings. He speaks metre to him, and Don Pedro answers in metre.

Act I. scene ii. Antonio tells Leonato that Don Pedro is going to propose to Hero. They speak prose. It is important to note the subject, as these two do not always speak prose together.

Act I. scene iii. Don John grumbles to Conrade and Borachio. All prose.

Act II. scene i. The ball scene, a long one. First Leonato, Antonio, Hero, and Beatrice come in. Beatrice does most of the talking in her usual style. It is all in prose. In about 80 lines, Hero only speaks one line. The other ladies and gentlemen enter masked, those already on the stage evidently masking at the same time. Still all prose. Hero speaks six lines of prose. This puzzled me for some time. At last I found out the reason. All the persons are masked, and trying to hide from the others who they are. Hero is not speaking in her natural manner. Don John tells Claudio that Hero is not behaving fairly to him. Claudio is left alone, and soliloquizes in metre. The others come in, and all speak prose. Hero is present during about 120 lines at the end, and only speaks two lines of prose.

Act II. scene ii. Don John, Borachio, and Conrade, plotting. All prose.

Act II. scene iii. The gentlemen in the garden. Benedick soliloquizes about the folly of falling in love, in prose. Don Pedro, Leonato, and Claudio come in, and Benedick hides. Balthazar comes in. Don Pedro, Leonato, Claudio and Balthazar speak about music in metre. The reason of their speaking metre is partly the subject, but more particularly that Claudio decides the way in which they are to speak. The others do not care whether they speak prose or metre. Benedick growls out some prose from behind the bush. Balthazar goes out, and the others go near the bush where Benedick is hidden, and speak so that he may hear them, in prose. Their manner changes entirely; no more sentiment, all fun. Benedick is left alone, and soliloquizes in prose. Beatrice comes in, and they talk together in prose.

Act III. scene i. The ladies in the garden. Hero and Ursula discuss how Benedick is in love with Beatrice, she being behind the bush. When they are gone, she comes out and has a soliloquy. A sudden change has come over her, in consequence of what she has heard. She is sobered down, and driven out of her usual way of speaking, prose. She does not fall into the metre spoken by the other ladies, that is the ordinary heroic blank verse. She breaks out into a sonnet. It is important to notice the difference produced in Benedick and Beatrice when each is told that the other is in love—she with him, he with her. A much stronger effect is produced upon the lady than upon the man. This is quite natural. The lady is driven out of prose; the man is not.

Act III. scene ii. Don Pedro, Claudio, Benedick, and Leonato. Benedick pretends to have the toothache. Don John comes in and accuses Hero. All prose.

Act III. scene iii. Dogberry, Verges, and the watch. Borachio and Conrade come in, and talk about the plot against Hero. Dogberry and the others take them prisoners. All prose.

Act III. scene iv. Hero, Beatrice, Margaret, and Ursula, talking about clothes and marriage. All prose. I afterwards found that this prose was due to the relationship of Hero and Beatrice.

Act III. scene v. Dogberry and Verges report their capture to Leonato. All prose.

Act IV. scene i. The church scene. Nearly everybody present. It begins with about twenty lines of prose, just the plain business questions of a priest before a wedding, though mixed with some flippancy seemingly inappropriate to a solemn occasion. Then Claudio accuses Hero, and all change to metre. This goes on for some time, Benedick and Beatrice saying a little. It is not quite clear whether part of what they say is prose or metre. Afterwards Benedick and Beatrice are left together, and talk prose.

Act IV. scene ii. Borachio and Conrade are brought in by Dogberry and Verges, and examined by the sexton. All prose.

Act V. scene i. Leonato bemoans his fate to Antonio in metre. It is the first time that they have spoken metre, except that Leonato spoke some in the church. It is the emotional state of mind that they are in which makes them speak metre. Don Pedro and Claudio come in. Leonato and Antonio challenge Claudio in metre, Don Pedro and Claudio also speaking metre. They treat the matter seriously. The old men go out, and Benedick comes in and challenges Claudio, in prose. Don Pedro and Claudio treat it as a joke, and answer in prose. Benedick goes out. Dogberry and Verges come in with Borachio and Conrade bound. Borachio confesses. All speak prose to this point. Then Don Pedro, Claudio, and Borachio speak a few lines of metre to one another, ignoring Dogberry and Verges. It is Borachio's confession that makes Don Pedro and Claudio serious, and causes them to change to metre. Dogberry and Verges then speak a little prose to one another. Leonato comes in. The gentlemen and Borachio speak metre together. Then Dogberry speaks to Leonato in prose, Leonato answering him in what I think is metre; it may be prose. Dogberry and Verges go out, and the gentlemen speak a little metre to one another.

Act V. scene ii. Benedick and Margaret, afterwards Benedick and Beatrice. Ursula comes in to them. All prose.

Act V. scene iii. Don Pedro and Claudio come in. Claudio hangs a scroll on the tomb. The scene is all in metre, as might be

expected from the seriousness of the subject, and the characters in it.

Act V. scene iv. Leonato, Antonio, Benedick, and the Friar. Hero, Beatrice, and Ursula are present for a short time, but go out without speaking. It is not quite clear why this scene begins in metre. Leonato talks about the mistake that has been made about Hero, and prepares to present her to Claudio masked. Then the ladies go out. Benedick asks the friar to marry him, in metre, and there is some further talk about this. On the only previous occasion when Benedick spoke metre, in the church, he did so because others were speaking metre, and he was not an important person in what was going on. Here he is the principal person speaking, from the time the ladies go out to the time Claudio comes in. It is clear that he decides whether prose or metre is to be spoken. The reason that he choses metre is shown below, when Don Pedro says to him :

“ Why, what’s the matter,
That you have such a February face
So full of frost, of storm, and cloudiness ? ”

His getting engaged to be married has sobered him, and driven him out of his usual way of speaking. Don Pedro and Claudio come in. Claudio, still mourning for Hero, and coming to marry an unknown lady, is not in good spirits. He is the principal person in this part of the scene, and decides whether prose or metre is to be spoken. Metre suits him best, so all speak metre, until Benedick and Beatrice are brought face to face, and become the principal characters. Then by degrees all change to prose. A messenger comes in, and tells how Don John has been taken in two lines of metre. He has nothing to do with the general rejoicing that is going on in prose.

After finishing *Much Ado About Nothing*, I took up *Hamlet*, partly because it is quite a different sort of play, but principally because it is the play that I know best. I thought I should find that the many changes in Hamlet’s state of mind would be accompanied by corresponding changes between prose and metre. This was so. I was not prepared for what I afterwards found to be the rules or reasons for these changes. It turned out, as I expected, that

the same general idea of prose and metre ran through the play, and that there were special reasons for persons in the play speaking prose or metre. In some places I was confirmed in opinions that I had formed, apparently without much authority; and in other places fresh light was thrown upon the play, and particularly upon Hamlet's state of mind.

I made out a table [see end] as before, and found that there were twenty scenes. Of these nine are all metre, one all prose, and ten part prose, part metre. I take no notice of stray lines of metre.

The table shows that the grave-diggers and the sailor, and the first player, being uneducated, speak prose. This is according to rule, to one of the strongest general rules. The only other person who speaks all prose is a lord, who comes in in the last scene, when others are speaking prose. He is a person of no importance.

I must here call attention to the importance of observing what takes place when two rules clash. The rule that poor men speak prose, is a very strong one. If a poor man and an educated man meet, the educated man usually brings himself down to the level of the poor man, and speaks prose. If they speak metre, there is probably a special reason, which must be looked for. When two educated men meet, and one of them prefers prose and the other metre, it is important to see which gives way. It may depend upon the importance or the strength of mind of the respective persons, or it may be that one of them is so confirmed in his style of speaking that he cannot be driven out of it. It appears to be the general rule in this play, though not a very strong rule, that people speaking together, all speak prose or all metre. When they do not do so, a reason must be looked for.

The following speak metre only: Voltimand, Cornelius, a Gentleman, a Priest, a Danish Captain, an Ambassador, the Ghost, and Fortinbras. All these might have been expected to speak metre. A messenger speaks metre. A servant speaks a little rather doubtful metre. Reynaldo, servant to Polonius, speaks metre. According to rule, he should speak prose. I shall show the reason for his speaking metre later on. Marcellus, Bernardo, and Francisco, described as

two officers and a soldier, speak metre. I have long felt that this description is wrong. Bernardo does sentry duty, and so does Marcellus, and carries a partisan; therefore they are not officers. On the other hand, Francisco, described as a soldier, is on intimate terms with the other two, who are intimate with Horatio, who is the college companion and bosom friend of Hamlet. They ought to be described as gentlemen of the king's bodyguard, or something of that sort. If this is so, it is quite right that Francisco should speak metre.

We now come to those who speak sometimes prose and sometimes metre. The King usually speaks metre, but gives way to Hamlet when Hamlet is speaking prose, and to Ophelia when she is mad. Polonius, being a very pompous old courtier, much prefers speaking metre, and it is very difficult to drive him into prose. Horatio speaks prose or metre, just as it suits other people. Laertes always speaks metre, except when he gives way to Ophelia, who speaks prose when she is mad. This is the only occasion on which he is present when prose is being spoken. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern have no preference for one or the other, prose or verse. Osric, the young courtier, speaks prose or metre to suit others. The Queen usually speaks metre, but on several occasions gives way to others and speaks prose. Ophelia usually speaks metre, but gives way to Hamlet whenever he wishes to speak prose. When she is mad she speaks prose, and drives every one else into prose.

Hamlet's natural way of speaking is metre. He speaks prose when he is with any one that he mistrusts. This may be the same as saying that he speaks prose when he pretends to be mad. I prefer my own way of putting it, because there is no doubt about the mistrust, but there are differences of opinion about his pretending to be mad. When I started this question of prose and metre, I had no intention of inquiring into Hamlet's madness or pretended madness. Being the principal person in the play, he to a great extent controls the manner of speaking of those who are with him. I do not go into any more details about him now, because in going through the play he will be the principal object of attention.

I will now go straight through the play.

Act I. scene i. A platform before the castle. Horatio, Marcellus, Bernardo, and Francisco talk about the Ghost and the state of Denmark, all in metre. The Ghost comes in, but does not speak.

Act I. scene ii. The King, Queen, Hamlet, and others. Hamlet has not yet had any reason to suspect the King. They speak metre together. Hamlet is left alone. Horatio and others come in and tell him about the Ghost. All metre.

Act I. scene iii. Laertes and Ophelia take leave of one another. Polonius comes in and gives his blessing to Laertes. Laertes goes out, and Polonius and Ophelia talk about Hamlet's affection for Ophelia. All metre.

Act I. scene iv. The platform before the castle. Hamlet, Horatio, and Marcellus watch for the Ghost. All metre. The Ghost appears, but does not speak.

Act I. scene v. Another part of the platform. The Ghost says to Hamlet :

"If thou didst ever thy dear father love,
Revenge this foul and most unnatural murder."

And later on,

"The serpent that did sting thy father's life,
Now wears his crown."

And again,

"But, howsoever thou pursu'st this act,
Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught; leave her to heaven."

These lines explain Hamlet's subsequent conduct. He mistrusts the King and all his followers, and soon finds out that the King is setting spies to watch him. Following the Ghost's instructions, he does not contrive against his mother aught, and treats her as if she had nothing to do with the King's plans against him. At times he is not sure that it is an honest Ghost. After the Ghost has gone out, Horatio and Marcellus come in. Hamlet swears them to secrecy. All this scene is in metre.

Act II. scene i. Polonius gives instructions to his servant Reynaldo to go to Laertes in Paris. They speak metre, which is

unusual in such a case. It is more common for conversations with servants to be in prose. The servants being uneducated speak prose, and the masters bring themselves down to their level and also speak prose. The reason why Polonius speaks metre here, is because he is such a pompous old man. As, according to the rule of this play, they both have to speak in the same way, Reynaldo has to speak metre. Ophelia comes in, and relates in metre how Hamlet has behaved to her, "his doublet all unbraced."

Act II. scene ii. The King and Queen tell Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to watch Hamlet. Voltimand and Cornelius come in and go out. Polonius tells the King that he has found the cause of Hamlet's lunacy. The King and others, except Polonius, go out. Hamlet comes in. Up to this point the play is all metre. This conversation is in prose. Hamlet mistrusts Polonius, and does not speak to him in his natural manner, that is, in metre. As Hamlet is the most important character of the two, Polonius gives way to him and speaks prose. There are in this passage several lines of metre, as if neither speaker was quite at home in prose, and occasionally went back to metre. These stray lines occur in many plays and must not be overlooked. I do not pretend to account for them all yet. Polonius goes out, and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern come in. Hamlet mistrusts them, and speaks prose to them, they answering in prose. Polonius comes in and announces the players; still prose. The players come in. There are two reasons why this part should be in prose. It may be because they are uneducated men, or it may be because Polonius, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern are still present. When the others go out, Hamlet resumes his natural manner, and has a long soliloquy in metre.

Act III. scene i. The King, Queen, and others. The King arranges that Ophelia shall meet Hamlet, while he and Polonius are hidden. These two hide, and the others go out. All metre. Hamlet comes in, and thinking himself alone, soliloquizes in metre, "To be or not to be." Ophelia comes in, and Hamlet addresses her in metre,—

"Nymph, in thy orisons
Be all my sins remember'd!"

Up to this point he has had no reason to mistrust her. The Ghost had made him suspicious of everybody, and in his disturbed state of mind a doubt had occurred to him whether she might be in league with the others. She says in Act II. scene i.—

“He falls to such perusal of my face,
As he would draw it.”

She was treating him fairly at that time, and his perusal of her face probably convinced him of this. He had made many tenders of his affection to her, which she had received in a friendly manner, until by command of Polonius she repelled his letters and denied him access to her. She answers his greeting, “Nymph, in thy orisons,” in metre, returns him his presents, saying, “Rich gifts wax poor, when givers prove unkind.” He is thunderstruck! He has given her no cause to behave so. She is evidently in league with the others. He is driven wild by it. His manner of speaking to her changes instantly. He mistrusts her and rails at her, in prose—“Ha, ha! are you honest?” Ophelia answers him in prose, which is according to the rule of this play. She, being the less important person, gives way to the more important. She is then left alone, and speaks metre. The King and Polonius come out of their hiding-place, and speak metre.

Act III. scene ii. Hamlet and the Player. As the Player is uneducated, both speak prose. Perhaps the word “uneducated” is not right. It may be that the Player speaks prose because he is not a gentleman. The line in rank or social standing between prose and metre varies in different plays, and it is not easy to describe it exactly. The Player goes out; Polonius comes in, and Hamlet and he speak prose together. Polonius goes out, and Horatio comes in. Hamlet, being with the man he trusts, speaks metre; Horatio does the same. The description of Hamlet’s behaviour to those he does not trust is here given by himself—“They are coming to the play; I must be idle.” The King and others come in. Hamlet changes his manner at once, and talks very foolishly in prose. The play is acted, and the King goes out in a hurry, and others with him, leaving only Hamlet and Horatio. Hamlet is now convinced that the Ghost told him the truth, and that the King is guilty. He is so excited

that he loses all control over himself, and talks nonsense. This is the only time that he talks incoherently when alone with Horatio or by himself. It is the first time that he has spoken prose to Horatio. He never speaks prose when alone. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern come in, and afterwards Polonius. Hamlet speaks prose with them. He is afterwards left alone, and speaks metre.

Act III. scene iii. The King, Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, and Polonius. Then the King is left alone. "O, my offence is rank, it smells to heaven." He retires and kneels. Hamlet comes in, and speaks to himself only. All this scene is in metre.

Act III. scene iv. Hamlet and the Queen, and Polonius behind the curtain. All metre. Hamlet does not consider that the Queen is plotting against him, and therefore speaks to her in his natural manner, in metre. The Ghost comes in, and speaks with Hamlet in metre.

Act IV. scene i. The King, Queen, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern. All metre.

Act IV. scene ii. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern ask Hamlet for the body of Polonius. All prose.

Act IV. scene iii. The King and Rosencrantz speak metre together. Hamlet and Guildenstern come in. Hamlet speaks prose, and, as usual, the others answer in the same manner. Then the King, speaking metre, orders Hamlet to go to England. This piece of metre is not intelligible in itself, but is explained by similar passages in other plays. It is because the King here exercises his authority over Hamlet. In the usual way he speaks prose or metre, just as it suits Hamlet. Here for a short time he asserts his sovereignty, and breaks away from Hamlet's prose. Although he has strength of mind enough to do this, he has not sufficient influence over Hamlet to make him speak metre. Hamlet and others go out. The King is left alone, and continues in metre.

Act IV. scene iv. Fortinbras and a Captain speak metre. Fortinbras goes out, and Hamlet, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern come in. Hamlet and the Captain speak metre together. This looks unusual, as Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are present. The only explanation that I can give of it is, that Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are

in another part of the stage, not listening to what is being said. They do not join in the conversation. At the end of the scene Hamlet is left alone, and has a long soliloquy in metre.

Act IV. scene v. The Queen and Horatio; metre. Ophelia comes in mad, and speaks prose. The Queen answers her in prose. The King comes in, and also speaks prose. Ophelia goes out, and the King speaks metre. A gentleman comes in, and afterwards Laertes and Danes. All speak metre. Ophelia comes in again. Laertes speaks metre at first. Then Ophelia speaks prose to him, and he changes to prose. She goes out, and the King and Laertes speak metre.

Act IV. scene vi. Horatio and a servant speak metre. A sailor comes in and speaks prose. There is a letter from Hamlet in prose. Then Horatio speaks metre. The whole scene, leaving out the letter, is only 13 lines.

Act IV. scene vii. The King and Laertes arrange about poisoning Hamlet. A messenger comes in for a short time. The Queen comes in. All metre, except a letter from Hamlet.

Act V. scene i. Two grave-diggers come in, dig a grave, and speak prose. This might be expected. Hamlet and Horatio come in, and speak prose to one another, 44 lines, then they talk with the grave-diggers, 68 lines prose, then to one another, 30 lines prose, winding up with five lines metre from Hamlet. The reason why Hamlet and Horatio speak prose to one another, though it is contrary to their custom, is because Hamlet continues to Horatio the conversation he began with the Clown. He has discussed with the Clown the state of corpses and skulls; the Clown hands him a skull, and then Hamlet just turns to Horatio and goes on in the vein of his prose talk with the Clown. The funeral procession comes in, and all speak metre to the end of the scene. Hamlet takes no notice of the King and Queen. His whole attention is directed to the body of Ophelia and to Laertes. He does not mistrust Laertes, and therefore speaks metre to him. Almost his last words to him are, "I loved you ever."

Act V. scene ii. Hamlet and Horatio come in and speak metre together. Osric comes in, and Hamlet immediately changes to

prose, Osric also speaking prose. The King, Queen, Laertes, and others come in. Hamlet pays no attention to the King and Queen. He speaks to Laertes, and desires to make him amends for his rude behaviour. He has no suspicion of any foul play with the foils, and speaks in his natural manner, in metre, the others also speaking metre. When he has killed the King, and knows that he himself is shortly to die, there is no longer any reason for not speaking in his natural manner, and he speaks metre. After his death, the others speak metre to the end of the play.

Looking through all that I have written about this play, I find that, before he sees the Ghost, Hamlet speaks metre to the King, and after seeing the Ghost he speaks prose to him, except a few lines in the last scene. He does not speak to Polonius, Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, and Osric until after seeing the Ghost, and then he speaks prose to them. He speaks metre to Ophelia until she returns him his presents, and after that, prose. He always speaks metre to Laertes. He speaks metre to Horatio, except just after the play, when he is thoroughly mad, and in the grave scene, where his talk is only a continuation of that to the grave-digger. All this agrees with what I stated at the beginning, "Hamlet's natural way of speaking is metre. He speaks prose when he is with any one that he mistrusts." I have given the reason for his not speaking prose to his mother. His speaking prose to the grave-diggers is what might be expected.

Having gone through these two plays in detail, and shown that I can account for nearly all the prose and metre in them, it is not necessary to spend so much time over any others. Many of them are very simple, and only require a few words to be said about them. The more complicated ones I have looked into enough to see whether the rules are the same as in the first two plays, and to find out what peculiarities are in them.

After *Hamlet* I took up *The Merchant of Venice*. I found that the rules were much the same, but there were parts that I could not understand. I went through several other plays, and by degrees the difficulty disappeared. In this play the rule that persons talking together all speak prose or all speak metre is not very strong.

This play is now always acted as if it was called *Shylock* or *Portia*. The Merchant is made a person of no importance. I am sure that this was not Shakspeare's intention, and the prose and metre in the play confirm me in this. Antonio always speaks metre, and his influence over all the others is so great that they all speak metre to him, except that Bassanio once speaks a few lines of prose to him. Shylock, on the other hand, speaks prose or metre just as it suits any one else. I think that he prefers prose.

The comparison of Shylock and Jessica taking leave of Gobbo is interesting. In Act II. scene iii. Shylock, though he usually prefers prose, and might very well have spoken prose to suit Gobbo, who always speaks prose, speaks to him in metre. This is to exercise his authority over him. The same thing occurs in *Hamlet* and other plays. Jessica, on the other hand, who speaks metre on every other occasion, brings herself down to Gobbo's level, and parts with him as an old friend, speaking prose.

Bassanio, the mercenary man, who marries Portia for her money, and borrows money to impose upon her, prefers prose; Lorenzo, on the other hand, speaks metre, except a few lines to Gobbo. Portia and Nerissa speak metre, except when they are alone together in Act I. scene ii. I account for this as a variation of the rule that ladies speak prose with female relations. There are two letters in prose. Launcelot Gobbo, old Gobbo, and Tubal always speak prose. Gratiano speaks metre. Solario and Salarino prefer prose, but speak metre when the company requires it. This play is worth a very careful study. There are numbers of changes between prose and metre, which I have not time to go into here.

Macbeth is all in metre, except a letter from Macbeth to his wife in Act I. scene v., the Porter and Macduff in Act II. scene iii., Lady Macduff and her child in Act IV. scene ii., and the scene where Lady Macbeth walks in her sleep, Act V. scene i. Sleep-walking and madness are the same in this respect, that the person loses the control of his reason and talks incoherently, and therefore not in metre. The Doctor and Gentlewoman speak prose before Lady Macbeth comes in. They are talking about her state of mind. It may be that Shakspeare made them speak prose as a sort of

introduction to Lady Macbeth. When Lady Macbeth goes out, the Doctor speaks metre. The murderers speak metre. To some extent the absence of prose in this play is made up for by the use of a variety of metres.

I now take the Historical plays.

John is all in metre, and so is *Richard II.*, though there are some uneducated people in both plays.

Henry VI., Part I. is all metre, except that in Act I. scene iii. there is a proclamation in prose. Part II. is mostly metre. Jack Cade and other uneducated people speak prose, and educated people speak to them in prose. A marriage contract, Act I. scene i., and a summons by a herald, Act II. scene iv., are in prose. These documents must be considered much the same as letters. Part III. is all metre.

Richard III. is all in metre, except the talk of the murderers, who speak mostly prose. Brackenbury and Clarence speak metre to them.

Henry IV., Part I. consists of two distinct parts—the historical part and the Falstaff part. With very slight exceptions, the historical part is all in metre, and the Falstaff part in prose. I find that in the historical plays, the speaking of prose or metre does not depend upon whether people are educated, but that the aristocracy speak metre, and other people prose. The Prince is a man of two natures, or I might say, that he is influenced by the company that he is in. He is equally at his ease speaking metre with the King and nobles, or speaking prose with Falstaff. There are some places in the Falstaff parts of the play where the Prince's responsible nature shows itself, and he changes from prose to metre. In Act I. scene ii., after some fun with Falstaff and others, he is left alone, and speaks metre. In Act II. scene ii., after putting Falstaff and others to flight, he speaks metre to Poins. In Act II. scene iv. the Prince, Falstaff, and others have been talking over the fight at Gadshill. The hostess tells them that the Sheriff is at the door. Falstaff goes out, and the Sheriff comes in. The Sheriff knows the Prince. They speak very politely to one another in metre, and the Prince undertakes to produce Falstaff. The Sheriff goes out, and then all return.

to prose. In Act V. scene iii., in the battle, the Prince lectures Falstaff in metre, Falstaff answering in prose. In Act V. scene iv. the Prince laments over the body of Falstaff in metre; and when he sees him walking about again, he addresses him in metre, but in lines of very unequal length. In Act II. scene iii. there is a letter in prose. In Act III. scene i. Hotspur and his wife talk prose together, others being present. I do not see the reason for this.

In *Henry IV.*, Part II. the rules for the use of prose and metre are nearly the same as in Part I. A new friend of Falstaff's is introduced, Pistol the swaggerer, who usually speaks metre. His bringing in a few lines of metre occasionally in very high-flown language, when all the others are speaking prose, has a very comic effect. The Lord Chief Justice and Falstaff meet twice, in Act I. scene ii., and in Act II. scene i. They speak prose both times. It is very difficult to speak metre to Falstaff, that is, to exercise authority over him. His drollery is too much for everybody. Prince John tries to speak metre to him in Act IV. scene iii., but has to give it up.

In *Henry V.* the rules for prose and metre are the same as in *Henry IV.*, but there are many more variations. Shakspeare was evidently finding out that he obtained great power by the changes between the two in varying circumstances. Pistol always speaks metre in this play. It is very comic to hear him speaking metre to a French prisoner who does not understand a word of English, and answers in French prose. The height of absurdity is when Pistol gets his head broken and is made to eat the leek, speaking metre, his assailant speaking prose.

In Act III. scene iv., Katherine and her lady attending speak prose together, French and broken English. In Act III. scene vi. a Herald reads a proclamation in prose. This is usual. In Act V. scene ii. there is an agreement or declaration of the French King. This is in prose, being a written document. In Act III. scene vii. the French nobles in camp, the night before the battle, speak prose. Their conversation is mostly about horses, and sneering at the English. I shall show the reason for this prose later on.

The King speaks metre with his nobles, but, as was the case

when he was Prince, he is perfectly at home with all sorts of men, and can converse with them in the style that suits them best. Falstaff does not appear, and his companions, except Pistol, do not meet the King. He has thrown them off altogether. When speaking with his officers and soldiers, Henry is generally serious. He goes among them the night before the battle of Agincourt, and argues with them. He feels that he has the responsibility of the kingdom upon his shoulders. Formerly he was the madcap prince, now he is the King of England. But even the night before the battle he cannot help having a little fun with one of the soldiers about the glove. He had, as the chorus before Act IV. says, "A little touch of Harry in the night." All his talk with the officers and soldiers is prose, except in Act IV. scene viii., where he comes in to settle the quarrel between Fluellen and Williams about the glove. There he exercises his authority. The only time that the King meets Pistol is in Act IV. scene i., when he is disguised. The King speaks metre to suit Pistol. This is the only time that Pistol induces any one to speak metre. In Act V. scene ii. the King makes love to Katherine in prose, she also speaking prose. He understands very little French, and she understands very little English. Broken French and English can only be spoken in prose. When Evans has to speak poetry in Act V. of the *Merry Wives*, he has to drop his Welshisms. The King has some long speeches in good English, but he has to speak slowly for Katherine to understand him.

Henry VIII. is nearly all metre. The only people who speak prose are the Porter and his man in Act V. scene iii. These are the only uneducated people in the play, except the women Griffith and Patience. There is a letter in prose in Act II. scene ii., and a proclamation in prose in Act V. scene iv. It is peculiar that in this play, which is considered one of the latest, prose should be used only in so simple a manner. The only other plays where no educated person speaks prose are the early historical ones. But the Society's editors, Dr Furnivall and Mr Stone, following the opinions of Mr Boyle and Mr Browning, treat the whole play as spurious.

I must here refer to three Historical plays by other authors of Shakspeare's time.

Marlowe's *Edward II.*, 1594, is all in metre, except where three poor men come in, and a letter.

In *Edward I.*, by Peele, 1593, the use of prose and metre is much further developed. As in Shakspeare's Historical plays, the English King and nobles speak metre. Here the Scotch nobles speak metre, but the Welsh nobles and gentlemen prefer prose. This agrees with the French nobles speaking prose in *Henry V.* It is clear that the French and Welsh nobility are considered inferior to the English aristocracy. Lluellen, when with his nobles, speaks prose. The poor people nearly always speak prose. The Queen when in bed sometimes speaks prose, and then the King and others speak prose to her. In one place, when the King, Queen, and nobles are speaking metre, a Welsh gentleman speaks prose, and this makes them all speak prose for a little. On another occasion a potter and his wife are speaking prose; the Queen comes in, and begins in prose, but soon changes to metre. This makes the potter and his wife change to metre. These changes are very similar to those in Shakspeare's plays.

In the play of *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, 1598, the line between prose and metre is drawn very low in society. Besides the aristocracy, the merchants, Cromwell's father, who was a master blacksmith, the host of an Italian inn, and two witnesses who have been servants speak metre. Only the blacksmith's men and a small publican and his wife speak prose. I mention these plays to show that the introduction of prose was being made by other writers besides Shakspeare, and with the same rules. I believe that the first thing that set me thinking about the question of prose and metre was the exact similarity of the rules for them in *Henry VIII.* and *Edward II.* In each there are only two passages of prose—letters and poor men. Such a coincidence in plays by different authors could not be accidental. These passages I came across in trying to work out Mr Lloyd's theory.

I next take *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. To me there is no appearance of this play having been written in a hurry, though it is nearly all prose. It evidently follows *Henry IV.* The rules in *Henry IV.* are that the aristocracy speak metre, and others prose.

The aristocracy do not appear in this play, so the greater part is prose. Pistol speaks mostly metre, as in *Henry IV.*, not all metre as in *Henry V.* Fenton and Anne Page, who are in love, romantics, and not such jovial characters as the others, always speak metre to one another, and sometimes to other people, and sometimes induce others to speak metre. Evans and others acting fairies speak rhyme, and after that, Page and Mistress Page speak metre. The general rule is that the ordinary middle-class business of the play is in prose, but when that changes to love and to fairyland, verse comes in. The first sketch contains just the same proportion of prose as the complete play.

In *As You Like It* there is the great difficulty that Rosalind and Celia, the daughters of Dukes, brought up at court, and usually in an unhappy state of mind, speak prose. I find that in other plays ladies speak prose when alone, or nearly alone, with female relations. This occurs once each in *Much Ado*, *Lear*, and *Coriolanus*. In no other plays are female relations left together, except in the earlier plays *Romeo and Juliet*, *Taming of the Shrew*, and, I think, some of the early historical plays, written before this rule came into force. The presence of Touchstone does not appear to affect their manner of speaking.

Most of the characters in the play are taken from real life, but there are three unreal characters,—Corin, Silvius, and Phebe,—taken from pastoral poems, and quite unlike real shepherds. These three speak metre. When they meet Rosalind and Celia, which they do several times, Corin, Silvius, and Phebe make Rosalind and Celia speak metre, that is, the unimportant uneducated characters make the important educated ones speak metre. On the other hand, Touchstone makes Corin speak prose.

The Duke in exile speaks metre, and makes every one in his presence speak metre, except in the last scene, where Touchstone and Audrey come in and make every one change from metre to prose, the Duke himself speaking a few lines of prose. Duke Frederick speaks metre, except when he is amusing himself looking at the wrestling. Every one in his presence speaks in the same manner that he does.

Jaques speaks prose, except on two occasions when he is with the Duke. It is remarkable that his principal speech, "All the world's a stage," is in metre, which is not his natural way of speaking. Amiens and two lords in exile speak prose except when with the Duke. Orlando usually speaks prose. He is made to speak metre by the Dukes and the shepherds. In Act II scene iii. he speaks metre with Adam. Adam rises to a heroic pitch. Orlando has a soliloquy in metre in Act III. scene ii.

The reason that all letters, proclamations, and other written documents are in prose is, I think, not only that in fact they always are so, but that in the time of Shakspeare, and more still in the times to which his plays refer, reading and writing were not common, as now, and were matters of some difficulty. Any one reading a letter or other written document, would do so slowly, and without any expression or rhythm. The only exception to this rule is Sonnets, or other rhyme written by men in praise of their lady-loves, which of course could not be in prose.

In *Antony and Cleopatra* there are only 255 lines of prose. Out of 38 scenes, 32 are all metre, and the remainder are part prose, part metre. Common soldiers and messengers speak metre. In Act I. scene ii. the attendants of Cleopatra, being alone, speak prose. The Soothsayer is present, and speaks prose. He may be considered as one of the servants of the house. Enobarbus comes in, and speaks prose with the others. He is described as a friend of Antony, but appears to be his servant and general man of business, possibly his secretary, and he is on familiar terms with the attendants. Cleopatra comes in, and all change to metre. Antony comes in. Still metre. He hears of the death of his wife, and soliloquizes in metre. Enobarbus comes in, and they speak prose. In this passage Enobarbus does nearly all the talking, and he makes Antony speak prose. Then Antony pulls himself together, and decides to leave Cleopatra, speaking metre. In Act II. scene iii. Antony and the Soothsayer have five lines of prose, and then change to metre. These short pieces of prose are puzzling. In Act II. scene vii. two servants come in and lay a banquet, speaking prose. Cæsar, Antony, Lepidus, and others come in, and speak metre. Lepidus gets drunk

and speaks prose, and Antony answers him in prose. In Act III. scene v. Enobarbus and Eros alone speak, first prose, then metre. The reason for this is not clear. In Act III. scene ix. Antony, Cleopatra, Charmian, Iras, and Eros speak ten short lines of prose, hardly more than exclamations. Before and after these is metre. The same thing may be found in other plays. In the last scene in the play the clown who brings in the asps speaks prose, and Cleopatra speaks a few lines of prose to him.

The greater part of *Love's Labour's Lost* is intelligible, but there are a number of passages which seem wrong. It is as if Shakspeare was working with the early rules, but had not stuck to them. The poor people, Dull, Costard, and Jaquenetta, usually speak prose. The King and his lords, and the Princess and her ladies usually speak metre; when they meet the poor people, they usually speak prose to them. Sir Nathaniel the curate, and Holofernes the school-master, who are halfway between the lords and the poor people, speak sometimes prose, sometimes metre. Armado speaks prose. I imagine that Shakspeare wished to show that he did not consider Armado's fantastical way of talking poetical. In the last scene there is a good deal of chaff in prose about the acting that is going on. In Act I. scene i. some regulations are read in prose. In Act I. scene i. and Act IV. scene ii. there are letters in prose. All this is as might be expected. The following are the difficulties. In Act II. scene i. the Princess's first speech to the King is in prose. Before and after that she speaks metre. In Act IV. scene iii. Biron has a soliloquy in prose. Costard speaks some metre in Act IV. scenes i. and iii., and Act V. scene ii. Jaquenetta speaks metre in Act IV. scene iii. I believe that these passages would have been written differently if the play had been written a few years later. There is a great deal of long and short metre and rhyme in the play. In fact, it reads very much like a modern comic opera. The play will be better understood when the reason of these metres has been found out. It should be observed that the Princess and her ladies speak metre together.

In the *Comedy of Errors* there is some very long metre, some lines of which I cannot make out. On the other hand, there is

some prose that might be printed as metre. There are supposed to be about 240 lines of prose. I should not be surprised if there was really much less. The prose is nearly all spoken by Antipholus and Dromio of Syracuse. I do not see any rule for it; and in the uncertainty of the text I leave this play.

Two Gentlemen of Verona is mostly in metre, and the rules for prose are very simple. Speed, Launce, and Panthino, the servants, speak prose, and others usually speak prose to them. There are in this play passages consisting of many short sentences by different speakers, mostly less than a line each, sometimes as many as 50 sentences. Perhaps the best description of them is what Sylvia calls them, "Volleys of words." There are eight or more of these volleys, and only one of them is in metre, as far as I can make out. There are in this play lines of prose among the metre, and lines of metre in the prose. Julia and her maid speak metre together. In the beginning of Act II. scene iv. is a volley of words in prose between Silvia, Valentine, and Thurio. I should have expected it to be in metre. Speed is present, and says a few words, but I do not think that is enough to account for its being in prose.

The Tempest is mostly in metre, and the rules are much the same as usual. The aristocracy usually speak metre. The poor people speak prose, and the aristocracy speak prose to them. In Act II. scene i. there is a volley of words in prose spoken by people who usually speak metre. Ariel speaks metre, except a few words in Act III. scene ii., hardly more than exclamations. The only difficulty in the play is Caliban. With the exception of a few sentences in Act II. scene ii., he speaks metre. I do not understand this. It seems to me that he should speak prose. It can hardly be for the same reason that Pistol speaks metre. Pistol is a swaggerer, trying always to use grand language. Caliban is a low-mouthed, cringing creature. Occasionally the poor men speak metre.

Winter's Tale is about one-third prose. On looking at this play I saw at once that there was some prose that did not appear to be accounted for by any of the usual rules, and that it required careful examination. There are two distinct sets of characters, the kings and nobles speaking metre, and the shepherds speaking prose. There are

fourteen scenes, of which four are all prose, seven all metre, and three part prose, part metre. The scenes all metre do not require examination, as only the kings and nobles appear in them. Of the scenes mixed prose and metre, the only prose in Act III. scene ii. is an indictment read by an Officer of the Court, and a message from the priest of Apollo, also read by the Officer. In Act III. scene iii. first, Antigonus and a mariner speak metre; then they go out, and the shepherd and his son come in and speak prose. Act IV. scene iii. is a very long one in the shepherd's cottage. The shepherds are having a merry-making, and Polixenes and Camillo come in disguised to see what Florizel is doing there. As the King, Camillo, Florizel, and Perdita prefer metre, and the shepherds prefer prose, there are many changes from the one to the other. These are interesting, but present no particular difficulty.

There now remain the scenes all prose. In Act IV. scene ii. the only characters are the shepherd's son and Autolycus. It is right that they should speak prose. The other three scenes are the difficulty. In Act I. scene i. only Camillo and Archidamus appear; in Act IV. scene i. only Camillo and Polixenes; in Act V. scene ii. there are present at first Autolycus and three gentlemen, and afterwards Autolycus and the old shepherd and his son. The latter part I should expect to be in prose. In the former part Autolycus only speaks a few words, so it cannot be due to him that the scene is in prose. We have then two scenes and a half in prose, which, judging from the persons speaking, ought to be in metre. I next look to the subjects spoken of, and, taken singly, I find no reason for prose. There is, however, a similarity in these scenes. They contain narrative, and seem introduced, especially the last one, to avoid the necessity of putting something on to the stage. The first two may be only with the object of giving information in the quickest way. The last is all narrative, while the three gentlemen are present. The other two do not begin with narrative.

In *Romeo and Juliet* there are only 400 lines of prose out of 3000. Prose is used in a more simple way than in *Much Ado*, but with more variations than in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. The servants speak prose to one another, and sometimes speak metre to

their superiors. Some of the educated people sometimes speak prose. Juliet and the nurse speak metre together, and so dō Lady Capulet and the nurse. This will be found an interesting play to work out in detail.

Measure for Measure puzzled me for months, and I am not sure that I have yet found the exact reason for the prose in some cases. The usual rules for prose hold good in this play, but there are also several passages of prose not to be accounted for by any known rules. There is some similarity in these passages, and I think that the same reason may cover them all.

There is no difficulty about the unimportant characters. Almost the whole difficulty is with the Duke. The uneducated people all speak prose, and others usually speak prose to them. Lucio speaks prose, except to Isabella. Her goodness has great influence over him. Claudio, Mariana, Juliet, and Francisca speak metre. Escalus speaks whatever any one else wants. Angelo speaks metre except to some poor men in Act II. scene i., and to Escalus in Act IV. scene iv., which I shall account for later on. The Provost speaks metre except to some poor men in Act III. scene ii., and to some poor men, and afterwards to the Duke, in Act IV. scene ii. The Provost speaks whatever the Duke likes. Isabella speaks metre except to the Duke in Act III. scene i. She does it to suit him. The Duke speaks metre when he is not disguised; when he is disguised, he speaks sometimes metre, sometimes prose. Metre is the rule and prose the exception. In Act III. scene ii. and Act IV. scene iii. he speaks prose to poor people, which is not unusual. In Act III. scene i. he speaks prose to Isabella, and a little to Claudio; in Act IV. scene i. he speaks a little prose to Mariana; in Act IV. scene ii. he speaks prose to the Provost after having spoken metre to him. The other scene that I have not accounted for is Act IV. scene iv., where Angelo and Escalus speak first prose and then metre. They are puzzled about the Duke's letters, and are in doubt what they ought to do. As soon as they make up their minds what to do, they speak metre. I think that the same state of mind accounts for the prose in the other cases. In Act IV. scene ii. the Duke speaks metre to the Provost at first. Then a letter comes

from Angelo, which upsets his arrangements, and leaves him in doubt what to do. In Act III. scene i. he lectures Claudio in metre. Then he speaks prose to Isabella, trying to arrange how Claudio is to be saved. In Act IV. scene i. he speaks a little prose to Mariana, who speaks metre to him. This is not quite intelligible. I am more in doubt about this play than any other that I have mentioned. I do not think that I have quite found the rule for the Duke's speaking prose; I have very nearly found it. I shall call the special rule for this play *doubt* until I have found a better word.

In *Titus Andronicus* there are only 43 lines of prose. They are spoken by a clown, and by others speaking to him in Act IV. scenes iii. and iv. In this play is the only letter that I have yet found in metre, in Act II. scene iv.

Othello contains very little prose, but it is important because it is mostly spoken by Iago, Cassio, and Roderigo. The following speak all metre—two Senators, Gratiano, Ludovico, four gentlemen, a sailor, and a messenger. The following speak all prose—a servant to Othello, a herald with a proclamation, and a musician. Brabantio speaks all metre, except one line in the senate; and the Duke speaks all metre, except one short speech following that line. These I explain in this way. Brabantio has been speaking in metre about the loss of his daughter, and then says in prose, "I humbly beseech you, proceed to the affairs of state," showing that he considers affairs of state of much less importance than his private affairs. This tickles the fancy of the Duke, or sets the tone of what follows, and he proceeds with affairs of state in prose. Afterwards comes metre. Othello speaks metre, except in the scene where he has a fit, and all others speak to him in the way that he speaks. Montano and Bianca speak as any one else wishes to speak. Desdemona usually speaks metre. She speaks some prose to Iago and others in Act II. scene i. She explains this herself, saying,

"I am not merry; but I do beguile
The thing I am, by seeming otherwise."

She is speaking in a forced and unnatural manner. This leaves Cassio, Iago, and Roderigo, and of these Iago is the ruling spirit, and

makes the others speak as he pleases. I find that Iago usually speaks prose to the others, but sometimes metre. His soliloquies are in metre, so that is his natural way of speaking. I find that he speaks prose to his dupes when he is deceiving them. He talks to them as inferior beings. I will mention the places where he speaks metre to them. Act I. scene i., to Roderigo. Here he is not deceiving him. Act I. scene ii., to Cassio. These few lines may be considered a continuation of the previous metre. Act II. scene i., Iago and Desdemona are talking together, and Cassio and Roderigo are of no importance. Act II. scene iii., Roderigo speaks once in prose, and Iago answers in metre, giving him a lecture on patience. I think the tone of the lecture is the cause of the metre. Act III. scene i., with Cassio; no deception. Act V. scene i., with Roderigo, urging him on to kill Cassio. I should have expected this to be in prose. In Act I. scene i. Iago speaks to Brabantio once in metre and once in prose. Both speeches are very vulgar. I think both would have been better in prose. In Act II. scene i. Iago has a long aside in prose, as most asides are. They are not the same as soliloquies. I have received some assistance in this play from Dr Furnivall.

In *Julius Cæsar* there are 165 lines of prose, and there is no difficulty in them. The citizens speak prose, and others speak sometimes prose, sometimes metre to them. After Cæsar's death Brutus speaks to them in prose, then Antony speaks to them in metre, "Friends, Romans, countrymen." His speech produces such an effect on them that they speak metre. Casca appears to prefer prose, probably on account of his character. We are told that he is sour-tempered and envious. In Act II. scene iii. there is a letter in prose.

In *Coriolanus* prose is used much in the same way as in *Julius Cæsar*. Citizens, servants, a Roman, and a Volce speak prose. Menenius Agrippa speaks prose, and makes others speak prose. Volumnia, Virgilia, and Valeria speak prose together in Act I. scene iii. This is due to the relationship of the first two. Is it because Shakspeare thought that when ladies talk together there is a change in their style of conversation?

I shall go through *Pericles* carefully. The manner of using prose in it is not difficult to make out, but the inquiry is interesting as bearing upon the question whether Shakspeare wrote the whole of the play. In Act I. scene iii. Thaliard has a soliloquy in prose, and then speaks to other people in metre. He is a professional murderer, but not a very low character. In Act II. scene i. some fishermen speak prose to Pericles, and he speaks metre to them; this goes on for a long time. In Act III. scene i. some sailors speak prose to Pericles, and he speaks metre to them. In Act IV. scene i. some pirates speak prose. In Act IV. scene iii. Boult and his friends speak prose. Marina speaks prose to them, and has two short soliloquies in metre. In Act IV. scene v. two gentlemen speak prose. I think that this is accounted for by their having just come out of the house where Boult lives. In Act IV. scene vi. Boult and his friends and Lysimachus speak prose. Marina comes in. Lysimachus, thinking that she is one of the ordinary inmates of the house, speaks prose to her, and she answers in prose. Then Marina shows him her true character, speaking metre, "If you were born to honour, show it now." He immediately changes his manner, and speaks metre. Lysimachus goes out, and Boult and his friends come in and speak prose. Boult and Marina are left together. He speaks prose, and she speaks metre for some time. In Act V. scene i. a sailor speaks prose, and others speak a few lines of prose. The peculiarity of the play is that prose and metre go on at the same time; more, I think, than in any other play. The changes from prose to metre of Marina and Lysimachus are noteworthy. There is nothing to show that this play is the work of two writers.

In *Midsummer Night's Dream* the poor men, Quince and Bottom, and their friends speak prose. The only other prose is the jocular remarks of Theseus and others while the play is being acted. Titania speaks metre to Bottom, and he speaks prose to her.

In *Taming of the Shrew* there are twelve scenes, of which three are all metre, and nine part prose, part metre. All the people speak sometimes prose and sometimes metre, except some unimportant ones, who only appear once each. Nearly all the prose can be accounted for by the poor-man rule. The two servants, Biondello

and Grumio, take an important part in the play. They usually speak prose, and others usually speak prose to them. They are the cause of the prose in five scenes. The foolish old lover, Gremio, prefers prose, and others often answer him in prose. He is the cause of prose in two scenes, as the Latin lesson "Hac ibat Simois" is in another scene. Act V. scene i. is mostly in prose. This is the scene in which the real and the sham Vincentio meet, and it is a comic scene for which prose is certainly most suitable. This scene requires further examination to make out the metre in it. Tranio, though described as a servant, is a gentleman, and is addressed as Signior in Act V. scene ii. He speaks metre, except a few lines in Act V. scene i. In some places the servants speak a few lines of metre to suit their masters, instead of their masters speaking prose to suit them.

In the Induction to this play, the lord and his huntsmen and servants speak metre. The hostess speaks prose. Sly speaks prose till he is persuaded that he is a lord, and then he speaks metre. Near the end of scene ii. of the Induction, he goes back to prose again. The reason is not clear. At the end of the first scene in the play, Sly, the page, and a servant make some remarks about the acting in prose. The same thing occurs in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *Hamlet*.

The characters of the people in *Troilus and Cressida* are so decided and so well known that any one might say, without looking at the play, which speak prose and which metre. Of course the Greek and Trojan commanders speak metre, and of course Thersites speaks prose. Thersites makes Achilles speak prose, and sometimes makes the other commanders speak it too. Ajax is made a very rough, stupid man in this play, and sometimes speaks prose. The three principal people in the plot of the play, whose characters are not classical, Troilus, Cressida, and Pandarus, require more consideration. Pandarus always speaks prose, except the last speech in the play, which may be considered an epilogue. He sometimes makes others speak prose, but not always. They often do not appear to pay attention to what he says. Cressida is not very decided. Sometimes she prefers prose, sometimes metre. In Act I. scene ii., when

alone with Alexander, and in Act III. scene ii., when alone with Troilus, she speaks prose, and makes them speak prose. At the end of Act I. scene ii., after speaking prose with Pandarus, she has a soliloquy in metre. In other cases she speaks prose or metre to suit any one else. Troilus prefers metre, but speaks prose to suit Pandarus and Cressida. There are some single lines of prose which appear to be asides; and in Act III. scene iii. there are several short lines of prose together. Like the volleys of words in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, they would not go into metre.

In *All's Well that Ends Well* the principal interest is in the question, whether prose and metre are so used as to point to two separate dates—the one just before *Hamlet*, and the other the date of *Love's Labour's Wonne*, about the same time as *Love's Labour's Lost*, and the *Comedy of Errors*. For shortness, I call these late and early. I find that there certainly are two dates. I understand the use of prose and metre at the late date so well, that I am able to say that the greater part of the play agrees with other plays of that date. At the early date, prose and metre of a great many different lengths were used, apparently without much rule or reason, so that in many cases all that I can say about a passage is, that it is not late. It would be impossible here to go into every passage, even if I had thoroughly examined the play. I must content myself with pointing out some parts which I think are early. There are two letters in rhyme in Act III. scene iv. and Act IV. scene iii. These are early. There are three other letters in prose. These are late. There is a soliloquy in unusual rhyme by the Countess in Act I. scene iii., which is early. The greater part of Parolles is early. He speaks metre exactly where he ought not to. Parolles in the last scene in the play, speaking prose to the King and making him speak prose, is late. The prose part of the first scene in the play is early. Lafeu and the Countess often speak prose together, which is not late. There is a great deal of work to be done on this play; and it cannot be thoroughly understood until the rules in *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Comedy of Errors* are better understood, if indeed there are any in the latter play.

Twelfth Night contains a greater proportion of prose than any

play, except *Merry Wives* and *Much Ado*. To a great extent prose and metre are used in it as in *Merry Wives*. The sentimental lovers, Fenton and Anne Page in the one play, and the Duke and Viola in the other, speak metre. The feeble lovers, Slender and Sir Andrew Aguecheek, speak prose. The jovial characters in both plays speak prose. There are more changes between prose and metre in this play than in *Merry Wives*. Olivia often changes according to the company that she is in. Viola also changes. The Clown speaks prose, and usually makes others speak prose. Malvolio speaks prose, except in the last scene, when he is brought to his senses. There are three letters in prose, except that the one to Malvolio, supposed to be from Olivia, contains a little rhyme in short lines. I do not understand why Sebastian and Antonio speak prose together in Act II. scene i. and metre in Act III. scene iii.; and why the officers who arrest Antonio in Act III. scene iv. speak metre.

In *Lear* the poor-man rule is very weak. Four servants speak metre. An old man, tenant to Gloucester, speaks a few lines of prose and a few of metre. Oswald the steward speaks prose and metre with equal ease. The only scene in which he decides which is to be spoken is Act II. scene ii., and that is in prose. The King of France, and Dukes of Burgundy and Albany, and a physician, and Cordelia speak metre. The fool, like all other fools, speaks prose. He quotes a good deal of metre. Gloster, Edgar, and Edmund naturally speak metre. Edmund, like Iago, when using the others as his tools and deceiving them, usually speaks prose to them, and they answer in prose. It shows his contempt for them. Edgar when pretending to be mad speaks prose, as mad men do, and his asides are then in metre, to mark the difference that he is speaking naturally. Asides are usually in prose. Kent naturally speaks metre. When disguised he speaks usually prose, but sometimes metre, apparently to suit Lear. He speaks all metre (except a few lines) with a gentleman in Act III. scene i. and Act IV. scene iii., which are narrative. Goneril and Regan speak all metre, except a little prose when left together at the end of Act I. scene i., which is due to their relationship, and a little prose of Goneril to Oswald the steward in Act I. scene i., the reason for which I cannot make out.

The prose at the beginning of Act I. scene i. is accounted for by the impropriety of the subject. There is the same reason for prose in several other plays. There are two letters and a proclamation in prose. Lear himself speaks metre in the first scene, and afterwards sometimes metre and sometimes prose, according to who he is speaking to, until he goes mad, and then in Act III. scene vi., and Act IV. scene vi., he changes about from prose to metre in a way that I cannot account for. Dr Furnivall has helped me with this play.

Cymbeline is a complete contrast to *Lear*. Prose is used in a most simple way. The only poor men in the play, two gaolers in Act V. scene iv., speak prose, and Posthumus speaks prose to them. There are letters in Act III. scene ii. and Act III. scene iv. in prose. There is a letter or prophecy in prose in Act V. scene iv., and this is read again in Act V. scene v. Cloten usually speaks prose. This is accounted for by his character. In Act II. scene i. a Lord speaks of him thus:

“That such a crafty devil as his mother
Should yield the world this ass”

And later on, Guiderius, bringing in Cloten's head, says—

“This Cloten was a fool; an empty purse,—
There was no money in't: not Hercules
Could have knocked out his brains, for he had none.”

In Act I. scene iii., Act II. scenes i. and iii., he speaks prose with two lords; in the last of these, when *Cymbeline* comes in, all change to metre. In Act III. scene i. he speaks mostly prose with *Cymbeline* and the Queen, who speak metre. In Act III. scene v. he speaks metre with *Cymbeline* and the Queen for some time; then he is left with *Pisanio*, and goes on speaking metre for some time, but afterwards changes to prose. In Act IV. scene i. he has a soliloquy in prose, which forms the whole of the scene. I have not tried to find out why he speaks sometimes prose and sometimes metre to *Cymbeline* and the Queen. In Act I. scene v. *Philario*, *Jachimo*, a Frenchman, and *Posthumus* speak prose. This is caused by the impropriety of the subject.

Last of all I come to *Timon of Athens*. There are inconsistencies in this play which show that no one man can have written it. The principal one is, that the lords speak prose and the servants metre. This being the case, it is not worth while to go further into the play at present.

This finishes the plays, and, speaking roughly, I consider that I understand the use of prose in all of them except *Comedy of Errors* and *Timon of Athens*. I will write down the rules as far as my present knowledge of the subject allows. Some may afterwards require modifying, and other rules will probably have to be added. I find it necessary also to state the rules for metre. These rules are not all to be found in all the plays, and they vary in strength in different plays.

History is in metre.

Tragic, pompous, and sentimental parts are in metre. Comic, jovial, and light-hearted parts are in prose. This rule is not well expressed, and will have to be altered and enlarged.

Letters, proclamations, and other written documents are in prose. The only exceptions that I have found are a letter in *Titus Andronicus*, and three out of five letters in *All's Well that Ends Well*. Lovers' rhymes are not included in this rule.

Poor men speak prose. This rule is weak in *As You Like It*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Tempest*, *Lear*, and *Macbeth*, and is absent from *Henry VI.*, Part I. and Part III., *Richard II.*, *Richard III.*, and *John*.

Fools speak prose. They may be considered as philosophers in disguise, speaking in a manner that is not natural to them.

Messengers speak metre.

Persons who lose the use of their reason speak prose. This is the case with Hamlet when mad just after the play has been broken off, Ophelia when mad, Lear sometimes when mad, Lady Macbeth when walking in her sleep, Lepidus when drunk, and Othello when he has a fit.

Asides are in prose. This includes remarks upon acting in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Taming of the Shrew*, and *Hamlet*.

Volleys of words are in prose. These are mostly in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

A person using authority over another speaks metre.

Some persons speak sometimes prose, sometimes metre, according to their state of mind or the company they are in.

Persons speaking together all speak prose or all speak metre.

If an educated man who usually speaks metre meets a poor man, both speak prose. If two educated men meet, one of whom usually speaks prose, and the other metre, there are various rules as to which gives way to the other. In many cases the one who is highest in rank decides whether prose or metre is to be spoken. At other times it is the one who takes the lead in the conversation.

Ladies speak prose when alone, or nearly alone, with female relations. This is the case in

<i>As You Like It</i> , several scenes,	Rosalind and Celia.
<i>Much Ado</i> , Act III. scene iv.	Hero and Beatrice.
<i>Lear</i> , Act I. scene i.	Regan and Goneril.
<i>Coriolanus</i> , Act I. scene iii.	Volumnia and Virgilia.

The exceptions are in the earlier plays, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Taming of the Shrew*, and some of the early historical plays. Portia and Nerissa speaking prose in Act I. scene ii. of the *Merchant of Venice* is a variation of this rule.

Broken English is in prose. This is the case in *Henry V.*, Act III. scene iv., and Act V. scene ii. In *Merry Wives of Windsor* Evans usually speaks broken English in prose. When he has to speak metre he drops his Welshisms. In *Lear* Edgar, when he adopts a country dialect, speaks prose.

The special rules for prose are, in *Hamlet* mistrust, in *Measure for Measure* doubt, in *Winter's Tale* narrative, in *Othello* Iago's contemptuous deceit, and in *Lear* Edmund's contemptuous deceit.

I have called these rules for want of a better word. They are not arbitrary rules inconsistent with one another, but are various ways of carrying out the great rule, to use prose where prose is most suitable, and metre where metre is most suitable. It is difficult to say how much Shakspeare thought of them as rules

while he was writing. He cannot only have acted upon the spur of the moment in writing prose or metre. Besides, other writers were using the same rules.

With regard to the last part of my title, "the assistance that it gives in understanding the plays," I have shown that the study of the subject draws attention to important points in plays, particularly in *Hamlet*. Besides, it generally throws light on Shakspeare's mind and method of work. It gives assistance in many other subjects connected with Shakspeare. In *All's Well* it shows two dates. In *Timon of Athens* it points to two authors, in *Pericles* it does not. It points to the spurious character of *Henry VIII*. It will also help to find the order in which the plays were written.

Up to the present time I have been working almost entirely alone, and have devoted my attention principally to finding out the rules. I hope hereafter, with the assistance of others, to develop the subject more. I intend to compare the first sketches of *Hamlet* and *Merry Wives* with the complete plays, and to study plays by other writers, in order to see how much Shakspeare made the rules, and how much he copied from others.

After going to press my attention was called to a paper by Professor N. Delius, 'Die Prosa in Shakespeare's Dramen,' in the Jahrbuch of the German Shakespeare Society, 1870, vol. v., p. 227. In his introduction he dwells upon the importance and beauty of Shakspeare's prose and its suitability for the places where it is used. He divides it into three parts--

1. The talk of poor people, which he calls the lowest style.
2. The familiar conversations of educated people, which he calls a higher style.
3. Ceremonious language, which he calls the highest style.

He then goes through the plays at considerable length, his remarks mostly leading up to these three divisions. He states incidentally that letters are in prose, and that madmen and fools speak prose. His remarks show that he has some idea of other reasons why prose was used, but he does not attempt to formulate any rules. I do not think that his paper will be found of much use in working out this subject, because I have gone so much further. The only assistance

that I have had from it is, that it has called my attention to two passages of prose which I had overlooked, and that it has helped me in making out one passage in *Othello*, which play and *Lear* I had not finished when I read the paper.

I shall be happy to communicate with any one who wishes to do any work upon this subject, or can throw any fresh light upon it.

HENRY SHARPE.

30, Well Walk, Hampstead,
November 1885.

SCRAPS.

tharborough : *L. L. Lost*, I. i. 185.

"Hobb Andrw he was **thridborro** :

He bad hom, 'Pesse ! God gyff hom sorro !

For Y mey arrest yow best."

† ab. 1475, The Huntyng of the Hare, l. 219.

Weber's *Metr. Rom.* iii. 288.

stanzo, n. *As you like it*, II. v. 18, 19. *Envoy* (L'envoy). *L. L. Lost*, III. 72, &c. "*Epigramme* : m. An Epigram ; a Couplet, **Stanzo**, or short Poeme, wittily taxing a particular person, or fault."—1611. Cotgrave. "*Envoy* . . th' **Enuoy**, or conclusion of a Ballet or Sonnet, in a short **stanzo** by it selfe, and seruing, oftentimes, as a dedication of the whole."—*ib.*

court holy water, sb. flattery. *Lear*, III. ii. 10. "*Mantellizzare*, to flatter, to faune, to claw, to sooth vp, to cog and foist with, to giue one **court holie water**." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*. Compare "*Cortegianementi*, courtings, **courtiers hollie-water** trickes, curtezans prankes or deuises."—*ib.*

many-headed multitude : *Coriolanus*, II. iii. 18. "*Turba*, the common people, a multitude, a rout, a crue or croud of people, an assembly of people, a throng, a swarme, a rabble or rout, the **many-headed-monster multitude**." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.

it = its. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 216, &c. *De mal est venu l'agneau, & à mal retourne la peau* : Prov. "From ill came the Lambe, and to ill goes **it** skinne ; goods euill gotten are commonly ill spent." 1611. Cotgrave.

no point, by no means. *L. L. Lost*, II. 190, &c. "*Punto* . . neuer a whit, no iot, **no point**, as the frenchmen say." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

TABLE SHOWING WHETHER EACH PERSON SPEAKS IN PROSE OR IN METRE IN EACH SCENE.

	I. i.	I. ii.	I. iii.	II. i.	II. ii.	II. iii.	III. i.	III. ii.	III. iii.	III. iv.	III. v.	IV. i.	IV. ii.	V. i.	V. ii.	V. iii.	V. iv.	
Don Pedro	p	m	...	p	m	...	...	p	...	...	...	m	...	p	...	m	m	p
Don John	p	...	p	p	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	m	...	...	...	...	...	p
Claudio	p	m	...	p	m	...	...	p	...	...	...	p	...	p	...	m	m	p
Benedick	p	...	...	p	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	p	...	p	...	m	m	p
Leonato	p	p	...	p	p	...	...	p	...	...	...	p	...	p	...	m	m	p
Antonio	...	p	...	p	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	p	...	m	...	m	m	p
Balthazar	...	...	...	p	m	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	m	m	p
Borachio	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...	p
Conrade	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...	p
Dogberry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...	p
Verges	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
Seacoal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
Watch	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
Sexton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	m
Friar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	m	m
Messengers	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
Boy	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
Hero	p	...	...	p	...	...	m	...	...	p	...	p	...	...	...	...	m	m
Beatrice	p	...	...	p	p	...	m	...	...	p	...	p	...	...	p	...	p	m
Margaret	...	...	...	p	...	...	m	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	m
Ursula	...	...	...	p	...	...	m	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	m
	...	...	...	...	...	...	Garden	...	...	Dress- ing	...	Church	...	Chal- lenges	...	Tomb	...	
	p	p	p	p	p	p	m	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	m	p	

There are 17 scenes : 2 are all metre (the Ladies in the Garden, and the Tomb scene), 9 are all prose, 6 are part metre, part prose.

HAMLET.

TABLE SHOWING WHETHER EACH PERSON SPEAKS IN PROSE OR IN METRE IN EACH SCENE.

	I. i.	I. ii.	I. iii.	I. iv.	I. v.	II. i.	II. ii.	III. i.	III. ii.	III. iii.	III. iv.	IV. i.	IV. ii.	IV. iii.	IV. iv.	IV. v.	IV. vi.	IV. vii.	V. i.	V. ii.
King	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Hamlet	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Polonius	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Horatio	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Laertes	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Volmund	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Cornelius	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Rosencrantz	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Guildestern	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Osric	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Gentleman	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Priest	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Marcellus	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Bernardo	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Francisco	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Reynaldo	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Captain	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Ambassador	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Ghost	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Fortinbras	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
1st Gravedigger	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
2nd Gravedigger	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Messenger	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
1st Player	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Lord	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Panes	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Servant	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Sailor	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Queen	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
Ophelia	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
	Platform	Platform	Platform	Platform	Platform	Whale	To be	Play	Closet	Ophelia mad	Grave	p m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m

There are 20 scenes : 9 are all metre, 1 is all prose, 10 are part metre, part prose.

XXV.

ON CHARACTER-DEVELOPMENT IN SHAKSPERE
AS ILLUSTRATED BY *MACBETH* AND *HENRY V.*

BY R. G. MOULTON.

*(Read at the 112th Meeting of the New Shakspeare Society, on Friday,
January 15, 1886.)*

ONE of the most popular sides of dramatic study is Character-Interpretation: the process by which all the sayings and doings of a personage in the play, his relations with others, and the general bundle of impressions of which he is the centre, are all collected by the mind, as rays by a lens, and formed into the abstract idea—a *Character*. When this process of interpretation is further accompanied by a sense of progress and advance as we follow the character through the movement of the drama, we get *Character-Development*. The purpose of the present paper is very simple. It goes no further than pointing out how Character-Development, as a term of criticism, has two distinct meanings. There may be real growth and development in the character itself, brought about by the succession of the incidents. Or, on the other hand, the character may be in itself complete throughout, but development may be observable in its delineation and in the successive stages through which we attain to a full view of it. I propose to illustrate these two species of Character-Development by the two plays of *Macbeth* and *Henry V.*

I.

Henry V. as illustration of development in the presentation of a character.

In *Henry V.* Shakspeare has embodied his conception of supreme heroism: and in order that the conception may be individualized,

and not remain a mere poetic ideal, his choice of subject has given it the practical tinge, which of all aspects of heroism is the one most congenial to the English mind. Or rather, the hero of the poem is the English nation itself, as typified in the popular king who has caught the spirit of every class amongst his people, and concentrates them all in himself; this effect being assisted by constant contrast with the French nation, in which, as judged by popular conception of it, the English nation finds its antithesis. It would serve no purpose to analyze such character into its component qualities, its best definition is to exhibit it in action. War is chosen as representing action on the largest scale; and it is interesting to note that here alone in all his works Shakspeare betrays a consciousness of being straitened by dramatic form, and the prologues to the five acts, which paint so vividly successive stages of the war, are Shakspeare's nearest approach to an epic poem. We have, moreover, in the play a thoroughly English conception of war: not a picture of a Napoleon, a glorious soldier at his work, but of a Wellington, supreme character displayed best by difficulty, and finding its highest climax in trouble. Looked at in this light the play illustrates one of the two species of Character-Development under consideration. There is no advance in the character of Henry itself. On the contrary, the point of the conversation between the bishops, with which the first act opens, is to bring out the sudden rise of a full-grown character in the king at the moment of his succession:

"The breath no sooner left his father's body,
But that his wildness, mortified in him,
Seem'd to die too; yea, at that very moment
Consideration, like an angel, came
And whipp'd the offending Adam out of him,
Leaving his body as a paradise,
To envelope and contain celestial spirits."

But this complete character is displayed before us in different phases, the succession of which is a progress to a goal. The whole picture is the heroism of achievement: as we have it we see first the formation of a great purpose; then in overcoming obstacles heroism is brought into contact with the treason which is its opposite; next we have heroism in the moment of action; the character then passes

under the shadow of reverses, and reaches the crisis first of inward conflict, and then of outward action ; finally, achievement being crowned by triumph, we have the reaction and unbending of the strain.

1. *Formation of heroic purpose.* I. ii.

The first act paints formation of purpose so ideally that it is almost like a psychological process dramatized. The king will not hear the French ambassadors till he has been fully instructed in the rights of the matter, and we have a detailed exposition of the Salic law. Bishops and aged statesmen are rousing the young prince to war, while it is he himself who points out the difficulties to be provided against in the way of Scottish hostility. The whole discussion is based on highest considerations of State policy, and its climax is Canterbury's splendid application of the division of labour to political science, illustrated with his elaborate simile of the bees. Then, with suddenness like the fall of a hammer, calm deliberation passes into decisive resolution, and the ambassadors are called in. They bear a message from the Dauphin. This French prince presents a sharp contrast to his English contemporary : he has never had any sympathies with sport, nor any youth as the English understand youth. Passing from childhood straight to military training, he has no world but chivalry, in the aspect of chivalry as professional soldiery which pervades the French side of the play. His only ideal is his horse. It is a moot point whether he has or has not courage and skill. But in any case he shows himself utterly unable to distinguish the realities of war from its outward trappings, failing to recognize for himself any serious enemy in the English army, which the toils of the expedition have stripped of all military splendour, and refusing to believe older generals, who warn him of his error. If the word may be allowed, he is a military "prig," and has all the prig's contempt for a youth who, with all his failings, has at least lived a more natural and less narrowing life ; and this contempt finds practical expression in the tun of tennis balls. The Dauphin's insult is introduced at exactly the right point, and we see a formed resolution carried forward into passion with the

gathering force of Henry's rebuke, in which the jest is made to recoil with grim earnest on its sender :

“When we have match'd our rackets to these balls,
We will in France, by God's grace, play a set
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard.
Tell him, he hath made a match with such a wrangler
That all the courts of France will be disturb'd
With chases. And we understand him well,
How he comes o'er us with our wilder days,
Not measuring what use we made of them.
We never valued this poor seat of England ;
And therefore, living hence, did give ourself
To barbarous license ; as 'tis ever common
That men are merriest when they are from home.
But tell the Dauphin I will keep my state,
Be like a king, and show my sail of greatness
When I do rouse me in my throne of France :
For that I have laid by my majesty,
And plodded like a man for working-days,
But I will rise there with so full a glory
That I will dazzle all the eyes of France,
Yea, strike the Dauphin blind to look on us.”

The words which follow strike a note that recurs in Henry's speeches again and again : concentrated purpose raised to a white heat of passion, and passing over the train of events in anticipation so rapidly that it arrives straight at the end, and can only dwell upon the sad consequences which are to overtake opponents :

“And tell the pleasant prince, this mock of his
Hath turn'd his balls to gun-stones ; and his soul
Shall stand sore charged for the wasteful vengeance
That shall fly with them : for many a thousand widows
Shall this his mock mock out of their dear husbands ;
Mock mothers from their sons, mock castles down ;
And some are yet ungotten and unborn
That shall have cause to curse the Dauphin's scorn.
But all this lies within the will of God,
To whom I do appeal.”

2. *Obstruction : heroism confronted with treason.* II. ii.

Achievement must of course be tested not only by difficulties in the action itself, but also by obstacles in the way of acting ; and the conspiracy which threatens to delay Henry also gives opportunity

for bringing the perfect man and national hero in contact with treachery, the supreme sin against both individual friendship and the nation. The progress of events is throughout the play painted by the emphatic points of successive stages ; so here we have arraignment, denunciation, punishment, crowded into a single stroke—the sin and the perfect type sinned against are seen together in the blaze of light that accompanies a sudden discovery. There is no higher function for loftiness of soul than by its mere contact with what is base to shrivel it up into loathliness. So here : the physical suffering and other repulsive details of punishment do not appear, but the true punishment is Henry's outpouring of soul, which turns the light of heroism on to the sin of treason as he paints the trust and the treachery ; the cunning fiend that inspired such a temptation hath got the voice in hell for excellence, the whole sweetness of affiance is infected with jealousy, it is like another fall of man ! And the effect of such simple contact of natures is complete when Henry's eloquence is seen to have called forth the long-buried germs of goodness in the traitors themselves. They have grace enough to long for their death ; and Henry, who has no weakness, not even the noble weakness of mercy, dismisses them to their fate.

3. *Heroism in the moment of action.* From III. i.

We now reach the war itself, and the heroic spirit is displayed in the moment of action. Concentration of purpose is idealized in the speech before the walls of Harfleur :

“ In peace, there's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility :
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
Then imitate the action of the tiger ;
Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,
Disguise fair nature with hard-favour'd rage.”

Each fresh touch of description seems to string up the nerves another turn. The king has caught the exact spirit of every rank : those descended from fathers of war-proof are called on to dishonour not their mothers and be copy to men of grosser blood ; good yeomen whose limbs were made in England, to show the mettle of their

pasture. No wonder that by the end he sees a noble lustre in their eyes, and they are like greyhounds in the slips, straining upon the start. The effect is continued in the summons to the town, and we must not allow our modern feelings, as to the horrors of sack and pillage, to hide from us that the concentration of heroic purpose in Henry is increased by the unhesitating way in which he fastens the full guilt of all that is to happen on the enemy that refuses to yield :

“Take pity of your town, and of your people,
 Whiles yet my soldiers are in my command ;
 Whiles yet the cool and temperate wind of grace
 O'erblows the filthy and contagious clouds
 Of heady murder, spoil, and villainy.”

4. *A turning-point : heroism passes under the shadow of reverses.*

Compare III. v. 56.

The turning-point of the action is perceived where from the conversation in the French army we hear that Henry's numbers are few and his soldiers sick and famished. The shadow of reverses is necessary to display character at its full height ; and against a background of French chivalry, in all its splendour, we see the weary and broken English expedition plodding on through its task. The study of heroism in an apparently falling cause begins with the reception of the French herald and his insolent summons to surrender. First, Henry recognizes how the herald, a mere agent, has from his employers' point of view done his office fairly. Then he is strong enough to admit all his losses. It is at this point that he lets slip his one bit of vaunting ; he fears his numbers are “almost no better than so many French.” Yet he instantly feels compunction for lowering the tone of heroism to the pitch of boasting ; it is a vice, he says, that the air of France has blown in him. His reply now reaches the point at which we listen for counter-defiance. But counter-defiance is after all following the adversary's lead ; and Henry passes beyond it to the quietest possible ignoring of the elaborately framed challenge :

“The sum of all our answer is but this :
 We would not seek a battle, as we are ;
 Nor, as we are, we say we will not shun it.”

5. *The crisis : in the hero's own soul.* IV. i.

We now approach the crisis : and the critical point in external action is preceded by a still sharper crisis in the soul of Henry himself, marking the eve of the battle, which is brought before us in greater detail than any other point in the history. First, the leader's own personality has to be expended in stringing up the spirits of those around him to endurance and achievement. Henry's cheerfulness is unflagging, and he can extract some soul of goodness from every dull surrounding. As he moves about his camp in the darkness, and accosts every variety of his followers, he catches instantly the exact tone in which to address each, and calls forth from each a characteristic flash of enthusiasm. He casually borrows a cloak from old Sir Thomas Erpingham, whom he wishes a good soft pillow for that good white head :

“Erp. Not so, my liege ; this lodging likes me better,
Since I may say, Now lie I like a king.”

He exchanges contemptuous chaff with Pistol as he passes him, and hears even him use of the king the highest language of which he is capable : “I love the lovely bully.” Varying the effect he uses his incognito to bring about the rough irony of the scene with the English common soldiers, whom he meets on their own ground, and argues seriously with them on the rights of the king, yet retaining his sense of humour, and seizing the opportunity for future practical jest as he exchanges gages with the blunt-spoken Michael Williams. So far, he has been supported by the presence of others, and by having work to do : he must now experience the extremity of testing and self-review in a struggle with his own soul. Through his conversation with the soldiers has been present the thought of the loneliness of a king, and under his incognito as a private individual he has been craving for sympathy with the king as a man :

“I think the king is but a man as I am.”

This has been rudely refused : they doubt whether the king's courage is more than a show to put spirit in others ; they wish he were there by himself, as he could depend on ransom. Especially they touch the very point to doubt which at the moment of action is paralysis

of soul—the justice of the cause; and they speak of the heavy reckoning the king will have to make, if the cause be not good, for the souls of those who have died,

“some swearing, some crying for a surgeon, some upon their wives left poor behind them, some upon the debts they owe, some upon their children rawly left.”

Indignantly the disguised king repudiates responsibility for the state of soul in which his subjects meet their death in doing their duty. But when he is alone the thought recurs and overwhelms him with a weight of responsibility, in the presence of which all the sense of kingly station, which raised him to moral greatness after the wildness of his youth, and which is still his support, seems to melt away into mere “ceremony,” a tide of pomp breaking upon the high shore of this world, to no end but to rob him of the peaceful sleep and profitable labour of a peasant. On the threshold thus of morbid self-analysis the summons to action reaches him, and his self-searching intensifies into a single moment’s agony of penitence and prayer:

“Not to-day, O Lord,
O, not to-day, think not upon the fault
My father made in compassing the crown!”

6. *The crisis: in outer action.* IV. iii.—vii.

So he passes into the battle on which his all is staked. As at the beginning we saw deliberation crystallize into decisive resolution, so all Henry’s heart-searching and doubt has no effect but to draw every fibre of his soul on to the task before him. The fighting force of the army is the spirit of their king. Entering as Westmoreland is wishing for more numbers, Henry changes with a single speech the tone of all around him, and infuses into them his sin of coveting honour, by which he would grudge the sharing the danger of this glorious St Crispin’s day with even one man more from England. He turns the same front of unswerving confidence to the scornful message of the enemy. Even where Henry is not present his spirit prevails none the less, and Suffolk and York have no thought in their bloody and heroic deaths but that with which the king has inspired them—the thought of dying as yoke-fellows in this glorious field. So through

all incidents, glorious and pathetic, the full strain of resolution is maintained, until from the lips of the same herald, who had been the bearer of the insolent defiance, Henry first learns the full extent of his victory, the enormous slaughter of the enemy, and small English loss, which make the odds the greatest ever known. Then, indeed, his deep character perceives a point beyond triumph :

“ O God, thy arm was here ! ”

and he proclaims it death

“ To boast of this, or take that praise from God
Which is his only.”

7. *Triumph of achievement and reaction.* IV. viii. and V.

So tense a strain must in a healthy soul be followed by reaction : and the character-development which has displayed before us Henry's character in phase after phase with ever-increasing fulness, reaches completion by the glimpse the fifth act affords us of the hero unbending after achievement is finished. With free flow of humour he enters into the national vanity of Welsh Fluellen, and enjoys the practical jokes which have arisen out of his incognito. Above all, in his wooing of the Princess Katharine he gives full scope to the tenderness which is the reverse side of the warrior spirit, and which is thinly disguised under the rough exterior Henry affects to the mistress he is to win as the prize of arms.

II.

Macbeth as illustration of development in the character itself.—Three lines of development.

In *Henry V.* we have seen development in the mode in which a Character is presented to us : the play of *Macbeth* will afford us an example of development appearing in the character itself as it passes through the incidents which make up the plot. I have elsewhere analyzed at length Shakspeare's conception of Macbeth, as resting upon the antithesis of the practical and inner life : Macbeth is a perfect type of the man of action, so far as such perfection is possible where there has been no culture of the life within. For the present purpose it is sufficient to fasten upon three points in such a character.

His practical nature, as the part of him most highly developed, will be, when he surrenders himself to evil, the seat of his susceptibility to crime. But he will be powerfully affected by his lack of the inner cultivation. On the one hand, his practical effectiveness will be hindered by want of the self-discipline needed for periods of indecision and suspense: Macbeth, who is always equal to a moment of action, fails in self-conflict. On the other hand, nature has bound the individual to the morals of his kind; it is possible for him to shake off these bonds, but this would need a self-mastery impossible to one untrained in the life of the soul. Consequently, Macbeth finds that he has resisted his nature in one direction only to succumb in another; inherited notions of higher beings and of law with more than earthly sanctions, which in other men take the form of religion, appear in Macbeth as implicit confidence in the supernatural. He would "jump the life to come," yet rests his hope of salvation on a witch's apparition. As a man who has not learned his letters may yet be taught by a picture-book, so Macbeth's imagination serves to him as a pictorial conscience. Here we have three threads which we may follow through the development of Macbeth's character: first, we may see his practical nature passing through every stage of moral degeneracy; secondly, we may watch the flaw in his powers, impatience of suspense, growing from a weakness to the dominant force of his nature; in the third place, we shall see how, as the rest of his nature hardens, he is only giving more scope to his imagination and his susceptibility to the supernatural, as the channel by which outraged nature asserts itself.

1. *A glimpse of Macbeth outside the field of the drama: practical nature in the foreground, and impatience of suspense.* I. vii. 47.

We get a casual glimpse of Macbeth outside the field of the drama itself. In the conversation with Lady Macbeth allusion is made to a treasonable discussion, which from the context would seem to have taken place before the commencement of the play:

"Nor time nor place
Did then adhere, and yet you would make both."

Scanty as is this picture, yet so far as it goes it agrees with all we

know of Macbeth. He is dwelling only on practical considerations of time and place. With the temptation a thing of such vague futurity, indecision is not likely to have any serious effect; yet even here we note a touch of impatience: "and yet you would make both."

2. *Macbeth facing temptation: yields on temptation touching his practical nature—suspense as yet controllable—the supernatural little more than imagination and a restraining force.*

I. iii, iv.

At the opening of the play temptation advances nearer, and approaches through the medium of supernatural beings, the witches. Accordingly, when Macbeth can command himself sufficiently to speak, his words betray the temptation sweeping over his soul like a cloud over a landscape. First his inclination is conquered: "would they had stayed!" Then his reason is affected, and he so far yields as to argue:

"This supernatural soliciting
Cannot be ill, cannot be good: if ill,
Why hath it given me earnest of success,
Commencing in a truth? I amthane of Cawdor:
If good—"

At this point the temptation has reached his susceptible imagination, and the horrid image unseats his hair, and makes his seated heart knock at his ribs. But at present imagination is an agent in restraining crime, and with its aid Macbeth retains strength enough not only to master temptation, but—what is harder for him—to endure suspense:

"If chance will have me king, why, chance may crown me."

In the next scene temptation has made a further advance, and attacked the citadel of his nature, his practical sense; for simultaneously the proclamation of an heir-apparent removes his hope of chance succession, and the king's announcement of his visit to Macbeth's castle places before him opportunity. In an instant he gives way and accepts the crime, yet in words showing that imagination is still strong enough to make crime difficult to him:

“Stars, hide your fires ;
 Let not light see my black and deep desires :
 The eye wink at the hand ; yet let that be,
 Which the eye fears, when it is done, to see.”

3. *Macbeth facing deed : suspense almost betrays him—practical considerations nerve him to crime—the supernatural hardly distinguishable from reality and an avenging force.*

I. v—II. ii.

A further stage of development occupies the scenes which intervene between this point and the accomplishment of Duncan's murder. Apparently, indeed, there is a going back, and Macbeth, whom we saw resolute, reappears racked with doubt ; but this arises from the difference there is between a crime conceived in the abstract as a thing to be done, and the same crime in all its concrete details, which bring it home to the mind, and especially to a practical mind such as Macbeth's. Amid the adverse chances which Macbeth's knowledge of things human suggests to him as always attending unnatural conspiracy, his suspense becomes uncontrollable ; his face is as a book where men may read strange matters, his thoughts drive the host from the table of his guests. In the famous soliloquy and the dialogue that follows the notable point is the prominence of *practical* considerations in Macbeth's musings : fear of practical failure has disguised itself as moral objection ; and there is a sudden end put to all hesitation by a temptation addressed to the same source from which the hesitation had come, when Lady Macbeth begins to suggest a practical scheme feasible in all its details, which in an instant rouses her husband to a pitch of exultation. But this lasts only so long as he is supported by the necessities of action. Returning from the deed, one moment's suspense—while he “stood and heard” two who had apparently been wakened—gave full scope for reaction to make itself felt through his imagination. And the imagination which in the former scene he could stop to analyze, though it made his heart beat and his hair stand on end, now reaches so near to the line which separates subjective and objective, that Lady Macbeth herself can hardly tell for a moment whether he is speaking of strong fancies or audible voices.

4. *Macbeth facing discovery: suspense destroys judgment and becomes settled disease—practical nature finds crime congenial—the supernatural absolutely real.*

II, III.

We have next to study Macbeth facing the discovery of his guilt. The first scene of the discovery, where all is bustle and action, is comparatively easy to Macbeth's practical genius. Yet even here the suspense of a single moment—the only moment in which he is left to himself—proves more than he can face, and he cannot restrain himself from slaying the grooms, and so marring the well-laid plan. But more of him is to be seen in the prolonged resistance to the gathering evidences of crime, the period which culminates in the murder of Banquo, to remove a dreaded witness. From this point suspense no longer comes by fits, it is a settled disease; his mind is full of scorpions, it is tortured in restless ecstasy, he eats his meal in fear, and is nightly shaken with terrible dreams. He has been seized with the gambler's fever, the fixed idea that one more stroke will secure success. Suspense has undermined his judgment, and betrays him to the dangerous crime of Banquo's murder,—so obviously dangerous that he dares not entrust the secret to the sounder judgment of his wife. And if suspense has thus become more powerful over his sensibilities, so has crime increased its hold upon his practical nature. For his first murder he was wrought to a frenzy of excitement; the murder of the grooms was a sudden impulse; but this new crime is a thing of elaborate contrivance, performed through the agency of others; he sets about it as about a labour of love, glorying in its details, and appreciating his murderous agents in a way that reminds us of Richard III.; and finally he darkly hints it to his wife as a *bon-bouche*:

“Be innocent of the knowledge, dearest chuck,
Till thou applaud the deed.”

Again, in proportion as the rest of his nature has hardened, in like proportion has Macbeth increased his susceptibilities to supernatural imaginings. It is hardly necessary to observe that in the banquet scene Shakspeare intends the appearance of Banquo's ghost as an

illusion of Macbeth's imagination. Usually Shakspeare's supernatural apparitions are objective, and even here stage tradition not improperly makes use of supernatural effects to assist the imagination of the audience. But the actual intention of this scene may be discovered by a simple test, namely, that the spectre is invisible to all except Macbeth, being thus proved to be a creation of his excited brain. Yet to him it is more terrible than any foe of flesh and blood. It is in vain that the queen passionately urges upon him that his eye is deceived; it is in vain that he himself regains his composure; when a second time the vision appears he accepts it as implicitly as before. All this measures the power the supernatural has won over Macbeth: when we last saw him struggling with his conscience his imaginings hung doubtfully between reality and illusion, now the apparition with which he is visited is more real to him than the real life around him.

5. *Macbeth facing Nemesis: suspense grows to a panic—practical capacity for crime a mania—he is wholly devoted to the supernatural.*

IV, V.

From the murder of Banquo the descent is rapid. Suspense passes beyond a settled disease, and grows to a panic: Macbeth's crimes must now be "acted ere they may be scann'd." He had before wrought his nature to commit crime with ease: now slaughter becomes an end in itself:

"Each new morn
New widows mourn, new orphans cry, new sorrows
Strike heaven on the face;"

and in time a mania:

"Some say, he's mad; others that lesser hate him
Do call it valiant fury."

And now his whole receptive nature is swallowed up in the supernatural. All other susceptibility is cased over with callousness. The man who had too much of the milk of human kindness receives the message of his wife's death with the words: "She should have

died hereafter." Even imagination in its ordinary operations has ceased to be felt :

"I have almost forgot the taste of fears : . . .
Direness, familiar to my slaughterous thoughts,
Cannot once start me."

But to compensate for the loss of other sensibility he has now complete and blind trust in the dark beings of unholy knowledge : he voluntarily seeks them ; he forces his way into the future, and feels by anticipation the failure of all his hopes ; and finally he hurries into the false confidence which is to gain the impetus for his shock of ruin.

Such is the development in the character of Macbeth. We set out with three aspects of his character to be kept in view in tracing him through his career : his practical genius, his powerlessness in suspense, and his susceptibility to imagination as the channel by which conscience might still operate though reason and religion were left uncultivated. We have traced his practical nature through every downward step : surrendering itself to crime at first with struggle, then by impulse, then with satisfaction, at last with blind frenzy. Suspense from being controllable with effort becomes stronger than judgment, from being a thing of recurrence becomes a fixed state, and intensifies into a panic. Lastly, imagination, which has at first been an agent in restraining sin, becomes the instrument of Nemesis, and betrays Macbeth to supernatural visitations : visitations which at first indeed may be faced with a measure of doubt, but which soon become his only reality, which come to be sought instead of shunned, in the thirst for which all other passions are lost, which form the foundation of all his trust, and are the source of his betrayal.

Such are the two species of Character-Development which I desire to distinguish : the growth, on the one hand, in the actual personality of a Macbeth, from embryo to maturity, as he passes through the incidents of the plot ; and on the other hand, the progress in dramatic presentation of a character which, like Henry's, has leaped to maturity before the commencement of the particular play. To both cases

the term 'development' is applicable; but the process takes place, in the one case, in the personage represented, in the other case, in our attitude to him. Henry's is the development of the moon through her phases: the whole globe is present where our eyes can catch only a crescent, and it becomes a question of more light being thrown on to the object for the progress toward fulness to become apparent. But Macbeth develops as the seed grows into the tree: the tree may be *potentially* present in the seed, but the passage from that potential to the actual is no matter depending upon external observation, but is a succession of changes in the substance of the organism itself.

SCRAPS.

dive-dapper, sb. *Venus and Adonis*, 86. "Garganello, a kinde of small ducke called a Teale or Wigeon. Some take it for a diuer or **diue-dapper**." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*. "*Giuiero*, *Giuerone*, a bird called a diuer, a **didapper**, or arsefoote."—*ib.*

husbandry, sb. frugality. *Sonnet*, xiii. 10. "*Parsimonia*, parcimonie, sparing, **husbandrie**, as *Parcità*. *Parcità*, niggardnes, thriftines, frugalitie, sparing, scarcenes, sparingnes, good **husbandrie**." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.

comart, sb. mutual dealing, joint bargain. *Hamlet*, I. i. 93, Quarto 2. Compare "*Mercantare*, to cheapen, to bargaine, to marchandize, to **mart**." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*. "*Mercantare*, to bargaine . . . to play the chapman, to merchant, to **marting**."—*ib.*

civil, a. (quibble on *Seville*). *Much Ado*, II. i. 304. In Arnold's *Chronicle*, 1811, p. 110, we have, "ix tonne of good **Cinill** oyle," i. e. *Seville* oil. p. 130. "They had freighted dyuers shippis at **Cyuill**."—W. W. Skeat.

bend, sb. *Ant. and Cleop.* II. ii. 213. "*Ceinctes*: f. The **bends**, or wales of a ship; the thicke ledges that compasse th' outsides thereof." 1611. Cotgrave. (Schmidt makes "looks, the **bends** of their eyes" the meaning here.)

silver, sb. (in *pl.*). *Tr. and Cres.* I. iii. 65. "*Argentatus*, a, *um*, Liv. Silvered over, burnished, hatched or damasked with **silvers**." 1617. *Rider's Dict.*, by Holyoke.

XXVI.

BEAUMONT, FLETCHER, AND MASSINGER.

BY ROBERT BOYLE.

(Read at the 115th Meeting of the New Shakspere Society, on Friday,
April 9, 1886.)

A CONSIDERATION of the plays going under the joint name, Beaumont and Fletcher, soon brings us to the conclusion that Sir Aston Cockaigne knew what he was talking about when he claimed for his friend, Philip Massinger, a place beside Beaumont as co-author with Fletcher. In the first volume of the *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society* an attempt was made by Mr Fleay to show which plays were Beaumont and Fletcher's, which Fletcher's alone, and which Massinger and Fletcher's. Besides these three dramatists, the shares of Dekker, Rowley, Middleton, Field, and Shirley were pointed out in certain cases. Though such an attempt to open up a vast untrodden field of investigation, necessarily bore the stamp of imperfection on it, yet it was made with such critical acumen, and such a command of the whole field of dramatic literature, that we can only regret that it has remained a fragment till now. Had Mr Fleay continued his labours in the field he opened up, not only the present article, but also those claiming Massinger as co-author in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and in *Henry VIII.*, which appeared in the *Transactions* of this Society, would probably never have been written. It follows, almost as a matter of course, when we have recognized Massinger's hand in so many Beaumont and Fletcher plays, that we should also recognize it in the above two pseudo-Shaksperean plays, which bear his stamp as plainly as *The Duke of Milan* or *The Unnatural Combat*.

In his paper above referred to, Mr Fleay, comparing *The Little French Lawyer* of the Beaumont and Fletcher series with *The Parliament of Love*, which we may regard as certainly Massinger's, showed the latter's hand, not only from the similarity of versification, but also from the proper names. In the case of Dinant, a name, like most of the rest, common to the two plays, Mr Fleay noticed that it was always pronounced Dínant, with the accent on the first syllable, in the scenes he attributed to Fletcher. In *The Parliament of Love*, and in the scenes of *The Little French Lawyer* which he attributed to Massinger, the name was always pronounced Dinánt. Having thus made a practical breach, he proceeded to show Massinger's share in other Beaumont and Fletcher plays. As, however, the tables which he published gave no means of controlling his results, his paper did not make so much impression as it otherwise would have done. These results the author of the present paper has generally found to be right; but, having gone so far in their verification, he took a further step, and went through not only all the plays in the Beaumont and Fletcher series, but also those which, to his mind, showed traces of Massinger's hand. The results of this investigation have been published in four papers in Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, V. i., VII. i., VIII. i., IX. ii. A fifth paper will complete the series. As these papers embrace already 100 printed pages, it will not be practicable to give all the proofs there adduced in the present paper. The results and some of the proofs will here be given, and those who interest themselves in the question may consult the tables in those papers.

Such an investigation could not be carried on for years without yielding valuable results as to the dramatic peculiarities of most of Shakspeare's contemporaries and successors. Of these the most important element is the versification. Blank verse took an individual shape in the hands of each author—a shape which, once adopted, generally developed in the line of the changes to which that form of verse in general was subjected from Marlowe to Milton, but which each dramatist held fast to in all his *dramatic* productions. I say the dramatic productions, because we cannot include the Masks and Pastorals, like Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*,

under that category. Mr Fleay used almost exclusively *versification* to distinguish author from author. Nor is this by any means so bold an undertaking as it seems. I have used other tests apart from the versification, and have almost uniformly found the impressions derived from the latter, correct. A short sketch of the peculiarities of the three authors who form the subject of the present investigation will perhaps be useful.

Beaumont freely mixes prose and verse, nay, sometimes branches off from the one into the other, in the same speech. Of the peculiarities which had developed in blank verse till Shakspeare's fourth period, he adopted all sparingly. If we take *Philaster* as the criterion of his style, which we may very well do, since Fletcher's share in it only embraces Act V. scenes iii., iv. (the rising in the city, 290 lines), we shall find him making use of about 15 per cent. double endings, 26 per cent. run-on lines, and about 3 per cent. light and weak endings. In the rest of his work, his double endings range from 10 to 20 per cent., his run-on lines 20 to 30 (which latter figure they do not quite reach), and his light and weak endings about 3 per cent. Compared with Fletcher, he shows himself an absolute adherent of the Divine Right of Kings, and it is characteristic of him that he left the description of the rising in the city to his colleague. He has also a smack of sentimentality about him, which well agrees with his unreasoning loyalty, a trait which is so rare among the dramatists of our Golden Age. This comes out most strongly in Aspatia in *The Maid's Tragedy*, and in Bellario in *Philaster*. His pages are generally, in their relations to their masters, of an overflowing sentimentality. He imitates Shakspeare far more frequently than Fletcher does, but not so often as Massinger. In the latter's case, this imitation was probably the result of unbounded admiration; in Beaumont's it was unconscious. The plays which Beaumont mostly harps upon are *Hamlet* and *Julius Cæsar*. His figures have all a peculiarly passionate abandonment of themselves to the whirl of their feelings and emotions. His transitions are too abrupt for art; but he has everywhere traces of a vigorous dramatic genius; and doubtless, had he lived longer, he would under such an excellent master as James I., have shaken off his

leanings to the absurdity of the Divine Right, and with it perhaps his sentimentality.

Fletcher adopted only one of the peculiarities of blank verse, double endings, which he carried to an excessive extent. Some of his works show 75 per cent., with 7 to 15 per cent. run-on lines. But his metrical peculiarities are so much better known than Beaumont's, that it is hardly necessary to describe them. It may not, however, be amiss to call attention to the fact that his earlier work has more run-on lines than his later. His double endings rise, as the run-on lines fall. In *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, and *A King and no King* respectively, his share shows 43, 35, and 44 per cent. of double endings, and 19, 20, and 14 per cent. run-on lines. In *A Very Woman*, of much later date, he has 76 per cent. double endings, and 7 per cent. run-on lines. In seven cases, taken at random from among the plays he wrote with Massinger after Beaumont's death, Fletcher has uniformly 60 per cent. (or over) double endings, and 10 per cent. (or under) run-on lines. The consequence of this peculiarity is, for us, that we can distinguish not only every scene or act written by him, but even every speech of seven or eight lines. It may be possible to take Beaumont for Massinger in a short passage, or Massinger for Shakspeare (as far as versification goes); but Fletcher stands alone. No other author has a style at all approaching to his. There is a soft, melodious flow in his longer passages which soon satiates the ear. The elements on which the music of his verse depends are too simple to produce variety. We long for the crashing dissonances which Shakspeare throws in with such effect, or for the complicated harmony of Massinger and Milton. Fletcher has no dramatic genius, and, as Mr Fleay rightly remarked, he almost always allowed his coadjutor to lay down the lines on which the characters were to be developed. But even with this help he found it impossible to keep within the bounds prescribed to him, and generally contrived to spoil the finer conceptions of Beaumont and Massinger. This is, for example, the case with Montague in *The Honest Man's Fortune*, who is described as a gentleman by the three authors who wrote the first four acts, and whom Fletcher makes pour forth floods of the vilest Billingsgate

in the fifth. Fletcher has a power of passionate description which has a wonderful effect when he finds a suitable subject for it. This effect he reaches not with a single happy touch, like a true dramatist, but by heaping up his epithets till they acquire a certain power from their accumulation. This is well shown in Evadne's speech (IV. i. 222) and in Aspatia's two longer speeches in *The Maid's Tragedy* (Act II. sc. ii.). He has no idea of developing a character, but simply describes it. He has not only fire in his higher passages, but also a fine play of wit and fancy. Perhaps his dramatic incapacity did not hurt him much in the opinion of his contemporaries. He is always clear, and gives no dark riddles in mysterious soliloquies to solve. His characters are all ticketed, as it were, with a list of their qualities, as an honest tradesman labels his goods, so that there may be no mistake about them. He seems to have had unbounded resources in finding out fresh scenes and pastures new, and could always supply an impatient public with a story they had never heard before. He puts no little stress on this point, as we see from the Prologue to *The Custom of the Country*. It is in thus transferring the interest from the development of character exclusively to the action, that the great difference between the Shakspearean and the Later Drama consists. A play of Beaumont and Fletcher's could be grasped at a single representation, whereas one of Shakspeare's might be seen several times and yet not be so clear. This circumstance, I cannot but think, contributed not a little to the popularity of the later writers.

Mr Fleay asserted that neither Fletcher nor Massinger wrote prose. To maintain this assertion, he declares the prose of *The Scornful Lady* to be verse, only printed as prose, because the text was so corrupt. As against this, I may refer to certain portions of *The Little French Lawyer*, which have been tortured into verse. Into such verse, a perverse ingenuity might twist a good deal of prose. But if the third and fourth scenes of the fourth act (*Little French Lawyer*) do not show plain prose, it must at any rate be reckoned a long way on the other side of verse. All three authors used prose at first. As for Fletcher, is it to be imagined that he wrote all the verse in *Philaster*, V. iii. down to 126, that he then

asked Beaumont to write the prose down to "Enter Claremont with Philaster," and then finished the scene in verse? The same thing occurs in the first and second scenes of the fifth act of *The Maid's Tragedy*. In *A King and no King* Fletcher's hand is traceable all through the verse of IV. ii., of V. i., and V. iii., in all of which there is also prose; but are we therefore to suppose that whenever he felt inclined to put in a bit of prose he called in Beaumont's help? We might suppose something of the kind if there were a change in the characters corresponding to their change from verse to prose; but so far as I can see, there is nothing of the kind. It is true that both Fletcher and Massinger in their later works have almost exclusively verse. But does this prove that they always wrote in verse? Would not the very fact of their both writing with Beaumont, who used prose freely, almost force them also to use it occasionally? Such an assertion as Mr Fleay's, received easier credence from the tradition which has come down to us, of Beaumont and Fletcher doing and sharing all things in common, and writing in the same scene. On an attentive perusal, however, it will be seen that few plays show traces of a double authorship in the same scene. And where there is such a trace, there is generally something to indicate why it was done.

Massinger's versification may be regarded as the continuation of Shakspeare's. Taking up blank verse at the point where Shakspeare left it, he carried on the changes in the direction in which they had been moving all through Shakspeare's literary career. The earliest piece of Massinger's work which I recognize, is the third act of the *Honest Man's Fortune*. It contains 320 lines, among them 86 double endings, 88 run-on lines, 7 light, and 2 weak endings. This would give a percentage of, roughly, 27 double endings, 28 run-on lines, and 3 light and weak together. Beaumont has in the fourth act of the same play, which is all his, 17 per cent. double endings, 18 per cent. run-on lines, and also 3 per cent. light and weak endings, out of a total of 410 lines. Both have prose. The fifth act is by Fletcher, and has 51 per cent. double endings, and 9 per cent. run-on lines.

From this moderate use of all the peculiarities which had

gradually developed in blank verse, Massinger rapidly rises in all equally. In his later work, his double endings are generally slightly more numerous than his run-on lines, and his light and weak endings vary from 5 to 8 per cent. In the plays he wrote with Fletcher, his double endings vary from 35 to 45 per cent., and his run-on lines from 35 to 40. In the plays he wrote alone, his double endings, according to Mr Fleay's tables, generally run from 42 to 50, and his run-on lines, according to mine, from 32 to 45. Thus his early work is not unlike Beaumont's tabularly, though to the ear there is a great difference. All the subtler elements that make up the music of a verse, and which defy tabulation, are present in different degrees in each, and give the two kinds a totally different beat. Massinger uses prose in his earliest work, a prose that has such an exquisite ring in it that it is easily distinguished. He has prose in all the three scenes of the third act of *The Honest Man's Fortune*. His part of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* has also prose in it; but in his later work he only has letters, or such like, in prose. He is very fond of parentheses in the construction of his sentences; and though he has a larger share of the dramatic faculty than Fletcher, or even than Beaumont, he is fond of rhetorical display, and often indulges in long descriptive speeches to the detriment of the action. His characters are like Beaumont's in their frequent tendency to passionate abandonment. His ladies are, however, far more corrupt than his co-authors'. Fletcher and Beaumont are both frequently coarse in their conception of female nature. Their ladies often talk like flippant pages, but their coarseness is playful, whereas Massinger's corrupt female natures are in grain. The most marked peculiarity, however, in Massinger, is his continual repetition of himself. I have, in the papers I have alluded to in the *Englische Studien*, collected about 1000 parallel passages from all his works, first taking the more remarkable repetitions in his acknowledged works, and then comparing these with passages in the parts I ascribe to him in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays. In one or two cases, where I have found in a single scene no marked parallel, I have attributed such scene, on the strength of the metre alone, to Massinger, when in other scenes of the same play sufficiently well-

marked parallels occur to show his hand. Many of these parallel passages are mere mannerisms, that became stronger the more they were indulged in. Most of them can be traced to their sources in some contemporary or predecessor. Of course the simple occurrence of such a passage in a doubtful play, would be no argument for ascribing part of it to Massinger. But when we find many such passages together, more than any other author is in the habit of using, and when we find the metrical character of the doubtful play showing the same features in much the same degree as Massinger's undoubted plays, the argument that he was part author becomes very strong indeed. If, however, the parallel passage be one betraying the peculiar sensual character of his females, or the forming of an important resolution on the part of his men, which is always accompanied by a marked hesitation, we can hardly doubt that we have a piece of Massinger's work before us. His men are the victims of one devouring passion in most instances, often in a state of incipient madness, alternately raging and melancholy. His heroines are generally the stately inmates of a palace : we hear the rustling of their silken trains as they approach. But they all seem to have grown up in a hot-house : there is not a healthy feeling about one of them. If they are unexposed to temptation, they glory in their faultless virtue, as if they were shining exceptions in a world of seething vice. In the tables of parallel passages in *Englische Studien*, there are over 60 passages put into the mouths of women supposed to be models of virtue, which show an inconceivable corruption going right through the whole nature. When I applied this to support my views with regard to Hippolyta and the other women of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, I was met by an eminent member of the Society with the objection that the language of Perdita in *The Winter's Tale* is of exactly the same stamp as that of the women of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. The scene occurs in IV. iv., where Perdita talks with her two aged guests. She is simply pursuing aloud the train of thoughts her conversation with Florizel had just awakened in her. She cannot bring her mind to regard the marriage to which the prince had referred as the goal of his wishes, otherwise than as unworthy of him. Such a marriage would be just like the art to which she

refers ; and not even for her own advantage can she bear to think of a gentler scion married to the wildest stock. She was also uneasy at the magnificence with which she had been "most goddess-like pranked up," and wished naturally to prevent any suspicion arising in the minds of her guests as to the nature of the connection between her and the young man, who, to the most careless eye, appeared more than a simple shepherd. Her language is that of a healthy mind, virtuous, not from ignorance of evil, but from choice. She has grown up in country surroundings in which evil is no stranger. But she speaks with a simple naturalness which certainly in Shakspeare's age was not regarded as exceeding the limits of the strictest propriety. Judged even by the standard of our own age, we may call such language in the mouth of a young peasant-girl broad, or even coarse, but assuredly we should not call it corrupt. There is no other term; however, that will so fitly describe Massinger's heroines. They are meant to pass for pure types of womanhood, while they make use of the language of a professed voluptuary. He never succeeded in catching the purer tones of the passion as it breathes in the pages of the earlier dramatists. Love is with him either conventional or sensual, never ideal. There is no author who shows this social corruption of the latter half of James's reign so plainly as Massinger. His heroines have all the thorough conviction that they are models of virtue, so long as they do not put their corrupt thoughts into act. A woman may express regret at the constraint she is under the necessity of putting on herself, like Calista in *The Lover's Progress*, or Hippolyta in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*; she may long, like Theocrine, for marriage joys, or boast of her bodily chastity, like Honoria in *The Picture*, or Guicmar in *The Custom of the Country*, without lowering herself in the eyes of her surroundings. A heroine of Massinger's, in Perdita's place, would have explained to us how she longed for marriage joys (Theocrine, *Unnatural Combat*), but was compelled with regret to abstain till Hymen had made it safe and lawful (*Double Marriage*, *Queen of Corinth*, *A Very Woman*). She could only indulge in a kiss for the present, though, if chastity would, she could wish more (*Love's Cure*, *Genevora*). In order not to exaggerate this unspeakable depravity, I have simply, in imagining a

heroine of Massinger's in Perdita's place, made use of the language which the poet himself puts into the mouths of ladies meant to be virtuous. This depraved tone distinguishes the later drama from the earlier, but in a peculiar degree is a mark of Massinger's characters. His conception of male nature naturally results from this sensual depiction of his females. He delights in showing us a wild, ungovernable, unreasoning jealousy, or in showing a man slavishly subject to a woman's will. Or he exhibits the complete absorption of every manly feeling in weak devotion to a mere animal beauty. He dwells then on the first symptoms of jealousy in such an impotent lover (the phrase he uses to describe such natures helplessly abandoned to their own impulses). The resolution to which the hero forces himself is then marked by some such phrase as "Something I will do." The passion rises to rage, the rage to madness, ere the catastrophe involves all in one common ruin, or till some explanation occurs, followed by some such scene of self-abasement as in *The Emperor of the East*, which shows the faults of the hero in all their original strength. Or, when love is not in question, he describes the melancholy into which a duellist falls (*Love's Cure, Custom of the Country, A Very Woman*).

All these considerations prepare us for a certain family resemblance in Massinger's works, from the tone of feeling that permeates and pervades them all. The atmosphere we breathe is often sultry and oppressive. The poet describes a festival with the same stately harmonious verse in which he sketches outbreaks of irrepressible passion. We feel that he describes his scenes instead of living in them. If by these means he avoids the unnaturalness and extravagance into which some of his contemporaries fell, he, on the other hand, rarely speaks to the heart, as they often do, with all their faults. This stately repose, at once his weakness and his strength, would give Massinger's plays a colder air, but that his knowledge of the stage steps in, and gives his dramas life and action. Nor does he often attempt what he is not fitted for. In the fourteen plays which he wrote alone, he has little comic business, and in the others he generally leaves such scenes to his coadjutors. He has hardly any sense of humour, but succeeds admirably in depicting the witty

pertness of a saucy page. Massinger has been declared by those who do not know him sufficiently, to belong to Jonson's school. But from the multitude of allusions to Shakspeare, which prove a loving study of that poet's works, we see who his master was. And though he more frequently than Shakspeare depicts the passing follies of the day, in general his plays are grounded, like his master's, on those larger and more general aspects of humanity which are not peculiar to any age or country.

Dividing the Beaumont and Fletcher and the Massinger plays, according as they show the characteristics of the three authors, we get the following nine groups :—

I. *The Woman Hater*. By Beaumont and another author, or, as I am now more inclined to believe, by Beaumont alone. Its probable date is 1605 or 1606, when the author was a youth of nineteen.

II. Six plays by Beaumont and Fletcher. 1. *The Maid's Tragedy*. 2. *Philaster*. 3. *A King and No King*. 4. *The Scornful Lady*. 5. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. 6. *Four Plays in One*.

The only difficulty presented by this group is *The Scornful Lady*. I feel sure about Fletcher's part, but am by no means certain that the rest is Beaumont's. I have not, however, felt justified in hazarding a guess at another author, as the indications I have been able to find are too slight to build upon.

III. Five plays by Beaumont, Fletcher, and a third (in one case a fourth) author. 1. *Cupid's Revenge*. 2. *The Coxcomb*. 3. *The Captain*. 4. *The Honest Man's Fortune*. 5. *The Knight of Malta*.

About the first two plays of this group I am not quite clear. Beaumont seems certainly to have been engaged in them, and the scenes I have attributed to him have his metrical style. But there is decidedly a third author whose verse has not the Beaumont ring. This author uses more double endings than Beaumont. *The Captain* is a play by Fletcher, finished by another author. I formerly thought that Act IV. sc. v. was Beaumont's, but I now feel inclined to give all the play, from IV. iii. on (except V. i., which is Fletcher's), to Massinger. *The Honest Man's Fortune* was commenced, I think, by Cyril Tourneur, who wrote Acts I. and II.; Massinger wrote Act III., Beaumont Act IV., and Fletcher Act V.

Of the *Knight of Malta* I ascribe III. ii., iii. and IV. i. to Massinger. The rest is divided between Beaumont and Fletcher, the former's share being Act I. i., ii. and Act V.

IV. Sixteen plays by Fletcher alone. 1. *The Faithful Shepherdess*. 2. *The Humorous Lieutenant*. 3. *The Mad Lover*. 4. *The Loyal Subject*. 5. *Rule a Wife and have a Wife*. 6. *Valentinian*. 7. *Monsieur Thomas*. 8. *The Chances*. 9. *The Wild Goose Chase*. 10. *A Wife for a Month*. 11. *The Pilgrim*. 12. *Bonduca*. 13. *Women Pleased*. 14. *Woman's Prize*. 15. *The Island Princess*. 16. *Wit without Money*.

I have in this list made no attempt to arrange these plays in chronological order.

V. Five plays by Fletcher and a second author, but neither Beaumont nor Massinger. 1. *Wit at Several Weapons*. 2. *The Maid in the Mill*. 3. *Love's Pilgrimage*. 4. *The Night Walker*. 5. *Nice Valour*.

1. From the references to the New River as finished, the date is probably 1613, or later. The works were commenced April 21, 1609, and finished on Michaelmas day 1613. I cannot fix on the second author in *Wit at Several Weapons*. The other four plays show Rowley's, Shirley's, and in one case Jonson's hand.

VI. Two plays by Fletcher and Massinger, and third and fourth authors (not Beaumont). 1. *The Bloody Brother*. 2. *Thierry and Theodoret*.

VII. Seventeen plays by Massinger and Fletcher. 1. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. 2. *The Custom of the Country*. 3. *The Elder Brother*. 4. *The Sea Voyage*. 5. *The Double Marriage*. 6. *The Queen of Corinth*. 7. *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (some mixed scenes added by Rowley). 8. *Henry VIII*. 9. *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt*. 10. *A Very Woman*. 11. *The Beggar's Bush*. 12. *The False One*. 13. *The Prophetess*. 14. *The Little French Lawyer*. 15. *The Lover's Progress*. 16. *The Spanish Curate*. 17. *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*.

VIII. Three plays by Massinger and a second author (not Fletcher). 1. *The Virgin Martyr*. 2. *The Fatal Dowry*. 3. *Love's Cure*.

IX. Fourteen Plays by Massinger alone. 1. *The Unnatural Combat*. 2. *The Duke of Milan*. 3. *The Bondman*. 4. *The Renegado*. 5. *The Parliament of Love*. 6. *The Roman Actor*. 7. *The Great Duke of Florence*. 8. *The Maid of Honour*. 9. *The Picture*. 10. *The Emperor of the East*. 11. *The City Madam*. 12. *The Guardian*. 13. *The Bashful Lover*. 14. *Believe as You List*.

These nine groups exclude four plays which are generally printed with the works of our three authors, for the simple reason that there is no trace of any of these authors discernible in them. 1. *The Old Law* (entirely by Middleton and Rowley). 2. *The Noble Gentleman*. 3. *The Laws of Candy*. 4. *The Faithful Friends*. These last three may possibly be by Shirley. They are all of a late date. That of the fourth, *The Faithful Friends*, is decidedly after Lerma's disgrace in 1618, probably after Philip's death in 1621. The opening scene has the lines—

“Alexander the Great had his Hephaestion,
Philip of Spain his Lerma.”

These four plays should be excluded from all future editions of our poets' works.

I should exceed the limits that can be allowed in a paper of this kind, if I were to enter into the reasons which induce me to point out the shares of the several authors in the eleven plays compressed into the first three groups. I refer to my work in *Englische Studien* for further particulars on this subject. I shall restrict myself to pointing out Massinger's share in the last two plays of Group III. and in Groups VI., VII., and VIII.

Group III. 1. *The Honest Man's Fortune*, Act III.

This act has 320 verse lines, with 86 double endings, 88 run-on lines, 7 light, and 2 weak endings. This would give roughly 27 per cent. for double endings and run-on lines. There are also 20 rhymes which occur at speech endings, as in *The Duke of Milan*, though not to the same extent in the latter play. To explain these low percentages (for Massinger) I may point to the fact that this is his earliest ascertained work, and that even in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*

he had only 30 per cent. double endings, and that play decidedly comes at least a couple of years later. The parallel passages are—

(1) III. i. 15—

“Our physic shall be wholesome walks, our viands
Nourishing, not provoking: For I find
Pleasures are tortures that leave stings behind.”

Of the numerous instances at my disposal I select two for comparison—

Parliament of Love, III. ii., near the end—

“Such embraces
As leave no sting behind them.”

Queen of Corinth, V. iv. (Beliza)—

“What joys canst thou expect from such a husband,
To whom thy first, and, what's more, forced embraces
Which, men say, heighten pleasure, were distasteful?
Merione. 'Twas in respect that they were then unlawful,
Unblessed by Hymen, and left stings behind them.”

(2) III. i. 61 and 62 (*Honest Man's Fortune*)—

“'Tis in her choice, that's rich, to be a wife,
But not, being yoked, to choose the single life.”

In *The Knight of Malta*, III. ii. 29, a passage written by Massinger, Zanthia speaks of men who

“Wear on their free necks the sweet yoke of woman.”

(3) *Honest Man's Fortune*, seventh line before “Enter Charlotte”—

“For in that name I comprehend all goodness.”

I have given ten parallel passages for this line in *Englische Studien*. Let one suffice here. *Renegado*, I. ii.—

“That in himself does comprehend all goodness.”

(4) *Honest Man's Fortune*, III. i. 86 (*Veramour*)—

“That if you were but pleased to love,
I know no Juno worthy such a Jove.”

In *The Knight of Malta*, III. ii. 114 (Massinger's)—

“That, if he would serve under Love's fresh colours,
What monumental trophies he might raise
Of his free conquests made in ladies' favours!”

(5) III. i. 120 (p. 601, below)—

“Cunning calamity,
That others’ gross wits uses to refine,
When I most need it, dulls the edge of mine.”

Compare *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. i. 118—

“Extremity, that sharpens sundry wits,
Makes me a fool.”

(6) *Honest Man’s Fortune*, III. i. 158—

“It was no shame to Hecuba to servè
When Troy was fired.”

Compare *Roman Actor*, III. ii.—

“Queen Hecuba,
Troy fired, Ulysses’ bondwoman.”

And *The Emperor of the East*, III. iv.—

“What the great Hector’s mother, Hecuba,
Was to Ulysses, Ilium sacked.”

(7) *Honest Man’s Fortune*, III. iii. 59—

“Well, I may live
To meet thee! be it among a troop of such
That are upon the fair face of the court
Like running ulcers, and before thy whore
Trample upon thee.”

Compare this with *Love’s Cure*, IV. ii. 143—

“I’ll tread upon
The face you dote on, strumpet.”

And *Elder Brother*, V. i. 56 (speaking of those who disgrace the court, p. 604, below)—

“You stick like running ulcers on her face.”

These parallel passages are so convincing, that I may take it for granted that the third act of the *Honest Man’s Fortune* will for the future be ascribed to Massinger.

Group III. 2. *The Knight of Malta*, Act III. ii., iii., IV. i.

In this play Massinger’s style is much more formed than in the last. His double endings amount to 49 per cent., while his run-on lines have only reached about 31 per cent. He also uses light and weak endings more frequently (there are 20 in 436 lines), and rhyme sparingly (4 lines). The parallel passages are—

(1) III. ii. 15—

“For something I will do, the devil would quake at

This belongs to the class of resolutions, forming which, as I have already said, are characteristic of Massinger. If examples are wanted I have given enough in my paper on *The Two Noble Kinsmen* to elucidate the point.

(2) III. ii. 52 (The husband searches the land and sea for tribute to lay at his wife's feet)—

“And seek no further
For his reward, than what she may give freely,
And with delight too, from her own exchequer,
Which he finds ever open.”

Love's Cure, IV. ii. 86—

“This speeding trick,
Which I would as a principle leave to all
That make their maintenance out of their own Indies.”

And *Parliament of Love*, II. i. 4—

“The decree that women
Should not neglect the service of their lovers,
But pay them from the exchequer they were born with,
Was good and laudable.”

(3) III. ii. 115—

“What monumental trophies he might raise.”

See *Honest Man's Fortune* (4) and *Duke of Milan*, IV. iii. 155—

“Wretches! ye have raised
A monumental trophy to her pureness.”

(4) III. ii. 155—

“Her husband (though perhaps in debt to years
As far as I am).”

Picture, III. 6 (Sophia)—

“I am not yet so much
In debt to years.”

And *Queen of Corinth*, V. (near the end)—

“If you dare venture on a queen, not yet
So far in debt to years but that she may
Bring you a lusty boy.”

(5) III. ii. 278—

“For thee I have defied my constant mistress,
That never failed her servant, glorious War.”

Compare *Parliament of Love*, III. iii. (Clarindore)—

“Than ever Cæsar did to hug the mistress
He doted on, plumed Victory.”

And *Maid of Honour*, I. ii.—

“Let the glorious light
Of noble war extinguish love’s dim taper.”

(6) III. ii. 185—

“You wrong my lady, and deserve her not,
When you were at your best.”

Compare *Great Duke of Florence*, I. i. (end)—

“*Lidia*. If I had been the heir
Of all the globes and sceptres mankind bows to,
At my best you had deserved me.”

(7) III. ii. 200—

“In scorn delivered for the doubtful issue
Of a suspected mother.”

Compare *Elder Brother*, IV. i. 44—

“I will adopt some beggar’s doubtful issue.”

(8) III. iii. 35—

“*Colonna*. You should rejoice that you have means to pay
A chaste life to his memory, and bring to him
Those sweets which while he lived he could not taste of.”

Compare *Custom of the Country*, V. iv. (Arnoldo)—

“I am your husband,
And long have been so, though our adverse fortune,
Banding us from one hazard to another,
Would never grant me so much happiness
To pay a husband’s debt. Despite of fortune,
In death I’ll follow you and guard mine own,
And there enjoy what here my fate forbids me!”

(9) IV. i. 42—

“From me, your bounteous sea,
Receive those tides of comfort that flow to you.”

Compare *City Madam*, II. ii. 145—

“And the sea of happiness that from me flows to you.”

(10) IV. i. 85—

“I am used only for a property.”

Compare *The False One*, V. iii. 3—

“This devil, Photinus,
Employs me as a property.”

Ten such parallel passages, of which (8) exhibits that corrupt tone for which Massinger is so well known, are decisive of the fact of his authorship in the parts which I have attributed to him.

Group VI. 1. *The Bloody Brother*.

The part of this play that I ascribe to Massinger is the first act, and the first scene of the fifth down to “exit Hamond.” I must frankly confess that I have been induced to look to Massinger as the author chiefly from metrical considerations, from the construction which bears traces of him, and from the characters, who in the first act have received his peculiar stamp. There are not many parallel passages to connect it with other Massinger plays. The words “registered” and “chronicled,” which occur in the opening scene, are often used by Massinger, it is true; but such common expressions do not carry much weight as parallel passages. A reminiscence of Caesar, where Sophia says,

“Turn all your swords on me,”

is also characteristic of Massinger, who very often has a reminiscence of Shakspeare, but is also not of great importance as an indication of authorship. But when Otto says—

“I begin

To melt, I know not how,”

and Sophia a little further on—

“How is my soul divided!

My love to both is equal, as my wishes,”

we feel ourselves more surely on Massinger ground. I have already given in my paper on *The Two Noble Kinsmen* many passages to illustrate how Massinger depicts a transition from one state of mind to another. In Act V. sc. i. Aubrey says—

"I'll not argue
How you may rank the dangers, but will die in't,
That," &c.

That is to say, "will die in that belief," an expression Massinger is fond of.

Believe as You List, IV. ii.—

"And will die in that belief."

Elder Brother, V. i. 22—

"It is a faith
That we will die in."

The Emperor of the East, IV. v.—

"I'll die in this belief."

These are comparatively very few repetitions for Massinger in two scenes, but the date is probably early. I ascribe Act II., Act III. sc. ii., Act IV. sc. ii., and the rest of Act V. sc. i. and ii., after "exit Hamond," to Fletcher. To Field I attribute Act III. sc. i. and Act IV. sc. 3. Act IV. sc. i. I ascribe to an unknown author, perhaps Daborne. The reasons I have given in *Englische Studien*, VIII. i.

Group VI. 2. *Thierry and Theodoret*.

I divide this play as follows :

Act	I.	Sc.	1.	Fletcher
"	I.	"	2.	Massinger
"	II.	"	1.	"
"	II.	"	2.	Fletcher
"	II.	"	3.	Massinger
"	III.	"	1.	Perhaps Daborne
"	III.	"	2.	" "
"	IV.	"	1.	Fletcher
"	IV.	"	2.	Massinger
"	V.	"	1.	(All prose)
"	V.	"	2.	Fletcher

Massinger's hand is so easy to trace in the four scenes of this play which I give to him, that we need not dwell long on the proof.

(1) I. ii. 70 we have—

“Gentle unguents only were
To be applied.” (See (17), p. 604, below).

Compare with *The Bondman*, I. iii. 220—

“Old festered sores
Must be lanced to the quick and cauterised,
Which borne with patience, after I'll apply
Soft unguents.”

And *The Guardian*, III. i. 24—

“Like a rough surgeon,
Apply these burning caustics to my wounds,
Already gangrened, when soft unguents would
Better express an uncle.”

Massinger is fond of such similes, of which many more may be found in my lists of parallel passages.

(2) I. ii. 116—

“I foresaw this.”

Massinger is fond of this expression. Compare *Barnavelt*, p. 232, *Unnatural Combat*, III. iv., *Maid of Honour*, II. iii., and elsewhere.

(3) II. i. 40—

“The whirlwind of my absolute command.”

Compare *Roman Actor*, III. ii. 28—

“The whirlwind of our will and power.”

(4) II. i. 46—

“The famed night-labour of strong Hercules.”

This is also referred to in *The Picture*, III. 6, and elsewhere.

(5) II. i. 185—

“How is my heart divided
Between the duty of a son, and love
Due to a brother!”

Compare *The Spanish Curate*, IV. i. 71—

“How am I divided
Between the duties I owe as a husband,
And piety of a parent.”

The Lover's Progress, I. i. 225—

"How is my soul divided! Oh, Cleander,
My best deserving husband! Oh, Lisander!"

A passage in *The Bloody Brother* has already been given, and many similar ones might be produced.

(6) II. i. 241—

"Heaven be pleased
That I may use these blessings poured on me
With moderation!"

Compare *The Guardian*, II. iii. 117—

"Heaven be pleased
To qualify this excess of happiness
With some disaster, or I shall expire
With a surfeit of felicity."

Virgin Martyr, I. i. 266—

"Queen of fate!
Imperious fortune! mix some slight disaster
With my so many joys, to season them."

(7) II. i. 294—

"A speeding project."

This occurs also in *A City Madam*, IV. i. 40, *Love's Cure*, IV. ii., *The Spanish Curate*, IV. i. 114.

In scene iii. of the second act there are four passages with Massinger's peculiarly corrupt tone, from which, however contrary to his custom, he keeps Ordella free. They are at lines 111-12, 136-7, 165, and the last two lines, 170 and 171.

In IV. ii. there are only two passages which have the special Massinger stamp on them, one at line 104—

"The grieved Ordella (for all other titles
But take away from that),"

which reminds us of many similar passages in undoubted Massinger plays (see (3) *Honest Man's Fortune*), and lines 111—113—

"She, I say, in whom
All was, that Athens, Rome, or warlike Sparta
Have registered for good in their best women."

A thought that is also tolerably frequent in our poet's works.

Group VII. Plays by Massinger and Fletcher.

This group consists of the following 17 plays :—

1. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. 2. *The Custom of the Country*. 3. *The Elder Brother*. 4. *The Sea Voyage*. 5. *The Double Marriage*. 6. *The Queen of Corinth*. 7. *The Fair Maid of the Inn*. 8. *Henry VIII*. 9. *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt*. 10. *A Very Woman*. 11. *The Beggar's Bush*. 12. *The False One*. 13. *The Prophetess*. 14. *The Little French Lawyer*. 15. *The Lover's Progress*. 16. *The Spanish Curate*. 17. *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. Some of these plays, as *The Custom of the Country*, *The Sea Voyage*, *The Double Marriage*, *The Queen of Corinth*, *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, are not included in my tables of Massinger and Fletcher plays, because I began to work with the intention of finding out what was right and what was wrong in Fleay's tables in the first volume of the *Transactions* of the N. S. S. While I was working, the conviction took firm hold of me that these five plays, which Fleay had not recognized as partly Massinger's, showed unmistakable traces of his style. For a similar reason I had not admitted *The Two Noble Kinsmen* among the tables. My work at the latter play convinced me that what was ascribed to Shakspeare in *Henry VIII*, was also Massinger's. Since that time another play by Massinger and Fletcher has been discovered by A. H. Bullen. *Barnavelt* bears undoubted signs of Massinger's authorship. Mr Bullen had sent me the proof-sheets while the volume of *Old Plays*, in which it is contained, was being printed. I at once recognized Massinger's hand, and wrote out, in a letter to the editor, the passages which are paralleled in other Massinger plays. This letter Mr Bullen printed as an appendix to the volume, and declared himself satisfied that I had proved my case. The poet Swinburne, who very strongly objected to my solution, has, as I understand, now seen that I was right. Prof. Delius is, as far as I know, the only critic who advocates the claims of another author; but as he puts up a claim for an unknown author, who not only wrote *Barnavelt*, but also *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, imitating alternately the metrical styles of Massinger (or Shakspeare) and Fletcher through whole scenes and acts,

we may dismiss his arguments with a smile. Before such a theory can be put up with a serious claim to consideration, the Professor is bound to show us that such mechanical imitation of the technical peculiarities of an author's metre really occurred in the Elizabethan age.

1. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

As I have already, in the *Transactions* of the N. S. S., given at large my reasons for regarding this as a play of Massinger and Fletcher's, I beg to refer to my paper. I may add one passage which I have since found (p. 593, above), and which is very interesting for the light it throws on Massinger's earliest work. I. i. 119—

“Extremity, that sharpens sundry wits,
Makes me a fool.”

In *The Honest Man's Fortune* the passage has a cruder form; besides, with the taste that marked him in his very early works, Massinger gives it in rhyme.

Honest Man's Fortune, III. i. 120—

“Cunning calamity,
That others' gross wits uses to refine,
When I most need it dulls the edge of mine.”

I may also add a manifest imitation on Massinger's part of a passage by Fletcher in *The Maid's Tragedy*.

Two Noble Kinsmen, I. i. 167—

“Let us be widows to our woes.”

Maid's Tragedy, II. ii. 3—

“*Aspat*. Sure, you are new married!
“*Antiph*. Yes, madam, to your grief.”

The two passages together, bearing in mind that Massinger not only frequently repeats himself, but also plentifully adopts the thoughts of others, show that *Two Noble Kinsmen* was not written earlier than 1613.

2. *The Custom of the Country.*

Massinger's part—II. i., ii., iii., iv. ; III. iv., v. ; IV. i., ii. ;
V. i., ii., iii., iv.

Parallel Passages.

- (1) II. i. "And rise up such a wonder."
- (2) II. i. "Galen should not be named."
- (3) II. i. "I could teach Ovid courtship."
- (4) II. i. "Turn to a pleurisy."
- (5) II. ii. "Death hath so many doors to let out life."
- (6) II. ii. "Make me at your devotion."
- (7) II. iii. "In that alone all miseries are spoken."
- (8) II. iii. "And that which princes have kneel'd for in vain."
- (9) II. iii. "'Tis above wonder."
- (10) II. iii. "Upon my life, this gallant
Is bribed to repeal banished swords."
- (11) III. v. "Tempted to the height."
- (12) V. i. "The wonder of our nation."
- (13) V. ii. "Thou shalt fix here."
- (14) V. ii. "And with the hazard of thy life."
- (15) V. ii. "Now to the height is punished."
- (16) V. ii. "Above all kings, though such had been his rivals"
- (17) V. ii. "No more remembered."
- (18) V. iii. "That you live, is a treasure
I'll lock up here."
- (19) V. iii. "What a frown was there."
- (20) V. iii. "Something I shall do."
- (21) V. iv. "In death I'll follow you, and guard mine own,
And there enjoy what here my fate forbids me."

Of these passages I can only take up a few and show their parallels in other plays. Of many of them, as, for instance, 1, 9, 12, 2, 4, 6, 11, 14, 15, 17, there are so numerous examples that every reader of Massinger must recognize them as old friends.

3 occurs in *The Parliament of Love*, 1, and *The Great Duke of Florence*, 23. (The numbers refer to the passages given in *Eng. Studien*.)

5 occurs in *A Very Woman*, 12, 20; *Parliament of Love*, 31; *Duke of Milan*, 5.

7 occurs in *Renegado*, 4; *Duke of Milan*, 12; *Maid of Honour*, 33, 38; *Emperor of East*, 21, 53; *Roman Actor*, 4; *Elder Brother*, 1; *Spanish Curate*, 17; *A New Way*, 16; *Prophetess*, 12.

8 occurs in *Renegado*, 14; *False One*, I. ii. 57—

("Receive a favour kings have kneeled in vain for.")

10 occurs in *Two Noble Kinsmen*, 17—

("What canon's there
That does command my rapier from my hip,
To dangle 't in my hand.")

Elder Brother, 21. This allusion is interesting as showing that at the time when *The Custom of the Country*, *Elder Brother*, and, as I contend, *Two Noble Kinsmen* were written, the gallants had introduced a fashion of wearing no sword. This is expressly stated in *The Elder Brother*. In *The Custom of the Country* one of these gallants is said to have studied the undoing of poor cutlers: he and those like him have put all manly weapons out of fashion; and one of the characters says that, spite of the fashion, while he lives he'll go armed. As we shall see in *The Elder Brother*, this is important for the date of a whole group of plays.

16 occurs in *Maid of Honour*, 9.

18 occurs in *Double Marriage*, 8; *Great Duke of Florence*, 19.

19 occurs in *Maid of Honour*, 5; *Picture*, 47; *Renegado*, 9; *Henry VIII.*, in the scene with Wolsey, and in the fifth act.

20 was mentioned as characteristic of one of Massinger's peculiarities; and 21 has also been mentioned under *The Knight of Malta*.

3. *The Elder Brother*.

Massinger's share is the first act and the fifth. The parallel passages are:—

(1) I. i. 44: "In that word,
'A noble husband,' all content of women
Is wholly comprehended."

(2) I. i. 59: "Fathers that deny
Their daughters lawful pleasures when ripe for them,
In some kind edge their appetite to taste of
The fruit that is forbidden."

- (3) I. i. 84: "On his own bottoms."
 (4) I. i. 109: "Nor a rich gown
From Juno's wardrobe."
 (5) I. ii. 28: "Sleeps with old Erra Pater."
 (6) I. ii. 55: "Thou shalt commence in the cellar."
 (7) I. ii. 94: "They have outstripped the wind."
 (8) I. ii. 105: "Pray you be happy in the knowledge of
This pair of accomplished monsieurs."
 (9) I. ii. 267: "If it takes now,
We are made for ever."
 (10) V. i. 8: "No more remembered."
 (11) V. i. 17: "In defence of that word reputation,
Which is indeed a kind of glorious nothing"
 (12) V. i. 21: "It is a faith
That we will die in."
 (13) V. i. 27: "Nor can I change my copy."
 (14) V. i. 56: "You stick like running ulcers on her face"
(i. e. the court's).
 (15) V. i. 60: "That is the abstract of all academics."
 (16) V. i. 130: "Here I end not, but begin."
 (17) V. i. 149: (p. 598) "Which no balm,
Or gentle unguents ever could make way to."
 (18) V. i. 150: "And I am happy that I was the surgeon,
That did apply those burning corrosives."
 (19) V. i. 158: "Pray you fix here."
 (20) V. i. 163: "The masters of dependencies."
 (21) V. i. 240: (p. 602-3) "Spare Charles, and swing me,
And soundly, three or four walking velvet
cloaks,
That wear no sword to guard them."
 (22) V. ii. 25: "I am not to be altered."

Passing over 1, which has already been mentioned, 2 occurs in *The Guardian*, 44, and is connected through the words "lawful pleasures" with 62 other expressions, showing the comparatively corrupt tone of the later drama. These are very frequently put into the mouths of ladies meant to be models of virtue. 3 is quoted to show how fond Massinger is of putting the plural for the singular in such expressions as heats, strengths, &c. In the *Two Noble*

Kinsmen we have "The heats are gone to-morrow": parallel expressions, *Duke of M.*, 7; *Reneg.*, 43; *M. of H.*, 35; *Pict.*, 49; *Emp. of E.*, 11, 15; *Bash. Lov.*, 33; *Fair Maid of Inn*, 7; *Fat. Dowry*, 1; *Queen of Corinth*, 14; *Sea Voyage*, 3.

4 occurs in the opening scene of *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

6 is an instance of Massinger's fondness for university terms, *Prophetess*, 1; *Picture*, 34.

7 occurs in *Prophetess*, 5.

11 comes once more in *Pict.* 5; *Parl. of Love*, 33.

12 has already been mentioned under *The Bloody Brother*; it also occurs in *Believe as You List*, 23; *Emp. of East*, 42; *Virg. Mar.*, 6.

13 we have again in *Renegado*, 22, 41. It belongs to a class of expressions very common in Massinger.

14 has been mentioned under *The Honest Man's Fortune*.

17 and 18 belong to the surgeon similes that are so frequent in M.'s plays, as I showed in my *Two Noble Kinsmen* paper. They were mentioned under *Thierry and Theodoret*.

20 determines the approximate date of our play and all the others in connection with it. I refer to Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, III. i. (in Routledge's edition, 357 *b*), for an explanation of "masters of dependencies." Massinger once more uses the expression in *The Maid of Honour*, I. i. Jonson's play was published in August, 1616. To about this date *The Elder Brother* belongs. *The Custom of the Country*, which refers to the fashion of wearing no swords, mentioned in the present play, 21, must belong to the same date. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* must belong to about the same time, perhaps somewhat earlier. It is connected both with our present play and *The Queen of Corinth*, and through that with *Henry VIII*.

4. *The Sea Voyage*.

Massinger's share in this play is Act II., Act III. i. from "Enter Rosellia" to the end of the act (scene i. *b*), and Act V. The parallel passages are :—

(1) II. i. 2: "You speak the language
Which I should use to you." (p. 620 (10), below).

(2) II. i.: "Till now I ne'er was wretched."

- (3) II. ii. : "For herself, she's past
Those youthful heats, and feels not the want
Of that which young maids long for."
- (4) II. ii. : "'Tis strange to see her moved thus."
- (5) II. ii. : "I kiss the happy ground you have made sacred
By bearing of your weight."
- (6) III. i.b. : "After so long a Lent."
- (7) III. i.b. : "To be merciful is to draw near
The heavenly essence."
- (8) III. i.b. : "Then here I fix."
- (9) III. i.b. : "Till now I ne'er was happy."
- (10) V. i. : "By his memory,
And the remembrance of his dear embraces."
- (11) V. ii. : "We are armed
For either fortune."
- (12) V. iv. : "Here I fix."
- (13) V. iv. : "For none shall be
Denied their lawful wishes."

1 is an instance of the super-polite language introduced from France through the duellists. It occurs in *The Little French Lawyer*, 10, 11, and *Un. Combat*, 31.

2, with a slight variation from "wretched" to "happy," is a favourite exclamation of Massinger's characters, and 9 is another instance of it. Also in the following plays: *Doub. Mar.*, 7; *Proph.*, 8; *Virg. Martyr*, 29; *Fat. Dowry*, 14; *Love's Cure*, 10; *Renegado*, 36, 44; *Parl. of Love*, 18, 22; and *City Madam*, 18.

3, 10, 13 are themselves enough to show Massinger's hand.

4 occurs in *Barnavelt*, 4.

5 is also a common expression, *Great D. of Flor.*, 3; *M. of Hon.*, 6; *Pict.*, 9; *Emp. of E.*, 8, 17; *Bash. Lov.*, 1, 18; *Eld. Broth.*, 8; *Fair Maid*, 20; *Sp. Cur.*, 1, 2.

6 occurs in *A Very Woman*, 15; *Parl. of Love*, 35.

7 we have also in *Un. Com.*, 40; *Maid of H.*, 36; *Emp. of East*, 12.

11 occurs in *Duke of Milan*, 17; *Bel. as You List*, 2.

5. *The Double Marriage.*

Massinger's share in this play is: Act I. sc. i., Act III. sc. i. Act IV. sc. ii. and sc. iii. from "Exeunt Ronvere and Martia" to the end, Act V. sc. ii. to "Enter Pandulpho with a book," sc. iii. The parallel passages are:

- (1) I. i.: "If you would engross me
To your delights alone."
- (2) I. i.: "Stood here a lady that were the choice abstract
Of all the beauties nature ever fashioned."
- (3) I. i.: "A little lawful comfort."
- (4) I. i.: "Compared to him,
Nor Phalaris, nor Dionysius,
Caligula, nor Nero can be mentioned."
- (5) I. i.: "And can you entertain in such a time
A thought of dalliance."
- (6) I. i.: "That would be registered fathers of their country."
- (7) I. i.: "Till this minute
I never heard thee speak."
- (8) I. i.: "Can I find out
A cabinet to lock a secret in,
Of equal trust to thee?"
- (9) I. i.: "'Twas the thought
How to proceed in this design, and end it,
That made strange my embraces."
- (10) I. i.: "Cursed be she
That's so indulgent to her own delights."
- (11) I. i.: "What new face
Bring you along?"
- (12) I. i.: "And if I not outstrip you."
- (13) I. i.: "That are at his devotion."
- (14, 15) III. i.: "And let the devil roar; the greatest corrosive
A king can have is of more precious tickling,
And, handled to the height, more dear delight,
Than other men's whole lives."
- (16) IV. ii.: "When I was happy in those joys you speak of,
In a chaste bed, and warranted by law too,
He oft would swear, that, if he should survive me,
Which then I knew he wished not, never woman
Should taste of his embraces."

- (2) I. ii. : "The parting kiss you took before your travel
Is yet a virgin on my lips."
- (3) I. ii. : "The privilege my birth bestowed upon me,
Might challenge more regard."
- (4) I. ii. : "My wants have, and often,
With open mouths."
- (5) I. ii. : "And takes his oath
Upon her pantofles."
- (6) I. ii. : "You are foul-mouthed."
- (7) V. i. : "At all parts."
- (8) V. ii. : "What new Gorgon's head
Have you beheld, that you are all turned statues?"
- (9) V. ii. : "Libidinous beast!"
- (10) V. ii. : "My whole life never knew but one chaste bed,
Nor e'er desired warmth but from lawful fires."
- (11) V. ii. : "Note but how heavy
The weight of guilt is! it so low hath sunk him,
That he wants power to rise up in defence
Of his bad cause."
- (12) V. iv. : "(*Bel.*) I demand but what
The law allows me.
(*Mer.*) That which I desire
Is by the same law warranted."
- (13) V. iv. : "'Twas in respect that they were then unlawful,
Unblest by Hymen, and left stings behind them."
- (14) V. iv. : "To which his loose unquenched heats had brought
him."
- (15) V. iv. : "If you dare venture on a queen not yet
So far in debt to years, but that she may
Bring you a lusty boy."
- (16) V. iv. : "Then on unto the temple."

The third author, perhaps Field, has references to yellow starch, to the Roman, or T beard, to all the *honourable points of ignorance*, according to which a quarrel was arranged, as Jonson tells us in *The Devil is an Ass*, to the carrying of a stiletto (instead of a sword if we are to take the passage [III. i.] in connection with the extracts from *The Custom of the Country*, *The Elder Brother*, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*). Fletcher has too in the second act reference to what he calls the Pisa beard and the little breeches, which also play a part in his share of *Henry VIII*.

These points induce me to put *The Queen of Corinth* after Jonson's play, say in 1617. Extract 2 occurs in *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. i. 216, and *Parl. of Love*, 14; *Bond*, 13; *M. of Hon.*, 31; *Great Duke of Florence*, 4; *Proph.*, 18; *Love's Cure*, 5; *Duke of Milan*, 30; *Bash. Lover*, 34.

3 occurs in *Gr. Duke of Florence*, 35; and in *The Spanish Curate*, I. i. (scene between Don Henrique and Don Jamie).

4 occurs in *The Parl. of Love*, 38.

6 occurs in *Sp. Curate*, 4; *Bond.*, 29a; *M. of Hon.*, 15.

8 occurs in *Pict.*, 54, 55; *Bel. as You List*, 33; *Virg. Martyr*, 20.

9 occurs in *Un. Comb.*, 41; *Bashful Lover*, 17; *Guardian*, 8, 43; *Bond.*, 20; *Parl. of Love*, 43; *Pict.*, 38; *Duke of Milan*, 10.

11 occurs in *Parl. of Love*, 30.

7. *The Fair Maid of the Inn.*

Massinger's share of this play is Act I., Act III. sc. ii., Act V. sc. 3.

The second act seems all Rowley's, together with the first scene of the third act, the second scene of the fourth, and scenes i. and ii. of the fifth. I can only trace Fletcher's hand in IV. i. The parallel passages are :

- (1) I. i. : "If I then borrow
A little of the boldness of his temper."
- (2) I. i. : "And worth the undertaker."
- (3) I. i. : "The bells, the roaring cannon,
Aloud proclaimed it lawful."
- (4) I. i. : "Though you see
The desperate gunner ready to give fire
And blow the deck up."
- (5) I. i. : "Though he came so perfumed as he had robbed
Sabaea or Arabia."
- (6) I. i. : "Since it was lawful."
- (7) I. i. : "In whom long since their youthful heats were
dead."
- (8) I. i. : "Honest integrity and lawful flames."
- (9) I. ii. : "Let it not taste of arrogance that I say it."
- (10) I. ii. : "That merchant is not wise
That ventures his whole fortunes in one bottom."

- (11) I. ii. : "My will in this shall carry it.
Your will?
Nay, farewell softness then."
- (12) I. ii. : "This I foresaw."
- (13) I. iii. : "My rage over,
That poured upon my reason clouds of error,
I see my folly, and at what dear loss
I have exchanged a real innocence
To gain a mere fantastical report."
- (14) I. iii. : "But on this strict condition, which entreaties
From saints, nay angels, shall not make me alter."
- (15) III. ii. : "The sad example
At Rome, between the Orsins and Colonnas,
Nay, here, at home, in Florence, 'twixt the Neri
And the Bianchi, can too mainly witness,"
- (16) III. ii. : "Or, like an angry surgeon, we will use
The rigour of our justice, to cut off
The stubborn rancour of the limbs offending."
- (17) V. iii. : "The means to make
Your certain pleasures lawful to the world."
- (18) V. iii. : "To the temple."
- (19) V. iii. : "To be no more remembered."
- (20) V. iii. : "But yet deny not
To let me know the place she hath made happy
By having there her sepulchre."
- (21) V. iii. : "Though I should fix here."
- (22) V. iii. : "To the temple."

1 occurs in *Barnavelt*, 28; *Bash. Lov.*, 6; *Gr. Duke of Fl.*, 1; *Beggar's Bush*, 4.

4 we have again in *Renegado*, 6.

5 is repeated in *Gr. Duke of Fl.*, 12; and *A New Way*, 2.

9 comes once more in *Barnavelt*, 29.

11 we have again in *A Very Wom.*, 3; *Rom. Act.*, 3.

13 is an example of the way in which Massinger combated the duel. There are parallel passages under *Custom of the Country* and *A Very Woman*.

The language of 15 reminds us of *Henry VIII.*, V. iii. 30. There are other examples, *False One*, 1; *Bash. Lov.*, 8, 25; *Bel. as You List*, 1; *A Very Wom.*, 6.

18, 20, and 22, and similar passages were collected chiefly with a view to proving *Two N. K.* a work of Massinger's.

8. *Henry VIII.*

For my arguments in favour of my theory that Massinger and Fletcher were the authors of *Henry VIII.*, I beg to refer to my paper on the subject.

9. *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt.*

I have already given in the Appendix to vol. ii. of A. H. Bullen's *Old Plays* the reasons for the division I there make of the play between Massinger and Fletcher. In *Eng. Stud.*, IX. i., I have also, in answer to Prof. Delius, given confirmations of the views I then expressed. But as these papers may not be known to many members of the N. S. S. I shall here repeat them. Massinger's share of the play is Act I. sc. i. and ii., Act II. sc. i., Act III. sc. ii. and iii., Act III. sc. v., Act IV. sc. iv. and v., Act V. sc. i. down to "Enter Provost and Guard with Barnavelt." The rest is Fletcher's. Parallel passages are:—

- (1) I. i. : "I speak the people's language."
- (2) I. i. : "He's the army's soul,
By which it moves to victory."
- (3) I. i. : "When I should pass with glory to my rest."
- (4) I. i. : "End that race
You have so long run strongly, like a child."
- (5) I. i. : "Brought in by your allowance."
- (6) I. i. : "Your brothers, sons,
Friends, families, made rich in trust and honours."
- (7) I. i. : "For when did he
Enter the field but 'twas by your allowance."
- (8) I. i. : "When you move next,
You move to your destruction."
- (9) I. i. : "And you shall find that the desire of glory
Was the last frailty wise men e'er put off."
- (10) I. i. : "Like Barnavelt, and in that all is spoke."
- (11) I. i. : "I'll ne'er enquire,
What 'tis you go about."
- (11a) I. ii. : "I never saw
The Advocate so moved."

(12) I. ii. : "We need not add this wind by our observance,
To sails too full already."

(13) I. (ii. and iii.), compare the situation at the end of ii. (Massinger's) and beginning of iii. (Fletcher's) with the treatment of Cranmer in *Henry VIII.*, V. ii.

(14) II. i. : "The Arminians play their parts too."

(15) II. i. : "When the hot lion's breath
Burns up the fields."

(16) II. i. : "Your actions too at all parts answering."

(17) II. i. : "Such as flatter servants make them proud."

(18) II. i. : "This I foresaw."

(18a) II. i. : "O, I am lost with anger."

(19) II. i. : "Be ne'er remembered."

(20) II. i. : "And something there I'll do that shall divert
This torrent."

(21) III. ii. : "You are your own disposers."

(22) III. ii. : "But that is not the hazard
That I would shun."

(23) III. ii. : "Such mild proceedings in a Government,
New settled, whose main strength had its dependence
Upon the power of some particular men,
Might be given way to, but in ours it were
Unsafe and scandalous."

(24) III. ii. : "If I be wanting, let my head pay for it,
I'll instantly about it."

(25) III. ii. : "I have set up my rest."

(26) III. ii. : "I have lost myself,
But something I shall do."

(27) III. v. : "At no part."

(28) III. v. : "The freedom I was born to."

(29) IV. v. : "And if ever
'Twere lawful the unthankful men to upbraid
Unequal benefits, let it not in me
Be now held glorious, if I speak my best."

(30) IV. v. : "You can apply this."

(31) V. i. : "And let me fall beneath the worst aspersion
His malice can throw on me."

(32) V. i. :

"But such shall find their flattering breath but makes
The fire our country's safety bids us cherish
To burn with greater heat."

For 3 and 4 compare *The Virg. Mar.*, 31.

6 is an example of a similar construction to that in the well-known passage in *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. iv. 41: "Since I have known fright, fury, friends' behests," &c.

8 occurs in *Virg. Mar.*, 14; *Pict.*, 40; *Gr. D. of Fl.*, 5.

9 occurs again in *A Very Woman*, 17. It is the original of Milton's well-known line.

11 is an expression which we find again in *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. ii. 98, and *Henry VIII.*, I. i. 131.

11a occurs in *The Sea Voyage*, 4.

12 occurs in *Un. Com.*, 16; *Duke of M.*, 25; *Bond.*, 15; *Proph.*, 27.

15 has its parallel in *Parl. of Love*, 2.

17 has two parallels—*Guard.*, 33, and *Renegado*, 11.

18a occurs in *The Little French Lawyer*, 7.

21 occurs in *The Fatal Dowry*, 11.

The remarkable passage 23 occurs again with some variation in *Virg. Mar.*, 8.

24 occurs in *A Very Woman*, V. i. 36.

Compare 29 with *Fair Maid of Inn*, 9.

30 occurs in *The Virg. Mar.*, 13.

32 in *Henry VIII.*, I. i. 140; *A Very Woman*, 8; *Virg. Mar.*, 3 and 22; *Maid of H.*, 12; *Bond.*, 16; *Duke of M.*, 33.

10. *A Very Woman.*

Massinger's share is Act I., Act II. i., ii., and iii. down to "Enter Pedro," IV. ii., and V.

(1) I. i. 20 :

"But there may be a time when we may welcome
Those wished-for pleasures, as Heaven's greatest blessings,
When that the viceroy, your most noble father,
And the duke, my uncle, and to that, my guardian,
Shall by their free consent confirm them lawful."

- (2) I. i. 41 : "That in the wrinkled winter of their ages
Would force a seeming April of fresh beauty."
- (3) I. i. 87 : "My will
Shall now stand for a thousand" (reasons).
- (4) I. i. 149 : "What desperate fool durst raise a tempest here
To sink himself?"
- (5) I. i. 200 : "Which at no part concerns you."
- (6) I. i. 216 : "There are too many and too sad examples
- (7) I. i. 343 : "How is my soul rent between rage and sorrow."
- (8) II. i. 20 : "Into the furnace of your father's anger."
- (9) II. i. 53 : "With much more impotence to dote on her."
- (10) II. ii. 80 : "Melancholy,
And *at the height*, too near akin to madness,
Possesses him, his senses are distracted,
Not one, but all ; and if I can collect them
With all the various ways invention
Or industry e'er practised, I shall write it
(11) *My masterpiece.*
(See *Two Noble Kinsmen.*)
- (12) II. iii. 106 : "If there be
A way to death, I'll find it."
- (13) IV. ii. 50 : "It was my surfeit, and I loath it now,
As men in fevers meat they fell sick on."
- (14) IV. ii. 170 : "I'll be sick
On purpose to take physic of this doctor."
- (15) V. iii. 22 : "Though somewhat coarse you'll serve after a
storm,
To bid fair weather welcome."
- (16) V. iii. 42 : "Thou man of men,
A second Hercules."
- (17) V. iv. 10 : "Though the desire of fame be the last weak-
ness
Wise men put off."
- (18) V. iv. 114 : "This I foresaw too."
- (19) V. iv. 137 : "I grow to him."
- (20) V. iv. 165 : "Death hath a thousand doors to let out life."

The most remarkable of these passages have already been mentioned. The cure of Cardenes by Pauli should be compared with *The Custom of the Country* and *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

11. *The Beggar's Bush.*

Massinger's share is the first act, and Act II. sc. iii., Act V. i. and ii. down to line 110. There are few parallel passages.

- (1) I. i. 44: "For Wolfert now beholding
Himself and actions in the flattering glass
Of self-deservings."
- (2) I. i. 50: "At his devotion."
- (3) I. ii. 47: "For I, that am contemner of mine own,
Am master of your life."
- (4) I. ii. 54: "You take strange license."
- (5) I. iii. 82: "This is above wonder."
- (6) V. i. 73: "This was a noble entrance to your fortune."

For 1 see *A New Way*, 12. 2 and 5 are too common in Massinger to be particularly noticed. 3 is repeated in *Roman Actor*, 13, and *Prophetess*, 16. 4 we have again in *The Little Fr. Lawyer*, 3; *Guardian*, 6; and *Bashful Lover*, 6. 6 occurs in *The False One*, V. iv. 135—

‘This is a fair entrance to
Our future happiness.’

12. *The False One.*

Massinger's share is the first act and the fifth. The parallel passages are:

- (1) I. i. 21: "We have too many and too sad examples."
- (2) I. i. 44: "In which the Roman empire is embarked
On a rough sea of danger."
- (3) I. i. 95: "From Rome you bring nothing
But Roman vices, which you would plant here,
But no seed of her virtues."
- (4) I. i. 180: "Is lost
In the ocean of your bounties."
- (5) I. i. 215: "Appoints the tent on which winged Victory
Shall make a certain stand."
- (6) I. i. 343: "And no way left us to redeem his favour,
But by the head of Pompey."
- (7) I. i. 353: "That thou canst prop
His ruins, under which sad Rome now
suffers."
- (8) I. ii. 26: "At the devotion of her brother."

(9) I. ii. 40 : " Alas, you wash an Ethiop ! "

(10) V. iii. 3 : " This devil, Photinus,
Employs me as a property, and, grown
useless,
Will shake me off again. "

(11) V. iii. 77 : " The scorn of baseness. "

(12) V. iii. 80 : " That live at the devotion of another. "

(13) V. iii. 143 : " We talk of Mars, but I am sure his courage
Admits of no comparison but itself. "

(14) V. iii. 145 : " And, as inspired by him, h's following
friends,
With such a confidence as young eaglets
prey
Under the large wing of their fiercer dam,
Brake through our troops, and scattered
them. "

(15) V. iii. 171 : " I feel now,
That there are powers above us, and that
'tis not
Within the searching policies of man
To alter their decrees. "

(16) V. iii. 194 : " Nor can I think Nature e'er made a woman,
That in her prime deserved him. "

3 occurs in *Thierry and Theodoret*, IV. ii. 111—

" She, I say, in whom
All was, that Athens, Rome, or warlike Sparta
Have registered for good in their best women,
But nothing of their ill. "

For 5 see *Proph.*, 21 ; *Un. Com.*, 9 ; *Duke of M.*, 2 ; *P. of Love*,
21 ; *M. of Hon.*, 7 ; *Pict.*, 19.

For 7 see *Sp. Cur.*, 8 ; *Pict.*, 45, 50 ; *Guard.*, 36 ; *Bash. Lov.*,
16 ; *Fat. Dow.*, 7.

For 13 see *Duke of Milan*, 24.

For 14 see *Un. Com.*, 10 ; *Pict.*, 22.

For 15 see *A New Way*, 8, 14 ; *Love's Cure*, 12 ; *Sp. Cur.*, 22 ;
Proph., 10 ; *Lover's Prog.*, 8.

13. *The Prophetess.*

Massinger's share is the second, the fourth, and the fifth act
(except the last scene). The parallel passages are :

- (1) II. i. 66 : "A scholar's prize."
- (2) II. i. 72 : "The music of the spheres attending on us."
- (3) II. ii. 40 : "The Pannonian cohorts
(That are my own and sure) are not come up."
- (4) II. ii. 57 : "I am taught my parts."
- (5) II. iii. 1 : "Fix here, and rest awhile your sail-stretched
wings,
That have outstript the winds."
- (6) II. iii. 48 : "And give applause
To this great work."
- (7) II. iii. 115 : "Here I yield
Myself at your devotion."
- (8) II. iii. 120 : "Till this happy moment
I ne'er saw beauty."
- (9) II. iii. 142 : "I will punish
His perjury to the height."
- (10) IV. ii. 2 : "And proud man,
However magnified, is but as dust
Before the raging whirlwind of their justice."
- (11) IV. ii. 20 : "If those gods I have provoked
Had not given spirit to the undertakers."
- (12) IV. ii. 88 : "The master of great Rome, and, in that, lord
Of all the sun gives heat and being to."
- (13) IV. ii. 103 : "With this willing kiss
I seal his pardon."
- (14) IV. ii. 105 : "Beyond this abstract of all woman's goodness."
- (15) IV. ii. 109 : "For to thy fleet I'll give a fore-right wind."
- (16) IV. iv. 25 : "She that scorns life
May mock captivity."
- (17) IV. iii. 36 : "Sure these Romans
Are more than men."
- (18) IV. iv. 52 : "As an high towering falcon on her stretches
Severs the fearful fowl."
- (19) IV. iv. 67 : "The lord of Rome (in that all power is spoken)."
- (20) IV. iv. 70 : "There's fire in this."
- (21) IV. iv. 76 : "Winged victory shall take stand on thy tents."
- (22) IV. iv. 86 : "With thy best strengths."
- (23) IV. v. 23 : "His strong arm governed by the fierce
Bellona."

- (24) IV. vi. 32: "A sword's sharp point
Enters my flesh as far."
 (25) IV. vi. 48: "He is the scorn of fortune."
 (26) IV. vi. 68: "And here I fix *nil ultra*."
 (27) V. i. 21: "A large sail filled full with a fore-right wind
That drowns a smaller bark."
 (28) V. ii. 45: "We but walk
With heavy burdens on a sea of glass,
And our own weight will sink us."
 (29) V. ii. 62: "Those great women
Antiquity is proud of, thou but named,
Shall be no more remembered."

For 3 see *Roman Act.*, 6, 23; *Duke of Milan*, 8; *Believe as You List*, 17.

For 5 see *Un. Com.*, 7; *Eld. Bro.*, 8; *Believe as You List*, 4, 20.
10 has already been mentioned under *Thierry and Theodoret*.

For 18 see *Guardian*, I. i. end of scene.

For 20 see *Duke of Milan*, 15.

For 28 see *Roman Act.*, 26; *Bondman*, 27; *Maid of Honour*, 30.

14. *The Little French Lawyer*.

Massinger's share is: Act I., Act III. sc. i., and Act V. sc. i. from "Enter Cleremont" to end, and sc. iii. The parallel passages are:

- (1) I. i. 42: "To talk thus to his friend, his friend that
knows him."
 (2) I. i. 90: "That at no part concern me."
 (3) I. i. 131: "This is strange rudeness."
 (4) I. i. 145: "And amid more
At what her youth and heat of blood required
In lawful pleasures."
 (5) I. i. 155: "My house and honours
At all parts equal yours."
 (6) I. i. 200: "Those joys, those best of joys, which Hymen
Freely bestows on such that come to tie
The sacred knot he blesses."
 (7) I. i. 217: "I am lost with rage."
 (8) I. i. 230: "And the desperate fools
That boarded me sent, to defy the tempests
That were against me, to the angry sea."

- (9) I. i. 307 : "And in all circumstances of a husband
Perform my parts."
- 10) I. i. 321 : "Sir, you teach me
The language I should use." (p. 605 (1), above).
- (11) I. ii. 70 : "O, sir, you teach me what to say."
- (12) III. i. 105 : "Nor would I be a Dutchman,
To have my wife my sovereign, to command me."
- (13) V. i. b 210 : "How say you, sweet one,
Have you an appetite?
To walk again
I' the woods, if you think fit, rather than eat.
A little respite, pry'thee; nay, blush not,
You ask but what's your own, and warrantable."
- (14) V. i. b 260 : "And yield myself up, miserably guilty."
- (15) V. i. b 281 : "The terrors of this night
Imagine but a fearful dream."

10 and 11 are examples of the absurdly polite language duellists addressed each other with. See *Sea Voyage*, 1; *Unnatural Combat*, 31. In a letter of Jan. 5th, 1619, about a duel between Sir Henry Rich and Sir Edward Villiers, Charles Rich and Sir Allan Apsley being seconds, it is stated that "Mr Rich was fresh come out of France, and would needs observe the French custom of fighting with the other's second." This would go to prove that *The Little French Lawyer* and *The Lover's Progress* were both later than that date.¹ Burbadge, who died March 13th, 1619, took no part in either of these plays.

12 alludes to a scene by Fletcher in *Barnaveit*, Act II. sc. ii., to which I refer.

15. *The Lover's Progress*.

Massinger's share is Act I. sc. i., and sc. ii. to line 110 (Enter *Malfort*), Act II. sc. ii., Act III. sc. iv. and sc. vi., the last two speeches, and all the fourth and fifth acts.

- (1) I. i. 18 : "I am a kind of nothing
As she has made me."
- (2) I. i. 33 : "First, for the undertaker, I am he."
- (3) I. i. 45 : "Though you run
The hazard of a check for it."

¹ Because in these two plays the seconds, as well as the principals, fight with each other.

- (4) I. i. 165 : "Yet you have
A noble husband with allowed embraces
To quench lascivious fires."
- (5) I. i. 225 : "How is my soul divided ! Oh, Cleander,
My best-deserving husband ! Oh, Lisander,
The truest lover that e'er sacrificed
To Cupid against Hymen."
- (6) I. ii. 80 : "And 'tis not to be altered."
(Compare the whole scene with *Two Noble Kinsmen*.)
- (7) III. iv. 53 : "Something I will do,
A new-born zeal and friendship prompts
me to."
- (8) IV. iii. 101 : "These are the fruits
Of lust, Clarinda."
- (9) IV. iv. 27 : "Two hopeful sons that might have done
their parts
To guard her from invasion."
- (10) V. iii. 25 : "I have penned mine own ballad
Before my condemnation, in fear
Some rhymist should prevent me."
- (11) V. iii. 61 : "She's a book
To be with care perused."
- (12) V. iii. 105 : "Having taken
My bodily oath, the first night of admittance
Into her ladyship's service, on her slippers."
- (13) V. iii. 243 : "I accuse Clarange
Of falsehood to true friendship, at the
height."
- (14) V. iii. 261 : "To the dead we tender
Our sorrow."

The whole play should be read along with *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, particularly the attempt to depict a love to two men at the same time on the part of the two female characters.

10 is an allusion to the execrable ballads on executions, murders, and such like. See close of *Bondman* (Graculo).

14 reminds us of the closing words of *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

This play and *The Little French Lawyer* are both directed against duelling.

16. *The Spanish Curate.*

Massinger's share is Act I., Act III. sc. iii., Act IV. sc. i. and iv., Act V. sc. i. and iii.

- (1) I. i. 23 : "This invites
The prime men of the city to frequent
All places he resorts to, and are happy
In his sweet converse."
- (2) I. i. 55 : "And she that once was called the fair Jacintha
Is happy in being his mother."
- (3) I. i. 89 : "Wounds fairly taken."
- (4) I. i. 139 : "You're foul-mouthed."
- (5) I. i. 237 : "What the Archduke's purposes in the next
spring, and what
Defence my lords, the states, prepare."
- (6) I. i. 268 : "You talk of wonders."
- (7) I. i. 270 : "What curious Nature made without pattern,
Whose copy she hath lost too."
- (8) I. ii. 6 : "Can you with one hand prop a falling tower."
- (9) I. ii. 23 : "Touch not that string."
- (10) I. ii. 68 : "Shall I then that have reason and discourse."
- (11) I. iii. 10 : "The period of human happiness."
- (12) III. iii. 90 : "To be at his devotion."
- (13) III. iii. 210 : "I am too tough to melt,
But something I will do."
- (14) IV. i. 71 : "How am I divided
Between the duties I owe as a husband,
And piety of a parent."
- (15) IV. i. 114 : "A course to right myself, a speeding one."
- (16) V. i. 47 : "This soul I speak of,
Or rather salt, to keep this heap of flesh
From being a walking stench."
- (17) V. i. 53 : "Sufficient in yourself to comprehend
All wicked plots."
- (18) V. i. 120 : "We'll bring our bark into
The port of happiness."
- (19) V. i. 150 : "Shall? 'tis too tedious: furnish me with
means
To hire the instruments, and to yourself
Say, it is done already."

(20) V. iii. 54: "To be at my devotion."

(21) V. iii. 80: "Her riotous issue."

(22) V. iii. 150: "In Bartolus you may behold the issue
Of covetousness and jealousy; and of dotage
And falsehood in Don Henrique. Keep a
mean then;
For be assured, that weak man meets all ill
That gives himself up to a woman's will."

5 occurs again in *Love's Cure*.

16 and 19 are "conveyed" from Jonson.

In 22 Massinger points the moral as in *The False One*, 15. Notice the pronunciation of Bar'tolus. He pronounces it everywhere so, while Fletcher pronounces it Bartólus, as—

II. i. : "Here is a master in that art, Bartólus."

III. i. 3: "And strike deep at my credit, my Bartólus."

In the opening scene Massinger has Bar'tolus twice.

17. *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*.

As far as I know, it has never been doubted that this play is all Massinger's. Whoever will look at the first 120 lines of the opening scene will, however, confess that the metre has the Fletcher ring in it. From this point the scene seems to have been re-written by Massinger. There are two allusions—

"You think you walk in clouds, but are transparent,"

and the "corrosives" of line 135. The second scene is tolerably pure Fletcher, as is also the third. The whole of the second act shows Fletcher's style, and no trace of Massinger. In the third act the same signs of Fletcher's hand are visible in the third scene, though the first and second are pure Massinger, as are also Acts IV. and V. In I. ii. there is an allusion to the siege of Breda, which was taken July 1st, 1625. As Fletcher died about the end of August, his share must have been written in that month, or in July.

(1) III. i. 68: "Such as Ulysses, if he
Now lived again, however he stood the sirens,
Could not resist."

(2) III. i. 73: "Like a soft western wind when it glides o'er
Arabia, creating gums and spices."

- (3) III. i. 79: "Hippolytus himself would leave Diana
To follow such a Venus."
- (4) III. ii. 80: "A lord and a good leader in one volume."
- (5) IV. i. 103: "I write *nil ultra* to my proudest hopes."
- (6) IV. i. 109: "To supply your riotous waste."
- (7) IV. ii. 29: "He shall be chronicled for it."
- (8) IV. ii. 83: "Unthankful knaves are ever so rewarded."
- (9) IV. iii. 48: "But since we must run
Such desperate hazards, let us do our best
To steer between them."
- (10) IV. iii. 85: "Marriage first,
And lawful pleasure after."
- (11) V. i. 27: "Were a work beyond
The strongest undertakers."
- (12) V. i. 43: "For had you, when that I was in my prime,
My virgin flower uncropped, presented me
With this great favour, looking on my lowness,
Not in a glass of self-love, but of truth,
I could not but have thought it as a blessing,
Far, far beyond my merit."
- (13) V. i. 290: "Village nurses
Revenge their wrongs with curses."
- (14) V. i. 352: "This is the haven
False servants still arrive at."
- (15) V. i. 377: "Carry him to some dark room."
- (16) Epilogue: "But your allowance, and in that our all
Is comprehended."

8 and 14 are instances of Massinger's moralizing tendency, also noticed under *Fulse One*, 15.

9 occurs in *Un. Comb.*, 5; *Gr. D. of Fl.*, 17.

12 occurs in *Rom. Act.*, 2, and *Beg. Bush*, 1.

13 occurs in *Un. Com.*, 42; *D. of M.*, 29; *Ren.*, 1; *Fat. Dow.*, 4.

15 reminds us of *Renegado*, 29, and of *Two N. K.*, IV. iii. 64.

Group VIII. 1. *The Virgin Martyr*.

Massinger's share is Act I. sc. i., Act III. sc. i. and ii., Act IV. sc. iii., Act V. sc. ii. The rest is Dekker's.

- (1) I. i. 3: "The marches of great princes,
Like to the motions of prodigious meteors,
Are step by step observed."

- (2) I. i. 72 : "To further this great work."
- (3) I. i. 84 : "You pour oil
On fire that burns already at the height."
- (4) I. i. 94 : "So well hath fleshed his maiden sword."
- (5) I. i. 190 : "Which I with joy remember."
- (6) I. i. 193 : "Returning to the faith that they were born in."
- (7) I. i. 235 : "We expect to have
Our names remembered."
- (8) I. i. 236 : "In all growing empires,
Even cruelty is useful ; some must suffer,
And be set up examples to strike terror
In others, though far off ; but when a state
Is raised to her perfection, and her bases
Too firm to shrink or yield, we may use mercy,
And do't with safety."
- (9) I. i. 268 : "Mix some slight disaster
With my so many joys, to season them."
- (10) I. i. 92 : "May my life
Deserve this favour."
- (11) I. i. 359 : "Encountering him alone in the head of his
troop."
- (12) I. i. 384 : "On which the nearer Jove, the nearer light-
ning."
- (13) I. i. 391 : "Pray you, apply this."
- (14) I. i. 455 : "But for the danger,
Or call it, if you will, assured destruction."
- (15) III. i. 22 : "The Stygian damps, breeding infectious airs,
The mandrake's shrieks, the basilisk's killing
eye,
The dreadful lightning that doth crush the
bones,
And never singe the skin."
- (16) III. i. 59 : "At the height."
- (17) III. i. 85 : "Bonds and fetters,
For amorous twines."
- (18) III. i. 130 : "To be hereafter registered."
- (19) III. i. 135 : "Knows every trick and labyrinth of desire."
- (20) III. ii. 54 : "Stand you now like a statue."
- (21) III. ii. 98 : "Something you must do suddenly."

- (22) III. ii. 101 : "Do not blow
The furnace of a wrath thrice hot already."
- (23) III. ii. 103 : "Etna is in my breast."
- (24) III. ii. 128 : "We are not so near reconciled unto thee."
- (25) IV. iii. 7 : "The abstract of all sweetness that's in wo-
man."
- (26) IV. iii. 54 : "Not all the riches of the sea, increased
By violent shipwrecks."
- (27) IV. iii. 89 : "The golden fruit kept by the watchful dragon,
Which did require a Hercules to get it,
Compared with what grows in all plenty
there,
Deserves not to be named."
- (28) IV. iii. 95 : "Trace my steps."
- (29) V. ii. 8 : "Till now
I ne'er have seen a lady I thought worthy
To be my mistress."
- (30) V. iii. 81 : "There is a scene that I must act alone."
- (31) V. iii. 149 :
"Thou twice a child ! for doting age so makes thee,
Thou couldst not else, thy pilgrimage of life
Being almost passed through, in this last moment
Destroy whate'er thou hast done good or great.
Thy youth did promise much ; and, grown a man,
Thou mad'st it good, and, with increase of years,
Thy actions still bettered : as the sun,
Thou didst rise gloriously, kept at a constant course
In all thy journey ; and now, in the evening,
When thou shouldst pass with honour to thy rest,
Wilt thou fall like a meteor."

There are many allusions to meteors in this play. It was written probably shortly after the comet of 1619. Dekker mentions the month of February, but he has the date from the original, the legend of Dorothea. The play throws light on *Barnavelt*, particularly 8, 12, 14, and 31.

30 should be compared with *Doub. Mar.*, 22a.

17, 19, 28 are reminiscences of *Two N. K.*

26 occurs again in *Bond.*, 8a, and *Parl. of Love*, 12a.

2. *The Fatal Dowry.*

Massinger's share is Act I., Act III. sc. i. down to "Enter Novall junior," Act IV. sc. ii., iii., iv., and all Act V. except lines 80 to 120 of sc. ii., which were interpolated by Field.

- (1) I. i. 8: "But do your parts."
- (2) I. i. 10: "I could run the hazard of a check for't."
- (3) I. i. 162: "Usurers bred by a riotous peace."
- (4) I. i. 188: "In which a village nurse may overcome us."
- (5) I. ii. 138: "Your riotous heirs."
- (6) III. i. 53: "How's this, servant? Courting my woman."
- (7) III. i. 232: "To stay a woman
Spurred headlong by hot lust to her own ruin,
Is harder than to prop a falling tower
With a deceiving reed."
- (8) IV. iv. 140: "In her fair life hereafter."
- (9) V. i. 56: "To say that I foresaw the dangers."
- (10) V. i. 69: "To the basket and repent."
- (11) V. i. 150: "To be at his disposing."
- (12) V. i. 184: "Nor did his bounty end there, but began."
- (13) V. i. 262: "His heart being never warmed by lawful fires."
- (14) V. i. 320: "That I
Till now was never wretched."

For 6 compare *Parliament of Love*, 10.

For 10 compare *City Madam*, I. i. 115.

3. *Love's Cure.*

Massinger's share is Act I., Act IV., and Act V., except the last scene, which was put in by the second author.

- (1) I. i. 5: "Holland, with those Low Provinces, that hold
out
Against the Archduke, were again compelled
With their obedience to give up their lives
To be at his devotion."
- (2) I. ii. 40: "And play the wanton in the entertainmen
Of those delights I have so long despaired of."
- (3) I. iii. 9: "To abuse his time
In apish entertainment."
- (4) I. iii. 50: "And, like old Aeson,
Grow young again."

(5) I. iii. 56 : "And my lips
Yet modestly pay back the parting kiss
You trusted with them when you fled from
Sevil."

(6) I. iii. 67 : "It will give relish and fresh appetite
To my delights, if such delights can cloy me."

(7) IV. ii. 57 : "The envy of great fortunes."

(8) IV. ii. 86 : "This speeding trick."

(9) IV. ii. 144 : "I'll tread upon
The face you dote on, strumpet."

(10) IV. iv. 16 : "I never saw
A lovely woman till now."

(These two scenes show traces of having been altered by the second author, who has also confused Act II. sc. ii.)

(11) V. i. 80 : "This courtesy
Wounds deeper than your sword can, or mine own."

(12) V. i. 100—110 :
"I ne'er knew what true valour was till now,
And have gained more by this disgrace than all
The honours I have won! They made me proud,
Presumptuous of my fortunes, a mere beast,
Fashioned by them, only to dare and do,
Yielding no reasons for my wilful actions.
But what I stuck on my sword's point, presuming
It was the best revenue. How unequal
Wrongs well maintained makes us to others, which,
Ending with shame, teach us to know ourselves."

(13) V. ii. 53 :
"'Tis too much I do,
And yet, if Chastity would, I could wish more."

This play, from the allusions to the Muscovite ambassador, and to the renewal of the war between Spain and Holland, cannot have been written before 1622. Whoever was the second author, he took the lead in the play, altering scenes that Massinger had written. He finished the fifth act in execrable taste. There are traces of two hands in the prose of Act II. Lamoral's speech should be compared with Duarte and Cardenes in *The Custom of the Country* and *A Very Woman*.

XXVII.

HAMLET'S AGE.

By SIR EDWARD SULLIVAN, BART.

*(Read at the 117th Meeting of the New Shakspeare Society, on Friday,
June 11, 1886.)*

So much has from time to time been written on the subject of Hamlet's age, that one may well pause before venturing to add a suggestion to the many already made: and yet if one is bold enough to make the venture, he cannot be looked on as wholly without excuse, when the fact is brought home to us that the only result to be gathered from all that has been written on the matter is, that in the case of Hamlet we must regard Shakspeare as guilty of a glaring and offensive inconsistency in the matter of his hero's age and character, and that too in a play on the final production of which it is admitted by all he expended more time, consideration, and thought than he brought to bear on any of his other works.

Under the circumstances the conclusion arrived at cannot be looked upon as anything but unsatisfactory, and accordingly any attempt, however inadequate, to clear the poet's memory from so very serious a charge, deserves to be received without apology by those, at any rate, who count themselves amongst the admirers of our greatest dramatist.

Hamlet, as is well known, was written twice by Shakspeare—first in the rude and sketchy form in which it appears in the First Quarto, that of 1603, and secondly as published in the Quarto of 1604, "enlarged," as the title-page tells us, "to almost as much againe as it was."

It is unnecessary to go into the question, discussed elsewhere at length, whether the edition of 1603 was, or was not, a pirated edition of the play as it was originally acted. It will here be enough to cite

the opinion of an eminent Shakspearean scholar, Charles Knight, on the matter,—an opinion which has received such abundant confirmation from nearly every one who has since considered the subject as to place it beyond all reasonable doubt. He¹ says, speaking of the *Hamlet* of 1603—"Our decided opinion, grounded upon an attentive comparison of the original sketch with the perfect play, is that the original sketch was an early production of our poet:" and again—"we believe that this remarkable copy gives us the play as originally written by Shakspeare."²

Assuming then, not unreasonably, that both the first and second Quartos came, in their published forms, direct from the hand of Shakspeare, I wish, before entering on the consideration of the so-called inconsistencies of the latter play, to draw attention to a matter which has (as far as I am aware) passed almost unnoticed by Shakspearean scholars. It is this—that Shakspeare, when he first conceived his idea of *Hamlet*, made the hero of his tragedy a boy, but afterwards, for reasons which will readily suggest themselves, made that boy a man—although still a *young* man in both character³ and years. If any one takes the trouble to compare the texts of the two first Quartos he will hardly fail to come to this conclusion.

It is only in the later play (the form of which is practically the one now familiar to most of us) that any inconsistencies on the poet's part have been suggested in reference to Hamlet's age; and, indeed, it would be impossible to attribute to the author any error of the sort in his working out of the earlier, though ruder, tragedy, which is in every respect consistent in all its parts.

There is no necessity for pointing out the differences which are to be met with in a study of the respective *characters* of the earlier

¹ Shakspeare, edited by Chas. Knight, vol. viii. pp. 57 and 63.

² The same view has recently received strong confirmation in the exhaustive essay by Mr W. H. Widgery on the First Q. ed. of *Hamlet*, for which—in conjunction with Mr C. H. Herford—he was awarded the Harness Prize for the year 1880. See p. 182. (Smith, Elder, & Co.)

³ It will be observed that my remarks are mainly conversant with the change made by Shakspeare in Hamlet's *age*. Much has already been written on the change of *character* effected in the later Quarto. Some excellent observations on the latter subject will be found in Mr Widgery's Essay referred to above.

and later *Hamlets*, more than by referring to the marked want of thoughtful philosophy which pervades the character of the boy Hamlet of 1603, when contrasted with that of the man of 1604—a difference which was unquestionably the result of carefully-premeditated design — and one on which, independently of other evidence, a strong argument might be founded in favour of Hamlet's manhood in the later play. The following considerations will however go far towards showing that the age of the Danish prince was a matter on which Shakspeare at different periods entertained distinct and unmistakable ideas, and will also to a certain extent show how those ideas were carried out.

Hamlet is spoken of several times in both Quartos as being "young." The adjective does not of itself indicate extreme youth, nor, on the other hand, is it a description in any way inapplicable to a man of thirty. It is, however, only in the First Quarto that Hamlet is ever described as actually a boy—a term which is applied to him by the Queen Mother, Act III. sc. iv.; and it is a remarkable fact that the line in which the word occurs in the earlier Quarto is altered from "How now, boy?" to "Why how now, Hamlet?" in the Quarto of 1604, and altered apparently without the existence of any metrical necessity for the change.

It is later on in the same scene that Hamlet addresses to his mother the lines :

"You cannot call it love : for, at your age,
The hey-day in the blood is tame, it's humble,
And waits upon the judgment :"

a passage which has no equivalent in the earlier play, where, indeed, the Queen Mother would be of an age to which the lines would be inapplicable.

In Act IV. sc. iii. of the Second Quarto, the King says of Hamlet—

"How dangerous is it that this *man* goes loose !"

And it is a fact not without significance that *this* description of Hamlet occurs only in the later drama.

We have besides the testimony of Ophelia in the Second

Quarto, that Hamlet, though a young man, was not the boy he was in the earlier Quarto—

“That unmatched form, and stature of *blown* youth.”

In addition we have Hamlet addressed by the King at least six times in the First Quarto as “sonne Hamlet,” a phrase which is more applicable to the age of boyhood than that of manhood, and one which at all events the poet thought unsuited to the older Hamlet of 1604, inasmuch as it is never once-employed in the Quarto of that year.

Next we have the opening passage in the Player-King's speech, which of itself would seem to fix the Danish prince's age :

“Full *thirty* times hath Phoebus cart gone round
Neptune's salt wash,” etc.

And that the “thirty” here mentioned is not to be looked on as merely accidental, and consequently of no weight in the argument, the corresponding passage in the First Quarto conclusively proves, for the period of the Player-King's married life is there stated to have been “fortie yeares.”

Finally, the Clown's statement in the First Quarto that Yorick's skull had been a dozen years in the earth, while the Clown of the second Quarto makes it twenty-three years there, unquestionably indicates that Shakspeare meant his later hero to be exactly eleven years older than he was in the earlier work. In other words, the poet here himself tells us that his first Hamlet was nineteen, and his second thirty; and in order (as it were) to make assurance double sure on the latter point, we find the Grave-digger telling us that he came to the business the day that “young Hamlet” was born, and that he had been sexton man and boy thirty years. The existence of these alterations and additions in the text of the later play, being of the marked character that they are, were surely never made by a dramatist of Shakspeare's intelligence without intentional and well-considered design.

Having then (I think) established my first proposition, that the Hamlet of 1603 was a boy of nineteen, while that of 1604 was a young man of thirty, it remains to consider whether, or not, there are

any inconsistencies touching the hero's age between the early and concluding portions of the later tragedy as we now have it in its fully developed form.

Blackstone, one of the first commentators to call attention to the matter, thus expresses himself :

"By this scene (Act V. sc. i.) it appears that Hamlet was then thirty years old, and knew Yorick well, who had been dead twenty-three years. And yet in the beginning of the play he is spoken of as a *very young* man, one that designed to go back to school, *i. e.* to the University of Wittenberg. The poet in the fifth act had forgot what he wrote in the first."

And in the idea which Blackstone here expresses, he has been followed by almost all who have since his time contributed to the literature of the Shakspearean drama—not a few amongst whom have gone the length of modifying the author's received text in order to get over the difficulty they suggest.

The arguments of this school—comprising such names as Furnivall, Halliwell, Grant White, Marshall, Ed. and Otto Devrient, Minto, Dowden,¹ and Furness—are pretty nearly as follows :

(1) The allusion to Hamlet's intention of "going back to school in Wittenberg" (Act I. sc. ii.) shows that Hamlet was very young.

(2) The frequent references to "young Hamlet" by the other characters, and notably in the case of the Ghost, who speaks of freezing his "young blood," and actually addresses him as "thou noble youth," are inconsistent with his being thirty years old.

(3) The Queen Mother, if Hamlet were thirty, could not have been the object of such a passion as that of Claudius, a passion by which he was tempted to commit fratricide.

(4) Making Hamlet thirty adds some improbability to the succession of Claudius to his murdered brother.

(5) The play is full of allusions to the youth of the personages coeval with Hamlet, *e. g.* "young Fortinbras," "young Laertes."

¹ The author of *Shakspeare, his Mind, and Art*, thought Hamlet a man of thirty at the time he published that work. He has since—although reluctantly—given up that position (see *Academy*, Dec. 1875), and seems inclined to accept Mr Marshall's age of twenty-five as satisfactory, provided that the Clown's evidence be got rid of.

(6) The advice of Laertes to Ophelia (Act I. sc. iii.):

“For Hamlet, and the trifling of his favours,
Hold it a fashion, and a toy in blood :
A violet in the youth of primy nature,” etc.,

in simple prose means that she was not to trust Hamlet, because he was at an age of changeful fancies and fleeting attachments—for who would speak of the love of a man of thirty as “a violet in the youth of primy nature?” “The¹ very idea is a profanation of words, which carry such fragrance with them when applied to the first love of budding youth.” And on the strength of these six objections we are asked to believe that Shakspeare was either above noticing, or never took the trouble to remove, so gross and palpable a blot on the unity of his greatest work !

In answer to the first objection—Hamlet, whatever may have been his age, had unquestionably not finished his university education at the time the play opens. He had returned unexpectedly from Wittenberg after the death of his father, and remained at Elsinore for his mother's wedding, and the election of a new king. The marriage ceremony performed, and the election of Claudius as king having been ratified by the voice of the country—a subject on which I shall have a word to say later on—he bethinks himself of some excuse for getting away from the court, now so changed and hateful to him ; where everything, at least in his view, was unseemly wassail, wickedness, and hypocrisy ; where the mourning due to his late father had speedily given place to shameless and offensive mirth, and where, in his deep and honest sorrow, there was no kindred spirit into whose ear he might whisper his gloomy forebodings. Wittenberg² at once occurs to him as a fitting place of refuge, where, in philosophic study and the companionship of his old and trusted comrade and fellow-

¹ Minto. Most of the arguments given here will be found more fully set out at p. 391 of Furness' edition of *Hamlet*, ed. 1877.

² The University of Wittenberg was well known in Shakspeare's time, being mentioned in several publications of the day, and notably in Lewkenor's *Discourse on Universities*, published in 1600, just previous to the appearance of the First Quarto. This author alludes to it as “grown famous by reason of the controversies and disputations there handled by Martin Luther and his adherents.”

Marlowe makes Dr Faustus a professor there. See Act II. sc. i. “I, Iohn Faustus of Wittenberg.”

student Horatio, he might hope to find that relief which was not to be attained by him in the rôle of "chiefest courtier" within the precincts of the palace at Elsinore.

Claudius, of course, desired that Hamlet—from whom he had much to fear—should remain at court, and for that reason¹ *sarcastically* speaks of the university as "school," and with the direct object of throwing ridicule upon his nephew's intention to return there, where he would no longer be under the King's immediate observation.

And I may here remark, that although so much difficulty has been suggested in Hamlet's case, by the supposition that he was thirty years of age and still a student, no one has raised any objection of a similar character in the case of Horatio, who was Hamlet's fellow-student at Wittenberg, and whose "truant disposition," coupled with a wish to see the late King's funeral, alone brought him from his studies, and (more remarkable still) who is never referred to, throughout the whole play, as being anything but a *man*, even the adjective "young" being omitted in his case.²

Shakspeare, at any rate, saw no inconsistency in *Horatio's* being

¹ If this explanation of the word "school" should not be looked on as satisfactory, there is no difficulty in taking it to mean simply "university." The following verses quoted by Lewkenor (in 1600 A.D.), *Discourse on Universities*, p. 72 a, show that the terms were nearly synonymous :

"Thus of Cambridge the name gan first shine,
As chiefe schoole & universitie,
Unto this time fro the day it began."

² Horatio's age—as has been pointed out by Mrs Peto—is a matter about which there can be no doubt. He was at least forty-five years of age, but more likely fifty. His recollection of the late King, as he appeared on the day he "o'ercame Fortinbras," is vivid in the extreme :

"Such was the very armour he had on
When he the ambitious Norway combated."—Act I. i.

He must therefore at the time have been at least fifteen, or perhaps even twenty, and the Grave-digger afterwards tells us that the combat with Fortinbras took place on the very day "young Hamlet" was born, and that that was thirty years back.

Perhaps Shakspeare in leaving Hamlet and Horatio still at "school," although so well on in years, had in his mind the passage cited by J. W. Hales (*Academy*, March 1876), from Nash's *Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil* :—"For fashion sake some [Danes] will put their children to schoole, but they set them not to it till they are fourteene years old ; so that you shall see a great boy with a beard learne his A. B. C., and sit weeping under the rod when he is thirty years old."

"a man," and also a student; and I, for one, find no difficulty in supposing that no thought of any such inconsistency occurred to the poet in Hamlet's case either.

As regards the frequent references to the youth of Hamlet in the play, there are many reasons why he should be referred to as young. In the first place—assuming my contention to be right—he was but thirty years of age, and who at the present day would hesitate to speak of such a one as young?

Besides, we must not forget that he is not the only Hamlet mentioned in the play. His father's name was Hamlet, and he was dead only some two months at the commencement of the tragedy—so recently indeed that the very mention of the name "without addition" would at once suggest the old man who had reigned so long under that title. And that this is so, the very first scene clearly shows, where Horatio uses the word twice within a space of "some dozen or sixteen lines" alluding to the late King, and shortly afterwards, when having occasion to refer to the Prince by name, says:

"Let us impart what we have seen to-night
Unto young Hamlet."

Here we find a ready explanation of a good many of the allusions to Hamlet's youth; but there remain a few others, which are to be accounted for on slightly different grounds. For instance, the Ghost in addressing Hamlet (Act I. sc. v.) speaks of freezing his "young blood," and shortly after directly addresses him as "thou noble youth"; but surely no argument to prove Hamlet a boy can be twisted out of any such expressions, which are plainly referable to the difference of age existing between the speaker and the person spoken to, and can in no sense be regarded as unnatural, when we remember they are used by a father to his son.

I may mention that the last two references to Hamlet's "youth" are also found in the First Quarto; a fact which, when we consider the many changes thought necessary by Shakspeare in other expressions touching Hamlet's age, goes far to show that the author, when re-writing the play, and making the hero much older than at first, did not feel called on to make any alteration on this head.

In many other places as well as in *Hamlet*, Shakspeare shows that he at any rate could regard a man of thirty as still young.¹ In *Troilus and Cressida*, Paris is "young lord Paris," although the action of the play, embracing as it does the death of Hector, is conversant with the tenth year of the siege of Troy, which would make "young lord Paris" at least thirty years old.

Again in *Macbeth* "young Siward" is so called in the stage directions all through, and apparently only because his father happens to be Siward as well—for he is described as having attained manhood at his death :

"Your son, my lord, has paid a soldier's debt :
He only lived but till he was a man ;
The which, no sooner had his prowess confirm'd
In the unshrinking station where he fought,
But like a man he died."

And, for all that, he was "young Siward," while Hamlet, forsooth, because called young, can only be a boy, in spite of the Grave-digger's emphatic assertion in the fifth act that he was thirty years of age, and his allusion to him in almost the same breath as "young Hamlet."

Shakspeare himself would seem to have looked on thirty as the very flower of young manhood. For example, in *All's Well* (Act IV. sc. v.), Lafen, in speaking of the old King who has been cured of his malady, says :

"His highness comes post from Marseilles, of as able body as when he numbered thirty."

And again in *Much Ado* we read—as pointed out by Prof. Dowden :²

"How giddily 'a turns about all the hot bloods between fourteen and five-and-thirty."

The third objection to Hamlet's being thirty, is one in support of which Mr Minto is the chief champion. This critic is evidently a believer that, even in early Danish times, the King could do no

¹ Cf. "When we say a man is young, we mean that his age is yet but a small part of that which usually men attain to."—Locke.

² *Academy*, Dec. 1875.

wrong, and takes for granted a good deal that the royal hypocrite and murderer gives utterance to, especially when it happens to suit the theory which he so vigorously contends for. And, strange to say, he is not without support in this contention: for Mr Marshall¹ states that "the most material objection against Hamlet's being more than between twenty and twenty-three years of age is, that if he were older his mother could scarcely have been the object of such a passion as that of Claudius."

Now surely these critics have not read the character of Claudius aright—on whose every feature hypocrite is indelibly stamped—when they suggest, and apparently with seriousness, that Claudius's own statements in reference to the Queen, as for example:

"She's so conjunctive to my life and soul,
That as the star moves not but in his sphere,
I could not but by her" (Act IV. sc. vii.)—

are to be taken as conclusive on the subject; as if the context in the passage relied on by these critics did not tell us that at the moment the lines are spoken, this King was treacherously inciting Laertes to slay his own nephew, the Danish Prince!

That it was *not* for love of Gertrude that Claudius killed his brother, will be plain to any one who reads his soliloquy before praying, in the third act (scene iii.), one of the remarkably few occasions in the whole play on which Claudius is touched by a passing remorse, and where he may, for that reason, be looked upon as speaking the truth more than at other times.

"Since I am still possessed
Of those effects for which I did the murder,
My crown, mine own ambition, and my queen"—

is Claudius's *own* account of what drove him to fratricide; and the collocation significantly points to the fact that the Queen, at any rate, was not his chief inducement to crime.

These commentators seem to leave quite out of their consideration Hamlet's speech to his mother in the closet scene:

"You cannot call it love: for at your age,
The heyday in the blood is tame," etc.

¹ See Furness, *Hamlet*, p. 392.

The fourth objection to Hamlet's being thirty, or in fact more than twenty-one, is, that it adds some improbability to the succession of Claudius.

Now we have a good deal of scattered information given us in the course of the drama as to what it was that regulated the succession to the throne. The result to be gathered from it is, that the reigning monarch had during his life a power of publicly naming his successor, selecting if possible a member of the family, and that on the death of a king, the person so nominated succeeded to the vacant throne, provided that his election was ratified by the "main voice of Denmark." If a king died without naming a successor—as in all probability happened in the case of the elder Hamlet, owing to the unexpected nature of his death—it became a matter purely of election, the candidates being chosen from the relations of the late king.

We have no less than two instances of this practice of naming a successor in the play itself. Claudius (Act I. sc. ii.) proclaims Hamlet his successor :

"for let the world take note
You are the most immediate to our throne—"

a declaration which is afterwards referred to by Rosencrantz (Act III. sc. ii.), when, astonished at the Prince's saying that he lacked advancement, he asks :

"How can that be, when you have the voice of the King himself for your succession in Denmark?"

Again, Hamlet himself when dying in the last scene, says :

"But I do prophesy the election lights
On Fortinbras; he has my dying voice:"

Hamlet's indignation against Claudius as King—which is a feature in the Prince's character wholly independent of his hatred of him as the supposed murderer of his father—cannot satisfactorily be explained if we assume that he was under twenty-one. The statement he makes to Horatio (Act V. sc. ii.) that Claudius had

"popped in between the election and his hopes,"

points rather to the fact that he was in every way fitted to be King,

than that he was under age, and therefore passed over : and also, I think, suggests that there had been a rather close election, the final result of which was not improbably brought about by corrupt influence on the part of the successful Claudius. The speech delivered by Claudius at the opening of Act I. sc. ii. is plainly an election speech of thanks to those to whom he was indebted for his elevation. Those who lightly charge Shakspeare with carelessness and inconsistency will perhaps be inclined in some measure to alter their opinion on reading the following passage from the work of a Danish historian of eminence, C. F. Allen, on the subject of the succession of the early kings in Denmark : " Lorsque le throne devenait vacant par la mort du roi, le peuple se réuissait dans les ' Things ' (assemblées) pour élire un nouveau souverain. En general on choisissait le plus proche des agnats ou parents de la ligne masculine ; cependant le droit d'hérédité seul ne suffisait jamais à conférer l'autorité royale. C'est seulement après avoir été élu et acclamé par tous les hommes libres du pays que le roi était tenu pour le souverain legitime." ¹

Next, it is said that the youth of the personages coeval with Hamlet is frequently referred to in the play, and that therefore Hamlet himself must have been a very young man ; and " young Fortinbras " and " young Laertes " are adduced to bear out the theory. But a careful perusal of the play will show that " young Fortinbras " (like " young Siward " in *Macbeth*) is only so called to distinguish him from his father, the elder Fortinbras, who was slain by old Hamlet (Act I. sc. i.) ; and also, perhaps, to mark a contrast between him and his uncle " old Norway." " Young Laertes," for a somewhat similar reason, is so called in contrast to his gray-beard father : and even if this were not so, I cannot see why it should involve the necessity of Hamlet's being of the same age as these characters ; neither of them being school-fellows of his, as far as we know from anything in the play. But, singularly enough, the play does contain allusion to other companions of Hamlet, namely, to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, whom the King addresses (Act II. sc. ii.) as having been brought up along with the Prince :

¹ *Histoire de Danemark*—traduit par Beauvois, Copenhague, 1878, vol. i. p. 38.

"I entreat you both
That being of¹ so young days brought up with him,
And sith so neighbour'd to his youth and haviour"—

but whose ages, as in Horatio's case, have not been relied on as throwing any light on the matter in question.

The Queen's observations to them, however, as contained in the speech which follows the lines quoted, seems to indicate that they were not as young as generally supposed :

"And sure I am two *men* there are not living
To whom he more adheres."

I have already pointed out that Horatio, the favourite companion and friend of Hamlet, was in every sense a man in years as well as character ; and I think that he has better claims to be regarded as of an age more nearly approaching that of Hamlet than any other of the Prince's comrades.

But one objection remains to be disposed of before we can, without challenge, consider ourselves entitled to call Hamlet a man of thirty. It is the difficulty of supposing that Laertes's language, in reference to Hamlet's attentions to his sister, could in any sense be looked on as intended to describe the love of a man of that age.

"For Hamlet, and the trifling of his favours,
Hold it a fashion, and a toy in blood :
A violet in the youth of primy nature,
Forward, not permanent, sweet, not lasting," etc.

Act I. sc. ii.

In spite of the forced interpretation sought to be put on these lines, to my mind they simply mean, when paraphrased : "Beware of Hamlet—he is only trifling—he can't marry you, not being his own master, and his attentions will last no longer than an early violet in spring, sure to be killed by the first frost." How could Laertes more successfully translate such thoughts, than by using the words put into his mouth by the poet ? And does he not repeat the very same idea very shortly afterwards in the words :

"The canker galls the infants of the spring."

¹ With this use of "of", compare "one that I brought up of a puppy."
—*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act IV. sc. iv.

The line which seems to have caused the chief difficulty :

“ A violet in the youth of primy nature,”

means, after all, nothing more than a violet in the early days of spring¹—“youth” in the passage being employed in the same sense as in *The Merchant*, Act III. ii. 224 :

“ If that the youth of my new interest here
Have power to bid you welcome,”

and plainly not in reference to the youth of Hamlet. Mr Minto's idea, already quoted, as to “the fragrance” which the words carry “when applied to the first love of *budding* youth” is pretty, but singularly unfortunate when we remember, as he apparently did not, that Ophelia in alluding to Hamlet, speaks of—

“That unmatch'd form and stature of *blown* youth.”

Act III. sc i.

The “youth” mentioned at the end of Laertes's speech is shown by the context to refer to Ophelia's tender years, which were in danger of “contagious blastments,” and not to Hamlet's.

It may be further urged, however, by my opponents, that Laertes's words, in the same scene :

“ For nature, crescent, does not grow alone
In thews, and bulk ; but, as this temple waxes,
The inward service of mind and soul
Grows wide withall,” etc.,

point distinctly to the fact of Hamlet's being a growing youth ; but I think on examination it will be found that the lines will not really bear this interpretation. The words “thews and bulk” would seem to point rather to the development of the man than the boy, and are descriptive of the hardening and thickening of muscle and sinew, and denote the change and growth which comes after, rather than that which precedes, the age of thirty. The use of “thews” is peculiar in Shakspeare, but its significance in 2 *Hen. IV.* III. ii. 276, may be fairly relied on in support of the view I take.

¹ “Primy” is simply the adjective formed from “Prime,” meaning Spring. Compare “Flowers of prime,” O. Pl. II. 162, and “Making two Summers, Autumns, Winters, primes,” Fansh. *Lusiad.* v. 15, both quoted by Nares, who shows that Prime-time is used by old English writers for Spring-time, being, in fact, the equivalent of the French “Printemps.” Ital. *prima vera*.

Fulstaff. "Care I for the limb, the thewes, the stature, bulk, and big assemblance of a *man*?"

In addition, we must not leave out of sight the fact that Laertes, with brotherly anxiety,¹ is endeavouring to represent Hamlet as a younger and more irresponsible person than he really was, for the purpose of turning Ophelia from his attentions. He tells her in language which is perfectly general, that changes of mind keep pace with changes in the body, and then tries, for the purposes of his argument, to make the likelihood of change of mind in Hamlet's case the greater, by exaggerating the bodily change by which that change of mind must necessarily be accompanied; for we know that no great alteration in the direction of bulk was imminent, inasmuch as Hamlet² was already "fat and scant of breath."

¹ The keynote of Laertes's speech is after all: "He may not as unvalued persons do, Carve for himself." The allusions to Hamlet's youth and growing in the passage would seem to be of an entirely secondary importance, and introduced for the purpose of showing how completely he was at the mercy of others, and how little depended on his own choice, and not in any sense intended to settle the question of his actual age.

Restrictions in the matter of choice and action are, no doubt, and have at all times been, the common incidents of youth. And all that Laertes does, is, in his zeal for his sister's welfare, to confuse the *common* incidents of youth with the *peculiar* legal incidents, under the Danish code, of Hamlet's status as Crown Prince or King elect.

Ophelia herself, later on in the play, shows plainly enough the effect produced in *her* mind by the special pleading of her brother on this occasion, when she alludes to the "blowne youth" of her lover. She—"green girl" though she was—could not be persuaded that Hamlet was the irresponsible and unthinking boy her relatives wished to make him.

But even if we admit for the moment that the evidence of Laertes, as contained in this passage, is, that Hamlet was a very young man (a conclusion in which I by no means concur), I say that his testimony cannot be taken to outweigh the vast and—to my mind—overwhelming body of testimony furnished by the other characters on the point, more especially when it is possible, without any excessive violence of construction, to explain the passage in a way to make it consistent with the other evidence, by regarding it as an instance of that justifiable impetuosity which from beginning to end of the tragedy forms so marked a feature in the character of Laertes.

² No reliance can be placed on the words "this too, too solid flesh," for the purpose of showing what was the appearance of the hero of the Second Quarto—the reading there being "this too, too sallied flesh," which points to a very different idea. The First Quarto reads, "this too much grieved & sallied flesh," which shows more clearly what was in the poet's mind. "Sallied" does not occur, so far as I am aware, in the early glossaries, although, curiously enough, the noun from which it is derived is found in the Second Quarto: "You laying these slight sallies on my sonne." "Sallies" may have been an earlier form of "Sullies," the word by which it is represented in the three first folios—but query?

In conclusion, it would seem that the tendency of many of those who have written on Hamlet, has been rather to seek out difficulties than to make any honest attempt at getting over them when they arise: and the melancholy truth forces itself upon us, that Dante was not the only author to whom the words of Voltaire apply: "Il a aussi des commentateurs; c'est peut-être encore une raison de plus pour n'être pas compris." For my own part, I shall be satisfied if I have accomplished anything by my suggestions calculated to clear the character of Shakspeare from a charge which, to my eyes at least, would seem to have been somewhat inconsiderately and undeservedly laid at his door.

EDWARD SULLIVAN.

The following parallel passages, taken from Quartos 1 and 2, will show at a glance some of the chief changes effected by Shakspeare when re-writing *Hamlet*.

The references are, in the first instance, to the acts and scenes, as given in modern editions—in the second to the parallel edition of the Quartos of 1603 and 1604 of S. Timmins (Lond. 1860).

<i>King.</i> And now princely <i>Sonne Hamlet</i> .	And now my cosin <i>Hamlet</i> , & my <i>Sonne</i> . I. ii. Par. H. p. 9.
<i>King.</i> This shewes a loving care in you <i>Sonne Hamlet</i> .	'Tis sweet & commendable in yr nature, <i>Hamlet</i> . I. ii. Par. H. p. 9.
<i>King.</i> Spoke like a kinde & a most loving sonne.	Why 'tis a loving and a fair reply. I. ii. Par. H. p. 10.
<i>Ofelia.</i> O <i>yong prince Hamlet</i> , the only floure of Denmark.	<i>Lord Hamlet</i> with his doublet all unbrac'd. II. i. Par. H. p. 28.
" { Great God of heaven, what a quick change is this! The Courtier, Scholler, Souldier, all in him, All dasht & splintered thence," etc. Par. H. p. 37.	{ O what a noble mind is here orethrowne, The Courtier's, Souldier's, Scholler's, eye, tongue, sword, etc. That unmatcht forme, & stature of <i>blowne youth</i> . III. ii. Par. H. p. 46.
<i>King.</i> How now, <i>son Hamlet</i> , how fare you? etc. Par. H. 49.	How fares our <i>cousin Hamlet</i> ? III. ii. Par. H. p. 50.
<i>Duke.</i> Full <i>fortie</i> years are past, their date is gone.	<i>P. King.</i> Full <i>thirtie</i> times hath <i>Phœbus</i> cart, etc. III. ii. Par. H. 51.

Ham. Mouse-trap : mary how tragically : this play is the image of a murder done in Guyana, Albertus was the Duke's name, his wife Babtista, *Father*, it is a knavish peece a worke : etc.

Ham. Mother you have my father much offended.

Q. How now *boy*?

[No passage to correspond.]

[No passage to correspond.]

King. Now *sonne Hamlet*, where is this dead body?

Ham. At supper.

King. But *sonne Hamlet*, where is this body?

Ham. In heaven, etc.

King. Well *sonne Hamlet*, we in care of you but specially in tender preservation of yr health.

Clowne. Look you, here's a scull hath bin here this *dozen* yeare.
Par. H. 86.

Enter *King*, *Queene*, *Laertes*, etc.

King. Now *sonne H.* we have laid upon yr head.

[Nothing to correspond.]

The Mouse trap, mary how tropically, this play is the image of a murther doone in Vienna, Gonzago is the Duke's name, his wife Babtista, you shall see anon, 'tis a knavish peece of worke, but what of that? *Your Majestie*, & wee that have, etc.
III. ii. Par. H. 53.

Ger. Why how now, *Hamlet*?
III. iv. Par. H. 60.

Ham. You cannot call it love, hat yr age,
The hey day in the blood is tame, its humble. III. iv.
Par. H. 62.

King. How dangerous is it that *this man* goes loose. IV. iii.
Par. H. 68.

Now *Hamlet*, where's Polonius?

At supper. IV. iii. Par. H. 68.
Where is Polonius?

In heaven. IV. iii. Par. H. 69.
Hamlet this deede for thine especiall safety
Which we do tender.

II. iii. Par. H. 69.

Heer's a scull now hath lyen you i'th earth 23 yeares.
V. i. Par. H. 87.

Come *Hamlet*, come & take this hand from me. V. ii.
Par. H. 95.

Q. He's fat & scant of breath.
V. ii. Par. H. 37.

[Laertes's speech to Ophelia on 'Hamlet and the trifling of his fauour . . . A Violet in the youth of primy nature,' on 'nature cressant' &c., I. iii. 5-12, have no corresponding passages in Qr.]

S C R A P S.

Beatrice: *Much Ado*, III. i. 2, &c. "*Donna Beatrice*, Dame *Bettrice*, it is taken in mockerie, and ironically, for an idle huswife." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.

bottom of thread, sb. *Shrew*, IV. iii. 138. "*Gemo di filo*, a clew or *bottom of thrid*." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*. "*Gliomarto*, a clue or *bottom of thread*."—*ib*.

brach, sb. 1 *Henry IV.*, III. i. 240. 1617, *Rider's Dictionarie*, by F. Holyoke. A bitch, or *brach*. *Canis fœmina*.

chinks, sb. money. *Rom. and Jul.* I. v. 119. "*Dindi*, thence, from thence. Also a childish word for money, as we say *chinke*." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.

hem: cry *hem*. *Much Ado*, V. i. 16. *Admurmuratio*, *onis*, f. "A murmuring, a *hemming*, a voice, a gesture, shewing the liking of a thing." 1617. *Rider's Dict.*, by F. Holyoke.

incision: make incision, *L. L. Lost*, IV. iii. 97, &c. "*Tagliare*, to cut . . . to slash, to gash . . . to carue, or to *make incision*." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.

incision, n. 2 *Hen. IV.* II. iv. 10. "in the cure of the carbuncle . . . forget not eight speciall thinges . . . The seuenth is to woorke by *incision* . . . *thincision* must be made in the lowest place, so that therby the matter maie the soner auoide, and muste be made in the forme croked, if it bee not in a place full of senewes: if it be, then make the *incision* long." 1573. W. Bullein. *A Dialogue*.

in print: ("I loue a ballet *in print*, a life, for then we are sure they are true.") *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 263-4. "*Roger*. Well sir, our Iohns booke shal confounde your talke, for I did see it in writtyng; and that which is written, I wil beleue and followe by Gods grace, and no more." 1573. W. Bullein. *A Dialogue*. G. j. back.

tricksie, a. *Tempest*, V. 226. "*Snellamente*, swiftlie, nimblie, fleetlie, *tricksie*, light-footed, quick in motion, speedilie." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*. "*Trincato*, fine, neate, snug, feat, *trickesie*, trim, craftie, wily, slie, subtilie, spruse."—*ib*.

unresolved, not determined. *Rich. III.* IV. iv. 436. "*Inresoluto*, irresolut, *vnresolved*." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.

GENERAL INDEX.

By W. M. WOOD.

[*Note*.—In this Index the names of the authors of papers or articles are printed in SMALL CAPITALS, and the full pagination is added. The titles of books quoted are given within double “turned commas.” The titles of all plays are in *italics*. The Scraps are printed in *italics*, and where the meaning is added, that meaning is given within single ‘turned comma.’ The books quoted from in the Scraps are not mentioned in this Index.]

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APPENDIX I.

THE NUMBER OF LINES IN SHAKSPERE'S WORKS.

(TABLES COMPILED BY MISS TEENA ROCHFORD SMITH AND F. J. FURNIVALL,
FROM THE "GLOBE" EDITION, CORRECTED.)

PLAYS.				
1. Hamlet	3931	<i>Brought up</i>	100,679	
2. Richard III.	3619	35. Mids. N. Dream	2174	
3. Troilus and Cressida	3496	36. Macbeth	2108	
4. 2 Henry IV.	3446	37. Tempest	2064	
5. Coriolanus	3410	38. Comedy of Errors	1778	
6. Henry V.	3380	Total (<i>Genuine & Spurious</i>)	108,803	
7. Cymbeline	3339			
8. King Lear	3334	<i>Deduct, as other men's, in</i>		
9. Othello	3316	Pericles	1634	
10. 1 Henry IV.	3176	Titus Andronicus	2500	
11. 2 Henry VI.	3162	Timon	1100	
12. Winter's Tale	3075	Shrew	1339	
13. Antony and Cleopatra	3063	1 Henry VI.	2540	
14. Romeo and Juliet	3052	2 Noble Kinsmen	1750	
15. Merry Wives	3018	Henry VIII.	1653½	
16. All's Well	2966	3 Henry VI.	339	
17. 3 Henry VI.	2904	2 Henry VI.	766	
18. As you like it	2857	Tr. & Cress.	317½	108,803
19. Much Ado	2826		13,939	13,939
20. Henry VIII.	2822	<i>Dramas</i>		94,864
21. Measure for Measure	2821	<i>Poems</i>		5,599
22. Two Noble Kinsmen	2818	<i>Total, Genuine</i>		100,463
23. Love's Labour's Lost	2789			
24. Richard II.	2756	POEMS.		
25. Twelfth Night	2690	Venus and Adonis	1194	
26. 1 Henry VI.	2677	Lucrece	1855	
27. Merchant of Venice	2660	Sonnets	2154	
28. Taming of the Shrew	2649	Lovers' Complaint	329	
29. King John	2570	Phoenix and Turtle	67	
30. Titus Andronicus	2523		5599	
31. Julius Cæsar	2478			
32. Pericles	2389	Passionate Pilgrim	210	
33. Timon	2373	Sonnets to Sundry Notes	220	
34. Two Gent. of Verona	2294		430	
<i>Carried forward</i>	100,679			

All's Well.			Antony & Cleopatra.			As you like it.		
I.	i.	244	<i>Br. up</i>	1329	1292	<i>Br. up</i>	887	621
	ii.	76	III.	ii.	66	II.	v.	65
	iii.	262		iii.	51		vi.	19
		582		iv.	38		vii.	200
II.	i.	213		v.	25			550
	ii.	74		vi.	98	III.	i.	18
	iii.	316 ¹		vii.	82		ii.	457 ³
	iv.	57		viii.	6		iii.	109
	v.	97		ix.	4		iv.	62
		757		x.	37		v.	139
III.	i.	23		xi.	74			785
	ii.	132		xii.	36	IV.	i.	224
	iii.	11		xiii.	201		ii.	19
	iv.	42			755		iii.	184
	v.	104	IV.	i.	16			427
	vi.	125		ii.	45	V.	i.	69
	vii.	48		iii.	23		ii.	134
		485		iv.	38		iii.	43
IV.	i.	105		v.	17		iv.	204
	ii.	76		vi.	39	Epilog.	24	474
	iii.	376		vii.	16			2857 2857
	iv.	36		viii.	39			
	v.	112		ix.	34			
		705		x.	9	Coriolanus.		
V.	i.	38		xi.	4	I.	i.	283
	ii.	59		xii.	49		ii.	38
	iii.	340		xiii.	10		iii.	124
		437		xiv.	140		iv.	63
		2966 2966		xv.	91		v.	29
Antony & Cleopatra.					570		vi.	87
I.	i.	62	V.	i.	77		vii.	7
	ii.	204		ii.	369		viii.	15
	iii.	105			446		ix.	94
	iv.	84			3063 3063		x.	33
	v.	78						773
		533	As you like it.			II.	i.	286
II.	i.	52	I.	i.	180		ii.	164
	ii.	250		ii.	301		iii.	271
	iii.	42		iii.	140			721
	iv.	10			621	III.	i.	336
	v.	119	II.	i.	69		ii.	145
	vi.	145		ii.	21		iii.	143
	vii.	141 ²		iii.	76			624
		759		iv.	100	IV.	i.	58
III.	i.	37					ii.	54
							iii.	57
<i>Forward</i>		1329 1292	<i>Forward</i>		887 621	<i>Forward</i>		2287 2118

¹ l. 50, Globe, p. 262, col. i, should be 49. ² l. 120 Gl. 924, i, should be 119.³ l. 450 Gl. should be 451 p. 218. ii.

<i>Coriolanus.</i>			<i>Cymbeline.</i>			<i>Hamlet.</i>		
<i>Brt. up</i>	2287	2118	<i>Brt. up</i>	1024	743	<i>Brt. up</i>	2966	2532
IV. iv.	26		II. iv.	152		IV. vi.	34	
v.	251		v	35	468	vii.	195	663
vi.	161		III. i.	87		V. i.	322	
vii.	57	664	ii.	84		ii.	414	736
V. i.	74		iii.	107			3931	3931
ii.	117		iv.	196				
iii.	209		v.	168				
iv.	65		vi.	95				
v.	7		vii.	16	753			
vi.	156	628	IV. i.	27				
	3410	3410	ii.	403				
			iii.	46				
			iv.	54	530			
			V. i.	33				
			ii.	18				
			iii.	94				
			iv.	215				
			v.	485	845			
				3339	3339			
<i>Comedy of Errors.</i>			<i>Hamlet.</i>			<i>1 Henry IV.</i>		
I. i.	159		I. i.	175		I. i.	108	
ii.	105	264	ii.	258		ii.	240 ⁴	
II. i.	116		iii.	136		iii.	302	650
ii.	221	337	iv.	91		IV. i.	106	
III. i.	123		v.	191	851	ii.	118	
ii.	190	313	II. i.	119		iii.	120	
IV. i.	113		ii.	634	753	iv.	602	946
ii.	66		III. i.	196		i.	271	
iii.	97		ii.	417		ii.	180	
iv.	162	438	iii.	98		iii.	230	681
V. i.	426 ¹	426	iv.	217	928	IV. i.	136	
	1778	1778	IV. i.	45		ii.	86	
			ii.	33		iii.	113	
			iii.	70		iv.	41	376
			iv.	66		V. i.	144	
			v.	220 ³		ii.	101	
						iii.	65	
						iv.	169	
						v.	44	523
							3176	3176
<i>Cymbeline.</i>			<i>2 Henry IV.</i>			<i>Ind.</i>		
I. i.	178		Ind.	40	40			
ii.	43		I. i.	215				
iii.	40		ii.	278				
iv.	185		iii.	110	603			
v.	87		II. i.	209				
vi.	210	743	ii.	196				
II. i.	70							
ii.	51							
iii.	160 ²							
<i>Forward</i>	1024	743	<i>Forward</i>	2966	2532	<i>Forward</i>	1048	643

¹ l. 240 in Gl., p. 108. i, should be 241.

² l. 30 Gl. should be 29, p. 952. ii.

³ l. 57 Gl. p. 836. i, is prose, and 2 lines; l. 75-6 Gl. are verse, and 1 line; 200 Gl. p. 837. ii, should be 201.

⁴ l. 220 Gl. should be 219, p. 384. ii.

<i>2 Henry IV.</i>			<i>Henry V.</i>			<i>1 Henry VI.</i>		
<i>Br. up</i>	1048	643	<i>Br. up</i>	2228	1839	<i>Br. up</i>	2569	2116
II. iii.	68		IV. iii.	132		V. v.	108	561
iv.	421	894	iv.	82			2677	2677
III. i.	108		v.	23				
ii.	358	466	vi.	38				
IV. i.	228		vii.	191				
ii.	123		viii.	131	986			
iii.	142		Prolog 5.	45	45			
iv.	132		V. i.	94				
v.	241	866	ii.	402 ¹	496			
V. i.	98		Epilog	14	14			
ii.	145			3380	3380			
iii.	147							
iv.	35							
v.	115	540						
Epilog.	37	37						
	3446	3446						
<i>Henry V.</i>			<i>1 Henry VI.</i>			<i>2 Henry VI.</i>		
Prolog 1.	34	34	I. i.	177		I. i.	259	
I. i.	98		ii.	150		ii.	107	
ii.	310	408	iii.	91		iii.	226	
Prolog 2.	42	42	iv.	111		iv.	84	676
II. i.	133		v.	39				
ii.	193		vi.	31	599	II. i.	205	
iii.	66		II. i.	81		ii.	82	
iv.	146	538	ii.	60		iii.	108	
Prolog 3.	35	35	iii.	82		iv.	110	505
III. i.	34		iv. (S)	134				
ii.	153		v.	129	486	III. i.	383	
iii.	58		III. i.	201		ii.	412	
iv.	66		ii.	137		iii.	33	828
v.	68		iii.	91				
vi.	181		iv.	45	474	IV. i.	147	
vii.	169	729	IV. i.	194		ii.	200	
Prolog 4.	53	53	ii.	56		iii.	20	
IV. i.	326		iii.	53		iv.	60	
ii.	63		iv.	46		v.	13	
			v.	55		vi.	18	
			vi.	57		vii.	145	
			vii.	96	557	viii.	72	
			V. i.	62		ix.	49	
			ii.	21		x.	90	814
			iii.	195		V. i.	216	
			iv.	175		ii.	90	
						iii.	33	339
							3162	3162
<i>Forward</i>			<i>Forward</i>			<i>3 Henry VI.</i>		
	2228	1839		2569	2116	I. i.	273	
						ii.	75 ²	
						iii.	52	
						iv.	180	580
							580	580

Probably, only 134
Shaksp.'s. Allow 137.

¹ 1. 201 Gl., p. 466. i, is numberd 301.

² 1. 70 in Gl. should be 69, p. 529. ii.

<i>(King) Lear.</i>			<i>Macbeth.</i>			<i>Merchant of Venice.</i>		
<i>Br. up</i>	2928	2928	<i>Br. up</i>	1031	811	I. i.	186 ⁵	
V. i.	69		III. iv.	144		ii.	147	
ii.	11		v.	36		iii.	182	515
iii.	326	406	vi.	49	449	II. i.	46	
	<u>3334</u>	<u>3334</u>	IV. i.	156		ii.	215	
			ii.	85		iii.	21	
			iii.	240	481	iv.	40	
Love's Labour's Lost.			V. i.	87		v.	57	
I. i.	318 ¹		ii.	31		vi.	68	
ii.	192	510	iii.	62		vii.	79	
II. i.	258 ²	258	iv.	21		viii.	53	
III. i.	207	207	v.	52		ix.	101	680
IV. i.	151		vi.	10		III. i.	136	
ii.	173		vii.	29		ii.	330 ⁶	
iii.	386	710	viii.	75	367	iii.	36	
V. i.	162			<u>³2108</u>	<u>2108</u>	iv.	84	
ii.	942	1104				v.	96 ⁷	682
	<u>2789</u>	<u>2789</u>	Measure for Measure.			IV. i.	457	
			I. i.	84		ii.	19	476
			ii.	198		V. i.	307	307
			iii.	54			<u>2660</u>	<u>2660</u>
			iv.	90	426			
Macbeth.			II. i.	300 ⁴				
I. i.	12		ii.	187		Merry Wives.		
ii.	67		iii.	42		I. i.	326	
iii.	156		iv.	187	716	ii.	13	
iv.	58		III. i.	281		iii.	114	
v.	74		ii.	296	577	iv.	180	633
vi.	31		IV. i.	76		II. i.	248	
vii.	82	480	ii.	226		ii.	329	
II. i.	64		iii.	190		iii.	102	679
ii.	74		iv.	37		III. i.	129	
iii.	152		v.	13		ii.	93	
iv.	41	331	vi.	15	557	iii.	260	
III. i.	142		V. i.	545	545	iv.	115	
ii.	56			<u>2821</u>	<u>2821</u>	v.	155	752
iii.	22					<i>Forward</i>	2064	2064
<i>Forward</i>	1031	811						

† 'Don Adriano de Armado', p. 137. ii, l. 281 is wrongly not counted as a line.

² l. 250 in *Globe* should be 251.³ Or 2105 if I, i. 8-10, p. 788. i, are 1 line, and III. i. 18-19, p. 796. ii, are 1 line.⁴ l. 280 *Gl.*, p. 73. i, should be 290.⁵ l. 120 *Gl.*, p. 182. i, should be 121.⁶ l. 280 *Gl.*, p. 195. ii, should be 281.⁷ l. 70 *Gl.*, p. 197. i, should be 71.

<i>Merry Wives.</i>				<i>Much Ado.</i>				<i>Pericles.</i>			
<i>Br. up</i>	2064	2064		<i>Br. up</i>	1424	1171		<i>Br. up</i>	485	485	
IV. i.	87			III. iii.	193			Gower 2.	40	40	
ii.	240			iv.	99			II. i.	173 ⁴		
iii.	14			v.	69	614		ii.	59		
iv.	91 ¹			IV. i.	340			iii.	116		
v.	131			ii.	90	430		iv.	58		
vi.	55	618		V. i.	341			v.	93	499	
V. i.	32			ii.	106			Gower 3.	60	60	
ii.	16			iii.	33			III. i. (S)	82		
iii.	25 ²			iv.	131	611		ii. (S)	111		
iv.	4				2826	2826		iii. (S)	41		
v.	259	336						iv. (S)	18	252	
	3018	3018						Gower 4.	52	52	
<i>Mids. N. Dream.</i>				<i>Othello.</i>							
I. i.	251			I. i.	184			IV. i. (S)	103		
ii.	114	365		ii.	99			ii.	163		
II. i.	268			iii.	410	693		iii. (S)	51		
ii.	156	424		II. i.	321			iv.	51		
III. i.	206			ii.	13			v.	10		
ii.	463	669		iii.	394	728		vi.	212	590	
IV. i.	225			III. i.	58			Gower 5.	24	24	
ii.	46	271		ii.	6			V. i. (S)	265		
V. i.	445	445		iii.	479			ii.	20 ⁵		
	2174	2174		iv.	201	744		iii. (S)	84 ⁶	369	
<i>Much Ado.</i>								Epilog			
I. i.	330			IV. i.	293				18	18	
ii.	29			ii.	252				2389	2389	
iii.	77	436		iii.	106	651					
II. i.	404 ³			V. i.	129						
ii.	58			ii.	371	500					
iii.	273	735			3316	3316					
III. i.	116			<i>Pericles.</i>				<i>Richard II.</i>			
ii.	137			Gower 1.	42	42		I. i.	205		
				I. i.	171			ii.	74		
<i>Forward</i>	1424	1171		ii.	124			iii.	309		
				iii.	40			iv.	65	653	
				iv.	108	443		II. i.	300		
								ii.	149		
				<i>Forward</i>	485	485		<i>Forward</i>	1102	653	

¹ p. 61, col. ii : l. 30 Gl. is one too low. ² The last line, p. 64. ii, Gl., is verse.

³ l. 391 Gl., p. 117. ii, should be 392.

⁴ l. 101 Gl., p. 982. ii, should be 102.

⁵ Globe, p. 998. i, mislines sc. ii as part of i ; its 270, 280 should be 5, 15.

⁶ Gl., p. 999. ii, numbers the Epilog as part of V. iii ; its 91, 100 should be 7, 17.

<i>Richard II.</i>			
<i>Br. up</i>	1102	653	
II. iii.	171		
iv.	24	644	
III. i.	44		
ii.	218		
iii.	209		
iv.	107	578	
IV. i.	334	334	
V. i.	102		
ii.	117		
iii.	146		
iv.	11		
v.	119		
vi.	52	547	
	<u>2756</u>	<u>2756</u>	

<i>Richard III.</i>			
I. i.	162		
ii.	264		
iii.	356		
iv.	290	1072	
II. i.	140		
ii.	154		
iii.	47		
iv.	73	414	
III. i.	200		
ii.	124		
iii.	25		
iv.	109		
v.	109		
vi.	14		
vii.	247	828	
IV. i.	104		
ii.	126		
iii.	57		
iv.	540		
v.	20	847	
<i>Forward</i>	3161	3161	

<i>Richard III.</i>			
<i>Br. up</i>	3161	3161	
V. i.	29		
ii.	24		
iii.	351		
iv.	13		
v.	41	458	
	<u>3619</u>	<u>3619</u>	

Romeo and Juliet.

Prolog	14	14	
I. i.	244		
ii.	106		
iii.	106		
iv.	114		
v.	146	716	
Prolog	14	14	
II. i.	42		
ii.	190		
iii.	94		
iv.	233		
v.	80		
vi.	37	676	
III. i.	202		
ii.	143		
iii.	175		
iv.	36		
v.	241 ¹	797	
IV. i.	126		
ii.	47		
iii.	58		
iv.	28		
v.	150	409	
V. i.	86		
ii.	30		
iii.	310	426	
	<u>3052</u>	<u>3052</u>	

Taming of the Shrew.

Ind. i.	138		
ii.	147	285	
I. i.	259		
ii.	282	541	
II. i.	412 ²	412	
III. i.	92		
ii. (S)	254	346	
IV. i. (S)	214 ³		
ii.	120		
iii. (S)	198		
iv.	109		
v. (S)	79	720	
V. i.	156		
ii. (S)	189	345	
	<u>2649</u>	<u>2649</u>	

Of these 2649, probably only 1310 are Shakspere's.

Tempest.

I. i.	71		
ii.	500 ⁴	571	
II. i.	327		
ii.	193 ⁵	520	
III. i.	96		
ii.	163 ⁶		
iii.	109	368	
IV. i.	267	267	
V. i.	318	318	
Epilog	20	20	
	<u>2064</u>	<u>2064</u>	

¹ 1. 70 Gl., p. 731. i, should be 69.³ p. 244. ii, Gl., mislines 189 as 199.⁵ 1. 160 G., p. 11. i, should be 161.² 1. 250 Gl., p. 238. i, should be 249.⁴ 1. 380 G., p. 5. ii, should be 379.⁶ 1. 50 G., p. 12. i, should be 51;

1. 156 Gl., p. 13. ii, is prose, 157-8; hence 1. 161 Gl. should be 163.

Timon of Athens.

I.	i.	294	
	ii.	257	551
II.	i.	35	
	ii.	242	277
III.	i.	66	
	ii.	94	
	iii.	42	
	iv.	119	
	v.	117	
	vi.	130 ¹	568
IV.	i.	41	
	ii.	50	
	iii.	543	634
V.	i.	231	
	ii.	17	
	iii.	10	
	iv.	85	343
		<u>2373</u>	<u>2373</u>

Probably, only $\frac{1}{2}$ Shakspere's.

Titus Andronicus.

I.	i.	495	495
II.	i.	135	
	ii.	26	
	iii.	306	
	iv.	57	524
III.	i.	301	
	ii.	85	386
IV.	i.	129	
	ii.	180	
	iii.	121	
	iv.	113	543
V.	i.	165	
	ii.	206	
	iii.	204	575
		<u>2523</u>	<u>2523</u>

Hardly any Shakspere's. Say 23 ls.

Troilus and Cressida.

Prolog. (not s.)		31	
I.	i.	119	832
	ii.	321	
	iii.	392	
II.	i.	142	632
	ii.	213	
	iii.	277	
III.	i.	172	708
	ii.	220	
	iii.	316	
IV.	i.	79	649
	ii.	115	
	iii.	12	
	iv.	150	
	v.	293	
V.	i.	106	644
	ii.	197	
	iii.	112	
	iv.	38	
	v.	47	
	vi.	31	
	vii.	24	
	viii.	22	
	ix.	10	
	x.	57	
		3496	3496

II. ii. 163 (half) to 167 and Act V, after iii. 28, are not Shakspere's.

Twelfth Night.

I.	i.	41
	ii.	64
	iii.	151
	iv.	42
	v.	330
		<u>628</u>

Forward 628 628

Twelfth Night.

Br. up	628	628
II. i.	49	
ii.	42	
iii.	208	
iv.	127	
v.	227	653
III. i.	176	
ii.	90	
iii.	48	
iv.	433	747
IV. i.	69	
ii.	141	
iii.	35	245
V. i.	417	417
	2690	2690

Two Gentlemen of Verona.

I.	i.	161	
	ii.	140	
	iii.	91	392
II.	i.	182	
	ii.	21	
	iii.	65	
	iv.	214	
	v.	63	
	vi.	43	
	vii.	90	678
III.	i.	397 ²	
	ii.	98	495
IV.	i.	76	
	ii.	140	
	iii.	47	
	iv.	210	473
V.	i.	12	
	ii.	56	
	iii.	15	
	iv.	173	256
		2294	2294

¹ l. 130 Gl., p. 754. ii, is 129. ² Gl. l. 199, p. 32. i, and 203 are prose, and count 2 each; thus line 210 Gl. should be line 212.

Two Noble Kinsmen.

Prolog	32	32
I. i. (S)	234	
ii. (S)	116	
iii. (S)	97	
iv. (S)	49	
v. (S)	16	512
II. i. (S)	62	
ii.	281	
iii.	83	
iv.	33	
v.	64	
vi.	39	562
III. i. (S)	123	
ii. (S)	38	
iii.	53	
iv.	26	
<i>Forward</i>	1346	1106

Two Noble Kinsmen.

<i>Br. up</i>	1346	1106
III. v.	162	
vi.	310	712
IV. i.	154	
ii.	156	
iii.	104	414
V. i. (S)	173	
ii.	112	
iii. (S.F)	146	
iv. (S.F)	137	568
Epilog.	18	18
	<u>2818</u>	<u>2818</u>
Say,	1068	Shak-
	spere's.	

Winter's Tale.

I. i.	50	
ii.	465	515
II. i.	199	
ii.	66	
iii.	207	472
III. i.	22	
ii.	244	
iii.	143	409
IV. i.	32	
ii.	62	
iii.	135	
iv.	874	1103
V. i.	233	
ii.	188	
iii.	155	576
	<u>3075</u>	<u>3075</u>

APPENDIX II.

INVENTORY, A.D. 1674, OF THE GOODS OF SIR JN.
BERNARD,

THE HUSBAND OF SHAKSPERE'S GRAND-DAUGHTER.

A true and perfect Inventory
of all and Singular the goods and chat-
tles of Sir John Bernard, Knight, late
of Northampton, deceased, taken and
vallued this 14th day of October 1674, by
Robert Ivery, Mathew Scott, and John
Symons, as followeth, viz.

Inprimis, wearing apparrell and ready money . . .	xvj ^{li} .
In the Parlour	
Item, tables, Carpetts, Chaires, Cushions, } Andirons, with a Couch Chaire . . . }	viiij ^{li} . xij ^s
Item, All the Pictures there	v ^{li} . x ^s
In the Studdy	
Item, desks, Chests, Cabbinetts, Trunkes } and boxes }	v ^{li} . j ^s . vj ^d
Item, all the Plate there	xxix ^{li} . x ^s .
Item, in Rings, Jewells, and a watch . . .	xxx ^{li} .
Item, All the Bookes	xxix ^{li} . xj ^s .
Item, An Obligacion from W ^m . Thursby Esq. .	CCCCCxxv ^{li} .
Item, a Rent at Stratford vpon Avon . . .	iiij ^{li} .
In the Hall	
Item, All the things there	iiij ^{li} . xv ^s .
In the Kitchen	
Item, Pewter, brasse, Iron	xviij ^{li} . j ^s .
Item, a Copper, with a grate vnder it . . .	v ^{li} .
In the Brewhouse	
Item, All tubbs and wodden vessels	iiij ^{li} . x ^s
In the best Chamber	
Item, hangings, chaires, Stooles, and a } Couch Chaire }	xiiij ^{li} .
Item, a Taffety Bedd ^e , with all things to it .	v ^{li} .
Item, pictures and Andirons	ij ^{li} .
In S ^t John's Chamber	
Item, hangings, Chaires and Stooles . . .	vj ^{li} .
Item, a bedd ^e and Silke quilt	viiij ^{li} .
In the Little Chamber	
Item, pictures, hangings, table and a Carpett .	vj ^{li} .
Item, a bedd ^e , Chaires & Stooles	x ^{li} .

In Mr Kents Chamber	
Item, a Chest of Drawers, Chaires, and Hangings	v ^{li} . xvj ^s
Item, a Bedd, bedd-Curtaines and vallence, at .	v ^{li} . vj ^s . vj ^d
In the Store Chamber	
Item, old hangings, Chaires, Stooles, and Cushions	v ^{li} .
Item, bedding, pillowes, bolsters, Carpetts and blanketts	viiij ^{li} . .
In the Lynnen Chamber	
Item, All the damaske, diaper, Flaxen and hempen Lynnen }	xxx ^{li} . .
In the Maides Chamber	
Item, a bedd, with all things to it, a Cupboard and Andirons }	v ^{li} . x ^s .
In the mens Chamber	
Item, two bedds, with all things to them . .	ix ^{li} . .
In the Sellars	
Item, Throales, hogshheads, white mettall boards and Tubbs }	iiij ^{li} . x ^s .
In the Stable	
Item, two Geldings, Saddles & bridles . .	xiiij ^{li} .
In the Coach house	
Item, one Coach and harness	xv ^{li} . .
Item, a waggon and Geares	vj ^{li} . .
Item, Iron beame, scales, Leaden weights, pillion Cloath }	ij ^{li} . vij ^s .
In the yard	
Item, wodd, Coales, and Lumber	v ^{li} . .
In the Corne Chamber	
Item, Sacks, boards, Iron Crowes and wooden ware }	i ^{li} . x ^s .
Item, old goods and Lumber at Stratford vpon Avon, at }	iiij ^{li} . .
Item, bedding at Knotton in Bedfordshire, at .	iiij ^{li} . .
Summa Totalis CMxLviiij ^{li} . x ^s .	

948. 10. 0.

Edm. Arnold. *Exhibitum erat hujusmodi Inventorii septimo Die Mensis Novembris Anno Domini 1674, per Magistrum Edm. Arnold Procuratorem pro Administratricibus, pro vero et Integro Inventorio &c. sub tamen protestacione tamen de addend.' &c, si &c.*

RECORD OF *LETTERS OF ADMINISTRATION*
TO SIR JOHN BERNARD'S GOODS. 1674.

Administration Act book. 1674. November. leaf 158.

Dominus Johannes } Septimo die emanavit commissio	Vlt. Aprilis Inventorium exhibitum x Sheldon vlt. Octobris 1675
Bernard, Miles } Mariæ Higgs, viduæ, Elianoræ	
Cotton, vxori Samuelis Cotton, filiabus <i>naturalibus</i>	
et <i>legitimis</i> , et Henrico Gilbert, <i>Armigero</i> , genero	
Domini Johannis Bernard, nuper de villa et comitatu	
Northtoniæ, militis, defuncti, <i>habentis</i> &c Ad ad-	
ministrandum bona jura et credita dicti defuncti de	
bene &c Vigore Commissionis Juratis.	

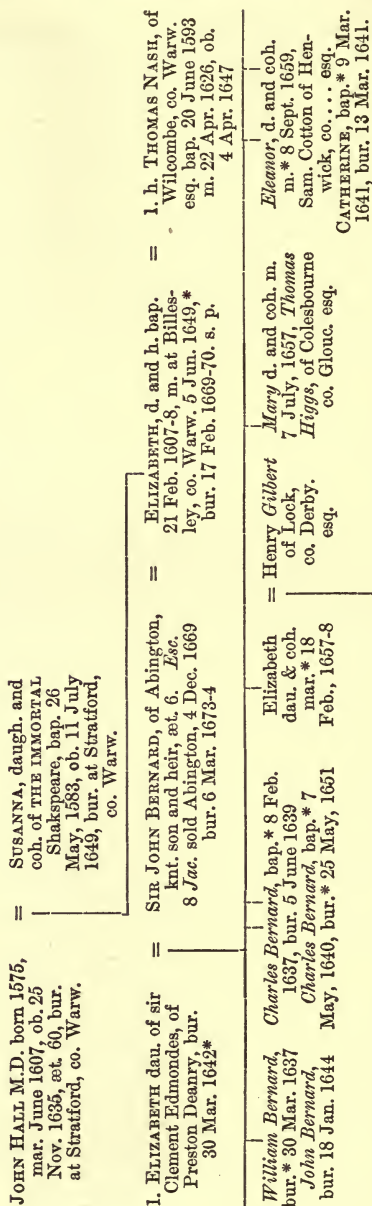
In my 'Introduction to the Leopold Shakspeare' in 1874 I noted that the Inventory of Shakspeare's Goods and Chattels which his Executors exhibited at the Court of Probate after his death, ought to be in one of the score of boxes of Inventories then at Doctors' Commons, but afterwards moovd to Somerset House. Till the Spring of 1881 I couldn't find time to search these Boxes; but then Sir James Hannen kindly gave me leave to watch them being tested by Mr. Challener Smith, the able and most patient Superintendent of the Department for Literary Enquiry at the Royal Court of Probate in Somerset House. Accordingly, box after box was brought up, and tested by Mr. Smith in my presence, he diving into all parts of each box, and unrolling, and showing me, every Inventory he pickt out. The mess he got into, and his unfailing patience and cheeriness thru this dirty job, can be better imagined than described. The result was, that not one Inventory of 1600-1660 turnd up. About 3 per cent. before 1600, and about 97 per cent. for 1661-1710, we saw, but nothing near Shakspeare did we find, except the foregoing Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of SIR JOHN BERNARD, who married Shakspeare's only Grand-child, as his second wife, and outlived her. The "Rent at Stratford vpon Avon" worth 4£, and the "old goods and Lumber at Stratford vpon Avon" valued at another 4£, perhaps represent some of Shakspeare's property; and I hope a copy of the 1623 Folio and some of the Quartos of his Plays and Poems were among "All the Bookes," set at 29£ 11s.

While Mr. Challener Smith could not attend to me, I copied the volume of *Earliest English Wills*, edited by me for the Early English Text Society, 1882, which is dedicated to Mr. Smith in acknowledgment of his most kind help to me. His intimate knowledge of the Registers under his charge, and all subjects relating to their contents, is equalled only by the courtesy with which he places that knowledge at the service of all enquirers.

PEDIGREE OF SHAKSPERE'S GRAND-DAUGHTER AND HER HUSBAND'S CHILDREN.

FROM

BAKER'S NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, i. 10.

*Bernard Gilbert*, bap. * at Lock, 1 Jan. 1658, bur. 10 Oct. 1673.

APPENDIX III.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PROCLAMATION AS TO LICENSES FOR INTERLUDES,
AND THEIR NOT TOUCHING RELIGION OR POLITICS.

¶ By the Quene [A.D. 1559].

FOrasmuche as the tyme wherein common Interludes in the Englishe tongue are wont vsually to be played, is now past vntyll AllHallontyde, and that also some that haue ben of late vsed, are not conuenient in any good ordred Christian Common weale to be suffred. The Quenes Maiestie doth straightly forbyd all maner Interludes to be playde eyther openly or priuately, except the same be notified before hande, and licenced within any Citie or towne corporate, by the Maior or other chiefe officers of the same, and within any shyre, by suche as shalbe Lieuetenauntes for the Quenes Maiestie in the same shyre, or by two of the Justices of peax inhabyting within that part of the shire where any shalbe played.

AND for instruction to euery of the sayde officers, her maiestie doth likewise charge euery of them, as they will aunswere: that they permyt none to be played wherin either matters of religion or of the gouernaunce of the estate of the common weale shalbe handled or treated, beyng no meete matters to be wrytten or treated vpon, but by menne of authoritie, learning and wisdom, nor to be handled before any audience, but of graue and discrete persons: All which partes of this proclamation, her maiestie chargeth to be inuiolably kepte. And if anye shal attempt to the contrary: her maiestie giueth all maner of officers that haue authoritie to see common peax kepte in commaundement, to arrest and enprison the parties so offendinge, for the space of fourtene dayes or more, as cause shal nede: And furder also vntill good assuraunce may be founde and gyuen, that they shalbe of good behauiour, and no more to offende in the likes.

AND further her maiestie gyueth special charge to her nobilitie and gentilmen, as they professe to obey and regarde her maiestie, to take good order in thys behalfe wyth their seruauntes being players, that this her maiesties commaundement may be dulye kepte and obeyed.

Yeu en at our Palayce of Westminster the .xvi. daye of Maye, the first yeare of oure Raygne.

¶ Imprinted at London in Paules churcheyarde by
Rychard Iugge and Iohn Cawood Printers
to the Quenes Maiestie.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

A.D. 1605-6. 3^o Jac. I. c. 21. (*Statutes*. Record Office, ed. 1829, p. 1097.)

Chapter XXI.

AN ACTE to restraine Abuses of Players.

FOR the preventing and avoyding of the greate Abuse of the Holy Name of God in Stageplayes Interludes Maygames Shewes and such like; Be it enacted by our Sovereaine Lorde the Kinges Majesty, and by the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, That if at any tyme or tymes, after the end of this present Session of Parliament, any person or persons doe or shall in any Stage play Interlude Shewe Maygame or Pageant jestingly or prophanely speake or use the holy Name of God or of Christ Jesus, or of the Holy Ghoste or of the Trinitie, which are not to be spoken but with feare and reverence, shall forfeite for everie such Offence by hym or them committed Tenne Pounds, the one Moytie thereof to the Kinges Majestie his Heires and Successors, the other Moytie thereof to hym or them that will sue for the same in any Courte of Recorde at Westminster, wherein no Essoigne Proteccion or Wager of Lawe shalbe allowed.

Penalty on
Stage Players
profanely
using the
Holy Name,
£10.

[The next Act helps to show the state of London at the time, and so I quote its preamble:

A.D. 1605-6. 3 James I, Chapter XXII.

AN ACTE for paving of Drury Lane and the Towne of St Giles in the Fieldes within the County of Middlesex.

WHEREAS the Towne of St Giles in the Fieldes, and that part thereof which leadeth to Holborne, and the Lane called Drury Lane, leading from St Giles in the Fieldes towards the Strond, and towardes Newe Inne, is of late yeeres by occasion of the continuall Rode there, and often Cariages, become deepe, foule, and dangerous, to all that passe those Wayes: Be it enacted," &c.

I was surprizd to find too that even in 1623-4, the Thames was not navigable for Barges, Boats or Lighters, for the last 6 or 7 miles between London and Oxford, namely from "the Village of Bercott" to Oxford, and that the Act of 21 James I, chap. 32, was then passt to make this bit of the river navigable, clear the trees, wears, &c. out of the way, and let men and horses tow up the bank.]

APPENDIX IV.

New Shakspeare Society.*MUSICAL EVENING, MAY 11TH, 1883.*

A SELECTION OF

Shakspeare Madrigals, Gleees & Songs,

IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,

TO BE SUNG AT THE SOCIETY'S MEETING

ON FRIDAY, MAY 11TH, AT 8 p.m.,

*IN THE BOTANY THEATRE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
GOWER STREET,*

(BY PERMISSION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE COLLEGE)

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

MR. J. GREENHILL.

THE COMMITTEE of the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY, having found that the Musical Evening of the Browning Society in June 1882 gave great pleasure to its Members, rezolv'd to try a *SHAKSPERE MUSICAL EVENING* in May 1883, instead of the usual reading and discussion of a Paper on some Shakspeare topic. Mr J. Greenhill was good enough to take on himself the whole arrangement and direction of the Music, and has drawn up the following Program, with short notices of the Composers from Grove's *Dictionary of Music* and other authorities. The Committee trust that the Members of the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY and their friends will enjoy the evening's entertainment which Mr Greenhill has so kindly provided for them.

This Program will admit the Bearer and two friends. Members wishing for more Admissions must write to the Hon. Sec., K. Grahame, Esq., 24, Bloomsbury St., Bedford Square, London, W.C.



1ST PERIOD: A.D. 1597 TO SHAKSPERE'S DEATH, A.D. 1616.

1. MADRIGAL... 'My flocks feed not.' *Pass. Pilgrim*, xvi.

Publisht in 1597 by THOS. WHEELKES (time of birth and decease unknown). In 1600 he was organist of Winchester College; in 1608 organist of Chichester Cathedral. He composed five sets of madrigals between 1597 and 1608, three of which, published 1597, were furnished by sec. xvi. of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, which Shakspeare did not write, tho' it was printed as his. The first of these begins the Program.

The bright days of the madrigal-writers of Old England were at this time passing rapidly away. The accession of James I. in 1603 threw a cloud over the career of the English musician, which increased through the succeeding reigns; nor was it dispelled till the style of English music had taken another turn, and the madrigal was no longer remembered.

2. SONG... 'O Mistress mine.' *Twelfth Night*, II. iii.

Composer unknown. Dates back as far as 1599.

3. HARMONIZED AYRE... 'Where the bee sucks.'

Tempest, V. i.

By ROBT. JOHNSON¹ (composed 1612); arranged for three voices by Dr John Wilson (born 1597, died 1673).

Robert Johnson, in 1573-4, was a retainer in the household of Sir Thos. Kytson of Hengrave Hall, Suffolk. He subsequently came to London, and became a composer for the theatres. In 1611 he was in the service of Prince Henry (James I.'s eldest son), at an annual salary of £40. In 1612 he composed music for *The Tempest*, of which we take "Where the bee sucks," afterwards arranged for three voices by Dr John Wilson.

At this time part-music was frequently printed on one sheet in such a manner, that when three, four, or five singers sat round a table, the music-sheet would present to the eyes of each vocalist his or her own part. A specimen of a five-part piece is given on the opposite page.

Dr Wilson's three-voice arrangement of "Where the bee sucks," by Robt. Johnson, is printed in this way, and we will endeavour to sing it as it would have been sung in a drawing-room in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

¹ Dr Burney infers that Dr Wilson was the composer, but it is pretty clearly proved that the melody was composed by Robt. Johnson in Shakspeare's time, and afterwards arranged for three voices by Dr Wilson.

Musical score for a four-part setting of "What shall he have that kill'd the Deer?" by John Hilton. The score is for four basses. The parts are labeled: BASIS (top), BASIS (bottom), ALTUS (middle left), and TENOR (middle right). The Cantus (Soprano) and Quintus (2nd Soprano) parts are also shown at the bottom. The music is in G major, 4/4 time, and consists of a single melodic line for each part.

2ND PERIOD: FROM 1650 to 1750.

4. ROUND: 4 Basses... 'What shall he have that kill'd the Deer?' As You Like It, IV. ii.

By JOHN HILTON, Mus. Bac. (pub. 1652), died 1657.

This is thought to be the earliest setting of the words. It is from a curious and rare work entitled *Catch that catch can*, a choice collection of catches, rounds, &c. collected and published by Jno. Hilton, 1652. The piece is a round for the singular combination of four basses.

Jn. Hilton first appears as a composer in 1601. He graduated at Cambridge in 1626. In 1628 he was elected Organist and Parish Clerk of St. Margaret's, Westminster, where he was buried in 1657.

5. SOLOS with CHORUSES. } 'Come unto these yellow sands.' 'Full fathom five.' Tempest, I. ii.

By HENRY PURCELL, born 1658, died 1695.

This greatest and most original of English composers was (when about six years old) a chorister of the Chapel Royal, and is said to have written anthems while yet a chorister. In 1675, when seventeen, he composed the opera of "Dido and Æneas." In 1676 wrote music for Dryden's tragedy *Aurenge-Zebe*, and other dramatic music.

In 1678 he wrote the Overture, Instrumental music, and the masque in Shadwell's alteration of Shakspeare's *Timon of Athens*, a beautiful and characteristic composition.

In 1680 he produced the first of his numerous Odes: "An Ode or Welcome Song for H.R.H. the Duke of York." The same year he became organist of Westminster Abbey, and for six years gave up connection with theatres. In this interval it may be presumed that much of his Church music was composed.

In 1682 he became organist of the Chapel Royal.

In 1683 he came forward in a new capacity, namely, as a composer of instrumental chamber music, by the publication of Sonatas in three parts, two violins and bass to the Organ or Harpsichord (twelve in number). For the coronation of James, (1685,) he produced two anthems, "I was glad," and "My heart is inditing."

In 1686 he returned to dramatic composition, and in 1688 wrote the songs for D'Urfey's comedy, *A Fool's Preferment*, (with one exception for the character of Lionel,) which were sung by W. Mountford. (This actor was murdered in the street by the ruffians Lord Mohun and Captain Hill, in revenge for his having frustrated their attempted forcible abduction of the celebrated actress Mrs Bracegirdle, who, Colley Cibber says, "sung a clear counter-tenor, and had a melodious warbling throat.")

In 1690 Purcell composed new music for Shadwell's version of *The Tempest*. Two of the settings have retained uninterrupted possession of the stage from his time till this day, namely, those to "Full fathom five," and "Come unto these yellow sands."

In an opera composed this year ("The Prophetess, or the History of Dioclesian") Purcell made a great advance, calling into play larger orchestral resources than before. This opera was published in 1691, and in the dedication of it he says, "Musick and Poetry have ever been acknowledged sisters, and, walking hand in hand, support each other. As Poetry is the harmony of words, so Musick is that of notes; and as Poetry is a rise above Prose and Oratory, so is Music the exaltation of Poetry. Both may excel apart, but are most excellent when joined, for then they appear like wit and beauty in the same person. Poetry and Painting have arrived to perfection in our own country; Musick is still in its nonage, a forward child which gives hope of what it may be in England when the master of it shall find more encouragement.

"Being further from the sun, we are of later growth than our neighbour countries, and must be content to shake off our barbarity by degrees."

In 1691 Purcell wrote the music to "King Arthur" (amongst many others), and in 1692 to "The Fairy Queen" (an anonymous adaptation of Shakspeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*), and Sir Chas. Sedley's "Ode for the Queen's birthday": one of the airs in this last, viz. "May her blest example chase," has for its bass the air of the old song "Cold and Raw." The reason for this was, that Arabella Hunt and Gosling were once singing to Queen Mary, with Purcell as accompanist. After hearing several compositions by Purcell and others, the Queen asked Arabella Hunt to sing "Cold and raw." Purcell, nettled at finding a common ballad preferred to his music, determined that the Queen should hear it again when she least expected it, and he adopted this ingenious method of effecting his object.

In 1694 he composed the music to Parts I. and II. of D'Urfey's *Don Quixote*, and (amongst many other compositions) his celebrated, "Te Deum and Jubilate in D.," with orchestral accompaniments, which was the first of its kind produced in this country. Immediately after

Queen Mary's death he composed for her funeral an anthem on the words in the Burial Service, "Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts," in a manner so solemn, pathetic, and devout, that Croft, when resetting the Burial Service, abstained from touching this passage, and adopted Purcell's setting.

In 1695 Purcell composed songs for Part III. of D'Urfey's *Don Quixote*, and among them is contained the last song he set, viz. "From rosy bowers," one of the greatest compositions he ever produced, showing that his mental powers remained vigorous and unimpaired to the last. Purcell died at his house in Dean's Yard, Westminster, on Nov. 21, 1695.

6. SOLOS & CHORUS... 'Now the hungry Lion roars.'

Midsummer Night's Dream, V. ii.

By RICHD. LEVERIDGE, born 1670, died 1758 (pub. 1727).

He was a famous bass vocalist of his time. His voice remained unimpaired so long, that in 1730, when sixty years old, he offered for a wager of one hundred guineas to sing a bass song with any man in England. He composed many things, two of which are well known to this day, viz. "Black-eyed Susan," and "The roast beef of Old England." His setting of Puck's speech was published in 1727. The plan of it is, solo for 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, &c., up to the 8th Fairy, with a chorus to finish, commencing "Hand in hand." Leveridge has made some occasional alterations in the words.

7. SONG... 'Come, thou monarch of the Vine.'

Antony and Cleopatra, II. vii.

By THOS. CHILCOT of Bath, died 1797.

He was organist of the Abbey Church, Bath, from 1733 till late in last century, and was the first master of Thos. Linley the composer.

The date of Chilcot's "Come, thou monarch" must be about 1750. His music is only to the first four lines, omitting "Cup us, till the world goes round." This song has been reprinted in Caulfield's collection, without the composer's name; and in a later edition Purcell's name was put in as the composer.¹

8. SONG... 'No more dams I'll make for fish.' *Tempest*, II. ii.

By JOHN CHRISTOPHER SMITH, born 1712, died 1795.

He was the friend of Handel. He composed two Shaksperian Operas, "The Tempest," and "The Fairies" (which is the *Midsummer Night's Dream* altered).

The compositions of Chris. Smith and Purcell have sometimes been confused: for instance, in an arrangement by Loder of Smith's "Full fathom five," Purcell's chorus has been added without any intimation as to the real authorship; while Smith's "No more dams," &c. has been twice reprinted with the name of Purcell attached to it. Dr Clarke in his *Beauties of Purcell* has made this mistake.

¹ In the different collections are many mistakes: for instance, in Caulfield, Dr Cooke's well-known "Hark, the lark" is put down as composed by Stevens.

9. SONGS... 'Where the bee sucks.' *Tempest*, V. i.

1. By CHRIS. SMITH, born 1712, died 1795.

2. By DR ARNE, born 1710, died 1778. (Arne's composition, 1746.)

Here are, side by side, two settings of the same words. Dr Arne's is of course universally known, as it remains a popular song to the present day. Christopher Smith's setting has two movements, the second of which reminds one forcibly of Dr Arne's; so much so that one must have heard the other's before setting his own. Was Arne the plagiarist?

Dr Thos. Augustine Arne was intended by his father for the profession of the law, and on leaving Eton College was placed in a solicitor's office for three years. But his love for music predominated, and instead of applying himself to the study of the law, he privately conveyed a spinet to his bed-room, and by muffling the strings with a handkerchief, contrived to practise during the night undetected.

He took lessons on the violin from Festing, and would occasionally borrow a livery in order to gain admission to the servants' gallery at the opera. He made such progress on the violin as to be able to lead a chamber band at the house of an amateur, who gave private concerts. There he was accidentally discovered by his father playing first violin. After fruitless efforts to induce his son to devote himself to the legal profession, the father gave up the attempt. Being free to practise openly, Arne soon, by his skill on the violin, charmed the whole family.

In 1738 he established his reputation as a lyric composer by the admirable manner in which he set Milton's *Comus*. In this he introduced a light, airy, original, and pleasing melody, wholly different from that of Purcell or Handel, whom all English composers had hitherto either pillaged or imitated. Indeed the melody of Arne at this time, and of his Vauxhall songs afterwards, forms an era in English music; it was so easy, natural, and agreeable to the whole kingdom, that it had an effect upon our national taste; and till a more modern Italian style was introduced in the *pasticcio* English operas of Bickerstaff and Cumberland, Arne's was the standard of all perfection at our theatres and public gardens. (See Burney's *History*, vol. iv. p. 659, &c, &c.)

On July 6, 1759, the University of Oxford created Arne 'Doctor of Music.'

Dr Arne was the first who introduced female voices into oratorio choruses. This he did at Covent Garden Theatre, Feb. 26, 1773, in a performance of his own, *Judith*.

3RD PERIOD: 1750 TO 1800.

10. GLEE... 'It was a lover and his lass.'

As You Like It, V. iii.

By J. S. STEVENS, born ab. 1753, died 1837.

We have now arrived at the period of the form of composition known as the *Glee*. Mr Hullah says (*Grove's Dict. of Music*) that a Glee is a

piece of unaccompanied vocal music, in at least three parts, and for solo voices, usually those of men. Though possibly suggested by the Madrigal, to which this description also applies, the Glee is separated from it, so far as its origin is concerned, by a long interval of time. The production of the Madrigal ceased altogether, both on the Continent and in England, in the course of the first quarter of the 17th century.

The first Gleees are due to the beginning of the 18th century, and the finest specimens of them to the seventy-five years between 1750 and 1825. The Glee differs from the Madrigal in its *tonality*, which is uniformly modern. Not only so. Whereas the 'subjects' of the Madrigal are generally few, always contrapuntally treated, and this often at considerable length, those of the Glee are generally many, and rarely at all developed. Masses of harmony, rare in the Madrigal, are common in the Glee, and indeed give it some of its best effects. The characteristic figure of modern tonality, the 'perfect cadence,' rarely and timidly introduced in the Madrigal, is of frequent occurrence in the Glee; so much so as to give many of these compositions a disconnected character, as though continually about to end.

Indeed the short phrases, incessant cadences, frequent changes of rhythm and pace of the average Glee, contrast unfavourably with the 'long resounding' phrases of the Madrigal, never brought to an end in one part till they are begun in another, overlapping one another, bearing one another up, and never allowing the hearer to anticipate a close, till everything that can be done with every subject has been done, and the movement comes to a natural end.

The Glee proper is wholly independent of instrumental accompaniment. The name, however, is occasionally given to compositions like "The Chough and Crow," by Sir Henry Bishop. These would be better entitled "Accompanied trios, quartets, or choruses."

The earliest, possibly the greatest, master of the Glee proper is Samuel Webbe, who gained twenty-seven prizes for his compositions. During his life the best specimens of this class of composition were produced. Webbe actually outlived many of the most eminent practitioners in the school of which he was the founder.

The other principal Glee composers were Stevens, Calcott, Horsley, Attwood, Battishill, Cooke, Danby, Hindle, Lord Mornington, Paxton, and Spofforth, and Stafford Smith.

We have chosen as illustrations of Gleees, "It was a lover and his lass," by J. S. Stevens, which is for five voices, but well adapted for a five-part chorus, in which way we will sing it; and "What shall he have that killed the deer?" by Stafford Smith (p. 27†).

RICHARD JAMES SAMUEL STEVENS was born in London about 1753, and died in 1837. He was a composer of numerous gleees, many of which display the most brilliant genius. He was educated in St Paul's Cathedral. His first appointment was as organist to the Temple Church. In 1795 he became organist of the Charter House, and in 1801 was elected Professor of Music at Gresham College. His gleees speedily and deservedly obtained the stamp of public approbation, which they will never lose so long as vocal harmony shall be admired.—*Eng. Cyclopædia*, vol. v. p. 718.

11. DUET... 'Crabbed Age and Youth.'

Passionate Pilgrim, X. (by Marlow).

By GIUSEPPI GIORDANI, born about 1753, died 1794.

Giordani was a composer and teacher to whom many of our English musicians owe their musical education. His best-known opera was "Il Baccio," and Fétis gives him a list of six pianoforte quintets, three quartets, and twelve trios; six string quartets, and three concertos for violin and orchestra, besides preludes, sonatas, &c. An air by him or his brother Tommaso, "Caro mio ben," is much sung to this day.

12. CANZONET... 'She never told her love.'

Twelfth Night, II. iv.

By JOSEPH HAYDN, born 1732, died 1809.

It is one of a set of six, dedicated to Lady Charlotte Bertie, and composed in 1795.

Franz Joseph Haydn, the father of the Symphony and the Quartet, was born in 1732 at Rohrau, a small Austrian village. His parents both sang, and the child soon began to sing their simple songs. Having seen the schoolmaster play the violin, he would, with two pieces of wood as his instrument, accompany his parents as they sang, keeping strict time, precisely imitating the schoolmaster's handling of the bow. At six years old he was one day surprised when thus engaged by his relation Frankh, who persuaded the parents to commit the boy to his care.

At the end of two years Haydn went as a chorister to Vienna. There he could only remember having two lessons in harmony from Von Reutter; but the instinct for composition made him cover every blank sheet of music-paper he could get. "It must be all right if the paper was nice and full."

In 1745 his voice began to break, and Von Reutter soon got rid of him. But Spancler, a chorister of St Michael's, offered him shelter; a few pupils presented themselves, and a good Viennese lent him 150 florins, which enabled him to rent an attic. Here he studied composition, and made acquaintance with Emmanuel Bach, who more than any other master became his model.

In 1759 he was appointed Music-director and Kammer-compositor to the Bohemian Count Ferdinand Maximilian Morzono.

In 1760 Haydn contracted an unfortunate marriage with a heartless, quarrelsome, extravagant, and bigoted woman, who, as her husband said, cared not whether he was an artist or a shoemaker.

Count Morzono being compelled to dismiss his band and director, Prince Paul Anton Esterhazy secured Haydn as his second Capellmeister under Werner.

In 1762 Anton Paul died, and was succeeded by his brother Nicholas.

In 1766 Werner died, and Haydn became sole Capellmeister. Soon after Werner's death the Prince turned an old hunting place into a splendid summer residence, and called it Esterhazy. Here Haydn composed nearly all his works, and among them his famous "Farewell" symphony. His

object was to persuade the Prince to leave Esterhazy, and so enable the musicians to join their wives and families. As one after another stopped playing, and left the orchestra, until only two were left, the hint was unmistakable. "If all go," said the Prince, "we may as well go too;" and Haydn knew that his object was attained.

In 1785 Fritz and Edmund von Weber became pupils of Haydn.

In 1787 Bland, the London music publisher, tried to get Haydn to come to London. When Bland entered, Haydn was shaving and grumbling over the bluntness of his razor: "I would give my best quartet for a good razor." Bland fetched his own pair, and received in exchange Haydn's newest quartet, which is often called "the Razor Quartet."

On New Year's day 1791 Haydn came to London, where he was soon the object of every species of attention.

The culminating point of his reputation (not attained till he had reached old age) was the composition of the "Creation" and the "Seasons." Of the "Creation" he says: "Never was I so pious. I knelt down every day, and prayed God to strengthen me in my work." This oratorio was first performed publicly in 1799, and produced an extraordinary impression.

Immediately after he composed the "Seasons." It was with reluctance that he began it, for he knew his powers were failing, and the strain was too great. As he said afterwards, "The 'Seasons' gave me the finishing stroke." He composed very little after this.

After a long seclusion, he appeared in public for the last time at a remarkable performance of the "Creation" at the University of Vienna, on March 27, 1808. He was carried in his arm-chair to a place among the first ladies of the land. At the words, "And there was light," Haydn was quite overcome, and pointing upwards, exclaimed, "It came from thence!" As the performance went on, his agitation became extreme, and it was thought better to take him home after the first part.

On May 26, 1809, he called his servants round him for the last time, and having been carried to the piano, solemnly played "the Emperor's Hymn" three times over. Five days afterwards he expired.

13. GLEE... 'What shall he have that kill'd the deer?'

As You Like It, IV. ii.

By J. STAFFORD SMITH, born about 1750, at Gloucester. His father was organist of Gloucester Cathedral; he was a chorister at the Chapel Royal, and afterwards one of the organists. He published a "Collection of Songs," in 1785, and "Musica Antiqua," a selection of music from the 12th to the 18th-century, 2 vols. folio, 1812. Our hearers will compare this 18th-century setting with Hilton's 17th-century round, number 4 of this evening's performance, p. 21† above.

In his Glee to Shakspeare's words Smith has omitted the line, "Then sing him home," whether by accident or design is not known. Charles Knight, in his "Shakspeare," suggests that this line may be a direction for a stage procession.

4TH PERIOD: 1800 TO ABOUT 1825.

14. DUET ... 'Tell me where is fancy bred.'

Merchant of Venice, III. ii.By SIR JOHN STEVENSON, born 1759, died 1833. (Rose's *Dic.*)

Sir John Stevenson, Mus. Doc., received his earliest instruction in the Cathedral of Dublin. He composed music for some of O'Keeffe's farces, also some operas for the Irish stage. His most popular work is the arrangement of Thomas Moore's "Irish Melodies" (Rose's *Dic.*, vol. xii. p. 123). He had a fine bass voice.

In 1783 he became Vicar Choral of St Patrick's, Dublin.

The honorary degree of Mus. Doc. was conferred on him by the University of Dublin, in compliment to his professional fame, and he was knighted in 1802.—*Gentleman's Mag.*, vol. ciii. pt. 2, p. 542.

15. SONG... 'E'en as the sun.' *Venus and Adonis*, ver. 1.

By CHARLES ED. HORN, born 1786, died 1849.

Horn was a vocalist. His voice was poor, but of such extensive register that he was able to take baritone as well as tenor parts. He also displayed considerable histrionic ability. He composed many small operas, of which some of the songs remain popular to the present time; as, for instance, "Cherry ripe!" "I've been roaming," and "Thro' the wood;" also the duet "I know a bank."

16. SONG... 'Make me a willow cabin.' *Twelfth Night*, I. v.

By JOHN BRAHAM, born 1774, died 1856.

Born in London of Jewish parents, he was left an orphan at an early age, and in such poor circumstances that he is said to have sold pencils about the streets. At thirteen years old he made his first appearance at Covent Garden Theatre, singing "The soldier, tired of war's alarms," by Dr. Arne.

About 1798 he went to Italy to complete his studies, and reappeared at Covent Garden in 1801. From this point may be dated that triumphant career, the effect of which has hardly yet passed away.

In the operas he appeared in he was generally the composer of all the music of his own part, and seldom has music been more universally popular. It is said that in theatre, concert-room, or church he had scarcely a rival. His compass extended to about nineteen notes. Many of his compositions attained the highest popularity, as, "The Death of Nelson," "The Anchor's weighed," and "All's Well."

The speech of Viola, "Make me a willow cabin," was sung by the composer in an operatized version of *The Taming of the Shrew*, in which he personated Hortensio. There are a few slight changes of Shakspeare's words in the setting.

17. CHORUS... 'Come, thou Monarch of the Vine.'

Anthony and Cleopatra, II. vii.

By SIR H. BISHOP, born 1786, died 1855.

He had great talent for dramatic composition, and wrote his first (performed at Margate) when he was eighteen years old. He became Bachelor of Music in 1839, and was knighted in 1842.

It may safely be said that Bishop has written more compositions to Shakspeare's words than any other composer before him or since. "Come, thou monarch," was, I believe, set for introduction into the operatized performance of *Comedy of Errors*, as a chorus for three male voices, but was afterwards (1862) arranged by J. L. Hatton for four voices, S., C., T. and B., in which form it will now be sung.

18. SONG ... 'Now the hungry lion roars.'

Midsummer Night's Dream, V. ii.

By WM. LINLEY, born 1767, died 1835.

Linley was educated at St Paul's and Harrow. He edited a work entitled "Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs," 1815-16, in which are several compositions of his own. From these we select "Now the hungry lion roars."

19. SONG... 'Bid me discourse.'

Venus and Adonis, ver. 25.

By SIR H. BISHOP.

This is one of Bishop's best-known and justly most popular compositions. It was originally sung by Miss M. Tree as Viola in *Twelfth Night*, about 1820.

20. SONG... 'Come, thou Monarch of the Vine.'

Anthony and Cleopatra, II. vii.

21. SONG... 'Who is Sylvia.'

Two Gentlemen of Verona, IV. ii.

By FRANZ PETER SCHUBERT, born 1797, died 1828.

'The one great composer native to Vienna—whose Songs, regarded as a department of music, are absolutely his own, full of dramatic fire, poetry, and pathos, with accompaniments of the utmost force, fitness, and variety'—was born on Jan. 31, 1797. His Life has been admirably written in Grove's *Dict.* iii. 319-382, and to that the reader is referred for all details. (See also Frost's Life of him, 1881.) Schubert lived in great poverty. "It is all but impossible to place oneself in the forlorn condition in which he must have resigned himself to his departure, and to realise the darkness of the valley of the shadow of death through which his simple, sincere guileless soul passed to its last rest, and to the joyful resurrection and glorious renown which have since attended it." His works number 1131. He was 'a short, stout, clumsy man, of 5ft. 1, a born bourgeois, never really at his ease except among his equals and chosen associates.' Truthful, good-humoured, cheerful, fond of a joke, and modest, he was loved by his friends even more than he was admired.

No. 21 of the Songs above is assigned to Schubert in the *Shakspeare Album* (1862, 1864). The second is sung to-night by desire of Sir George Grove.

5TH PERIOD: 1825 TO 1883.

22. DUET AND CHORUS... 'You spotted snakes.'

Midsummer Night's Dream, II. iii.

By MENDELSSOHN (born 1809, died 1847), composed in 1841.

All M.'s previous efforts were surpassed by the overture to *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in 1826, the year in which he and his sister read Shakspeare's works for the first time (Schlegel and Tieck's version). No one piece that had ever been written before contains so many points of harmony and orchestration. Not the least singular thing about this Overture is the exact manner in which it was found to fit into the music for the whole play, when that music was composed seventeen years later. The *leit motif*, or leading theme, was invented by Mendelssohn, and first appeared in the part of Don Quixote in *Camacho*, an opera which, owing to various circumstances, was performed but once, in 1827.

In the winter of 1827-28 M. formed a select choir of sixteen voices and began to practise Bach's *Passion*, and on Wednesday, March 11, 1829, the song *academie* of Berlin (390 to 400), under his conductorship, gave the first performance of the work since the death of Bach.

Mendelssohn's first appearance in England was at the Philharmonic Concert (then held in the Argyle Rooms, at the upper end of Regent St) on May 25, 1829. For English audiences he wrote his oratorio of "Elijah."

His part-songs gave to the majority of English amateurs a sudden and delightful introduction to a class of music which, though long known to Germans, till about 1840 was almost entirely unknown in England. He died on Nov. 4, 1847.

23. SONG... 'Sigh no more, ladies.' *Much Ado*, II. iii.24. DUET... 'Riches, Honour.' *Tempest*, IV. i.

By SIR ARTHUR S. SULLIVAN.

In 1856 the first Mendelssohn scholar was elected, Arthur S. Sullivan (now Sir Arthur S. Sullivan), who in 1865 set several songs, &c., to Shakspeare's words, of which "Sigh no more, ladies," is one. The Duet is from Sir Arthur S. Sullivan's music to "The Tempest," which contains also songs "Where the bee sucks" and "Full fathom five," and some good instrumental music. "Riches, Honour" is included in our Program on Sir George Grove's recommendation.

25. SONG... 'Take, oh take those lips away.' *Meas. for Meas.* IV. i.

By JAMES GREENHILL, composed expressly for this occasion.

26. SONG... 'Tawn as white as driven snow.'

By CARL NESTOR.

Winter's Tale, IV. iii.

27. PART-SONG... 'When icicles hang by the wall.'

Love's Labour's Lost, V. ii.

By DR G. A. MACFARREN, composed between 1860 and 1864.

We select this from the many part-songs that Dr Macfarren has composed to Shakspeare's words.

A P P E N D I X.

2a. SONG... 'It was a lover and his lass.' *As you like it*, V. iii.

By THOS. MORLEY (born about 1550). Both Hawkins and Burney state him to have died in 1604. In 1591 he was organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, and in 1592 Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. His compositions were more melodious than those of most of his predecessors, and many of his madrigals and ballets have enjoyed a lasting popularity. This song (No. 2) was printed in "The first book of ayres or little songs to play on the lute," 1600. A copy in MS. (of at least as early a date) is preserved in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh.

2b. SONG... 'The Willow Song.' *Othello*, IV. iii.

Composed about 1600.

9a. 'When Daisies pied.' *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii.

By DR ARNE. See page 24†.

10a. GLEE... 'Hark! Hark! the Hark at Heaven's gate sings.' *Cymbeline*, II. iii.

By DR BENJAMIN COOKE (born 1734, died 1793).

At twelve years old he deputized as organist of Westminster Abbey, —in 57 became master of the choristers there,—in 58 lay vicar, and in 62 was appointed organist of the Abbey. In 75 he became a Mus. Doc. at Cambridge, and in 82 was admitted to the same degree at Oxford. Dr Cooke's compositions, which are voluminous, are for the Church, concert room, and chamber; but the compositions by which he is best known, and which will convey his name to posterity, are his numerous and beautiful glees, canons, &c.; for seven of these he gained prizes. Apart from his eminence as a composer and practical musician, Dr Cooke was one of the best and most learned theorists of his time. He died September 14th, 1793, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, where a mural tablet, with a fine canon, records his skill and worth.

10b. SONG... 'When that I was a little ting boy.'

By VERNON.

Twelfth Night, V. ii.

Wm. Linley in his "Dramatic Songs of Shakspeare" has attributed this song to Fielding, but Dr Rimbault has stated that it was really composed by Vernon, a well-known tenor vocalist at the theatres and public places, about 1760—80.

10c. GLEE... 'Tell me where is fancy bred.'

By R. J. STEVENS. See page 25†.

Merchant of Venice, III. ii.

- 12a. SONG... 'The Willow Song.' *Othello*, IV. iii.

By JAS. HOOK (born 1746, died 1827).

- 13a. GLEE... 'You spotted snakes.' *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. iii.

By J. S. STEVENS. See page 25†.

- 15a. DUET... 'I know a bank.' *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i.

By CHARLES ED. HORN (born 1786, died 1849). See page 28†.

- 19a. SONG... 'Should he upbraid.' *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i.

By SIR H. BISHOP.

The words of this song are altered from a speech of Petrucio's commencing, "Say that she rail;" it is one of Bishop's best-known and justly most popular compositions. It was originally sung by Miss M. Tree as Julia in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

- 19b. DUET... 'As it fell upon a day.' *Passionate Pilgrim*.

By SIR H. BISHOP.

Originally sung in *Comedy of Errors* by Miss Stevens and Miss Tree.

- 22a. PART-SONG... 'Hark! Hark! the lark at Heaven's gate sings.' *Cymbeline*, II. iii.

By FREDK. WM. KÜCKEN (born 1810, died 1882).

Being the son of a prosperous agriculturist in Hanover, his early displayed musical abilities lacked no means for the due cultivation. He composed two operas and some pianoforte and instrumental music—not much now in request. Kücken was, to invent an Irishism, a great small composer; the song and the part-song formed his domain and stronghold. His popularity in England has been almost as wide as in Germany. His reputation here received an impetus some thirty years ago, when his "Trab, trab," and other songs were sung at Julien's concerts. (*Musical Standard*.)

- 22b. PART-SONG... 'Tell me where is fancy bred.'

Merchant of Venice, III. ii.

By CIRO PINSUTI (Il Cavaliere). Composed about 1881.

Native of Sinalunga, Siena. At ten years old he played in public, and at eleven, being in Rome, was made honorary member of the *Accademia Filarmonica*. He then came to England, and studied till 1845, when he returned home and became the private pupil of Rossini. In 1848 he came back to England and taught singing. At Newcastle he founded a musical society which still exists. Since that time his headquarters have been in London, keeping up his connection with Italy by

frequent visits. He is the composer of several operas which have met with great success in Italy. His first opera was upon the plot of Shakspeare's *Merchant of Venice*. In 1859 he was decorated with the order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, and in 1878 King Humbert further created him a knight of the Italian crown. In 1871 he was elected to represent Italy at the opening of the International Exhibition. In singing, many eminent artists have profited by his counsels, as Grisi, Bosio, Patti, Mario, &c. His works are largely diffused, and his charming part-songs, full of melody and spirit, are great favourites with the singing societies of England.

22c. PART-SONG... 'How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon
this bank.' *Merchant of Venice*, V. i.

By J. G. CALLCOTT. Published 1883, and first sung by Henry Leslie's Choir, Feb. 1883.

24a. SONG... 'The Willow Song.' *Othello*, IV. iii.

24b. SONG... 'O mistress mine.' *Twelfth Night*, II. iii.

24c. SONG... 'Orpheus with his lute.' *Henry VIII*, III. i.

By SIR ARTHUR S. SULLIVAN. See page 30†.

26a. TRIO... 'We cobblers lead a merry life anon.' *Lochrine*.

"Lochrine" is falsely attributed to Shakspeare. On the stage this trio would be performed with hammer and lapstone accompaniment.

27a. PART-SONG... 'Will you buy any tape?'

Song of Autolycus the Pedlar. *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii.

By C. A. MACIRONE.

Income and Expenditure of the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY for the Year ending December 31st, 1883.

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FRED. D. MATTHEW, }
EDWARD BELL, }
HON. AUDITORS.

KENNETH GRAHAME, Hon. Sec.

APPENDIX V.

SECOND ANNUAL MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT.

A SELECTION OF

Shakspeare Madrigals, Gleees & Songs,

(From 1597 to 1884, arranged according to style of composition,)

TO BE SUNG AT THE SOCIETY'S 97TH MEETING,

ON FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1884, AT 8 P.M.,

IN THE BOTANY THEATRE OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

MR. JAMES GREENHILL.

THE MUSIC WILL BE PERFORMED BY THE FOLLOWING ARTISTES;

MISS JESSIE ROYD, MISS ANNIE LARRATT,
MISS ALICE CRANG, AND MASTER IRVING.

MISS JEANIE ROSSE,
MISS ETHEL HARRADEN, AND MISS SABINA RIDGWAY,

MR. SHERARD AND MR. J. GREENHILL,

MR. THURLEY BEALE,
AND A CHOIR OF MALE VOICES (GENTLEMEN AND BOYS).

CONDUCTORS: MR. FRED. HANKINS AND MR. J. GREENHILL.

Printed for the Society by

R. CLAY & SONS, THE CHAUCER PRESS, BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

PROGRAM.

1st Period. Early Contrapuntal.

- 1 MADRIGAL (S.S.T.) "In black mourn I." *Weelkes.*
(*Passionate Pilgrim*, xviii. b. Not Shakspeare's.)
MISSSES JESSIE ROYD, ALICE CRANG, AND MR. J. GREENHILL.
 - 2 SONG (T. or B.) ... "It was a lover." *Thomas Morley.*
(*As You Like It*, V. iii.)
MASTER IRVING.
 - 3 HARMONIZED AYRE (S.T.B.) "Full fathom five." ... *Robert Johnson.*
(*Tempest*, I. ii.) *Harmonized by Wilson.*
MISS JESSIE ROYD, MESSRS. GREENHILL AND THURLEY BEALE.
-

2nd Period. Late Contrapuntal.

- 4 { a SONG (S.) "Come unto these yellow sands." *Banister.*
(*Tempest*, I. ii.)
 - 5 { b SONG (S.) ... "Where the bee sucks." *Pelham Humfrey.*
(*Tempest*, V. i.)
MISS JESSIE ROYD.
-

3rd Period. Early Harmonic.

- 6 SONG (T. or B.) "Blow, blow, thou winter wind." *Dr. Arne.*
(*As You Like It*, II. vii.)
MR. THURLEY BEALE.
- 7 SONG (S.) "When daisies pied." *Dr. Arne.*
(*Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii.)
MISS ALICE CRANG.
- 8 SONG (T. or B.) "Under the greenwood tree." *Dr. Arne.*
(*As You Like It*, II. v.)
MR. SHERARD.

- 9 SONG (O.) ... "Full fathom five." ... *Christopher Smith.*
(*Tempest*, I. ii.)
MISS ETHEL HARRADEN.
- 10 GLEE (A.A.T.T.B.B.) "The cloud capt towers." ... *R. J. S. Stevens.*
(*Tempest*, IV. i.)
THE CHOIR.
- 11 SONG (T.) "When that I was and a little tiny boy." ... *Vernon.*
(*Twelfth Night*, V. i.)
MR. J. GREENHILL.
- 12 GLEE (S.S.S.T) "Tell me where is Fancy bred." *R. J. S. Stevens.*
(*Merchant of Venice*, III. ii.)
MISSES CRANG, SABINA RIDGWAY, AND ETHEL HARRADEN,
AND MR. GREENHILL.
- 13 SONG (C.) ... "Willow Song." ... *James Hook.*
(*Othello*, IV. iii.)
MISS JEANIE ROSSE.
- 14 GLEE (S.C.T.B.) ... "Hark, hark, the lark." ... *Dr. B. Cooke.*
(*Cymbeline*, II. iii.)
MISSES JESSIE ROYD AND JEANIE ROSSE; MESSRS. GREENHILL
AND THURLEY BEALE.
- 15 DUET (S.C.) ... "I know a bank." ... *Horn.*
(*Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. ii.)
MISSES CRANG AND RIDGWAY.
- 16 SONG (S.) ... "Should he upbraid." ... *Sir H. Bishop.*
(*Taming of The Shrew*, II. i, altered.)
MISS JESSIE ROYD.
- 17 SONG (B.) ... "Fair is my love." ... *Sir H. Bishop.*
(*Passionate Pilgrim*, vii. Not Shakspeare's.)
MR. THURLEY BEALE.
- 18 DUET (S.C.) ... "As it fell upon a day." ... *Sir H. Bishop.*
(*Passionate Pilgrim*, xx. Not Shakspeare's.)
MISSES JESSIE ROYD AND JEANIE ROSSE.

Intermezzo.

In Memoriam Miss Teena Hochfort Smith.

- 19 PT. SONG (S.C.T.B.) "Fear no more the heat o' the sun." *Greenhill.*
(*Cymbeline*, IV. ii.)
MISSES JEANIE ROSSE AND ETHEL HARRADEN; MESSRS. GREENHILL
AND THURLEY BEALE.

4th Period. Late Harmonic.

- 20 SONG (S.) ... "Hark, hark, the lark." ... *Schubert.*
(Cymbeline, II. iii.)
 MISS ANNIE LARRATT.
- 21 PART SONG (S.C.T.B.) "Tell me where is Fancy bred." ... *Pinsuti.*
(Merchant of Venice, III. ii.)
 THE CHOIR.
- 22 SONG (C.) ... "Willow Song." ... *Sir A. Sullivan.*
(Othello, IV. iii.)
 MISS JEANIE ROSSE.
- 23 SONG (T.) "When that I was and a little tiny boy." ... *Hatton.*
(Twelfth Night, V. i.)
 WITH CHORUS.
 MR. J. GREENHILL, AND CHOIR.
- 24 TRIO (S.S.C) ... "How sweet the moonlight." ... *Callcott.*
(Merchant of Venice, V. i.)
 MISSES ORANG, RIDGWAY, AND JEANIE ROSSE.
- 25 SONG (S.) ... "Orpheus with his lute." ... *Sir A. Sullivan.*
(Henry VIII., III. i. By Fletcher.)
 MISS JESSIE ROYD.
- 26 SONG (B.) ... "O mistress mine." ... *Sir A. Sullivan.*
(Twelfth Night, II. iii.)
 MR. THURLEY BEALE.
- 27 PART SONG (S.C.T.B.) "Will you buy?" ... *Miss Macirone.*
(Winter's Tale, IV. iii.)
 THE CHOIR.

The pieces in this Program are all different from those sung at last year's entertainment. The words of the Songs, edited by F. J. Furnivall and W. G. Stone, in old spelling, will be found in the "List of Shakspeare Songs and Passages that have been set to Music," compiled by J. Greenhill, W. A. Harrison, and F. J. Furnivall, and issued by the New Shakspeare Society in May 1884.

APPENDIX VI.

THIRD ANNUAL MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT.

A SELECTION OF

Shakspeare Madrigals, Gleees & Songs,

(From 1597 to 1885, arranged according to style of composition,)

TO BE SUNG AT THE SOCIETY'S 107TH MEETING,

ON FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1885, AT 8 P.M.,

IN THE BOTANY THEATRE OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

MR. JAMES GREENHILL.

THE MUSIC WILL BE PERFORMD BY THE FOLLOWING ARTISTES:

MISS JESSIE ROYD AND MISS ELIS WALTON.

MISS JEANIE ROSSE AND MISS ADA CARTWRIGHT.

MR. H. B. STUBBS AND MR. J. GREENHILL.

MR. THURLEY BEALE.

MR. ALISON LISTER

AND

MR. G. M. FERMOR.

ACCOMPANYIST: MR. F. HAROLD HANKINS.

FLUTE AND VOIXOPHONE: MR. BEARE.

CONDUCTOR: MR. J. GREENHILL.

Printed for the Society by

R. CLAY & SONS, THE CHAUCER PRESS, BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

PROGRAM.

1st Period. (During Shakspeare's Life.) Early Contrapuntal.

- 1 MADRIGAL (S.S.T.) "Cleare Wels spring not," 1597. *T. Weelkes.*
(Passionate Pilgrim, xvii. Part 3. Not Shakspeare's.)

MISSES JESSIE ROYD, ELIS WALTON, AND MR. J. GREENHILL.

- 2 SONG (C.) ... 'Willough' Song, 1600. ... *Unknown.*
(Othello, IV. iii.)

MISS JEANIE ROSSE.

- 3 SONG (S.) ... "Take, oh, take those Lips away." *R. Johnson.*
(Measure for Measure, IV. i. 1-8.) Harmonized by J. Wilson. Publ. 1653-9.

MISS JESSIE ROYD.

2nd Period. Late Contrapuntal.

- 4 HARMONIZED AYRE (S.T.B.) "Lawne as white," 1660. *Dr. J. Wilson.*
(Winter's Tale, IV. iv.)

MISS JESSIE ROYD, MESSRS. GREENHILL AND THURLEY BEALE.

3rd Period. Early Harmonic. A.D. 1740 to 1825.

- 5 SONG (B.) "Sigh no more, Ladies," ab. 1740. ... *Dr. Arne.*
 WITH CHORUS. *(Much Ado, III. i. 57-68.)*

MR. THURLEY BEALE.

- 6 SONG (S.) ... "Orpheus with his Lute," 1754. *Chr. Smith.*
(Henry VIII, III. i. 3-14. By FLETCHER.)

MISS ELIS WALTON. OBBLIGATO, MR. BEARE.*

- 7 SONG (T.) ... "Sigh no more, Ladies," 1790. *R. J. S. Stevens.*
(Much Ado, III. i. 57-68.)

MR. H. B. STUBBS.

- 8 GLEE (2 BAR. & A BASS.) "When shall we three." *Samuel Webbe.*
(Macbeth, I. i. 11.)

MESSRS. THURLEY BEALE, G. M. FERMOR, AND ALISON LISTER.

* This Obligato will be played upon the Voixophone, kindly lent by the Patentees, Messrs. Beare and Son, 34, Rathbone Place, London.

- 9 SONG (C.) ... "Flower of this purple Dy," 1754. ... *Chr. Smith.*
(*Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 102-9.)
MISS JEANIE ROSSE.
- 10 SONG (B.) "When Isacles hang by the wall," *ab.* 1740. *Dr. Arne.*
(*Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 895-912.)
MR. ALISON LISTER.
- 11 GLEE (S.C.T.B.) "Blow, blow, thou winter winde!" *ab.* 1790. *Stevens.*
(*As You Like It*, II. vii. 173-189.)
MISSES JESSIE ROYD, JEANIE ROSSE; MESSRS. STUBBS
AND THURLEY BEALE.
- 12 DUET (S.T.) "How sweet the Moone-light," 1807. *T. Hutchinson.**
(*Merchant of Venice*, V. i. 54-65.)
MISS JESSIE ROYD AND MR. GREENHILL.
- 13 SONG (S.) ... "Lo here the gentle Larke." ... *Sir H. Bishop.*
(*Venus and Adonis*, lines 852-8.)
MISS JESSIE ROYD. FLUTE OBLIGATO, MR. BEARE.
- 14 (CHORUS WITH QUARTETT) "Even as the Sunne." *Sir H. Bishop.*
(*Venus & Adonis*, i. 1-6.)
MESSRS. FERRARO, STUBBS, FERMOR, AND BEALE.



4th Period. Late Harmonic. A.D. 1825 to 1884.

- 15 SONG (S.) "Hearke! Hearke! the Larke." *Curschmann* (died 1841).†
(*Cymbeline*, II. iii.)
MISS ADA CARTWRIGHT.
- 16 SONG (T.) ... "[Come] Liue with me," 1855. ... *Hatton.*
(*Passionate Pilgrim*, xix. By KIT MARLOWE.)
MR. J. GREENHILL.
- 17 PART-SONG (S.A.T.B.) "Hearke! Hearke! the Larke," 18... *Kücken.*
(*Cymbeline*, II. iii.)
- 18 SONG (B.) "Take, oh, take those Lips away," 1864. *Alf. Mellon.*
(*Measure for Measure*, IV. i. 1-8.)
MR. THURLEY BEALE.
- 19 SONG (S.) "Full many a glorious Morning," *ab.* 1850. *J. Reekes.‡*
(*Sonnet*, xxxiii.)
MISS JESSIE ROYD.

* This Duet is not in the British Museum.

† Curschmann wrote his music to the German translation from Shakspeare. The English words printed to his music are a perverted englishing of the German ones. Mr. Greenhill has restored Shakspeare's words.

‡ This Song is not in the British Museum.

- 20 SONG (B.) "When that I was and a little tiny boy." *Schumann*.
(*Twelfth Night*, V. i.)
MR. G. M. FERMOR.
- 21 PART-SONG (S.C.T.B.) "Howsweet the Moone-light," 1866. *H. Leslie*.
(*Merchant of Venice*, V. i. 54-65.)
MISSES ROYD, WALTON, JEANIE ROSSE, AND CARTWRIGHT;
MESSRS. STUBBS, GREENHILL, BEALE, AND LISTER.
- 22 SONG (S.) ... "Where the Bee sucks," 1862. *Sir A. Sullivan*.
(*Tempest*, V. i. 86-94.)
MISS ELIS WALTON.
- 23 SONG (T.) 'Rosalind': "From the East," 1865. *Sir A. Sullivan*.
(*As You Like It*, III. ii. 81-8, 142-7.)
MR. H. B. STUBBS.
- In Memoriam Miss Anna Rochfort Smith (died Sept. 4, 1883).
- 24 DUET (S.C.) "Feare no more the heate o' th' Sun." *Miss A. Borton*.
(*Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 258-281.)
MISS ELIS WALTON AND MISS JEANIE ROSSE.
- 25 SONG (C.) "O, neuer say that I was false," 1869. *A. Randegger*.
(*Sonnet*, cix.)
MISS JEANIE ROSSE.
- 26 SONG (B.) ... "O Mistris mine," 1880. ... *F. E. Gladstone*.
(*Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 36-41, 44-9.)
MR. ALISON LISTER.
- 27 MADRIGAL (S.C.T.B.) "It was a Louer," Aug. 1884. ... *Barnby*.
(*As You Like It*, VI. iii. 14-21.)

The pieces in this Program are all different from those sung at the two last years' Entertainments. The words of the Songs, edited by F. J. Furnivall and W. G. Stone, in old spelling, are from the "List of Shakspeare Songs and Passages that have been set to Music," compiled by J. Greenhill, W. A. Harrison, and F. J. Furnivall, and issued by the New Shakspeare Society in May 1884.

For the characteristics of the four different Periods of Music named above, the reader is referred to the 'Critical and Historical Program' issued at last year's Entertainment.

APPENDIX VII.

FOURTH ANNUAL MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT.

A SELECTION OF

Songs, Catches, and Ballads

MENTIONED BY SHAKSPERE,

WITH OTHER

Shakspeare Rounds, Glees & Songs,

(From 1560 to 1886, arranged according to style of composition,)

TO BE SUNG AT THE SOCIETY'S 116TH MEETING,

ON FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1886, AT 8 P.M.,

IN THE BOTANY THEATRE OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

MR. JAMES GREENHILL.

THE MUSIC WILL BE PERFORMED BY THE FOLLOWING ARTISTES:

MADAME WILSON OSMAN AND MISS MAUD VERNON.

MISS LENA LAW AND MISS BEATRICE BISHOP.

MR. DYVED LEWYS AND MR. J. GREENHILL.

MR. TREFELYN DAVID AND MR. HENRY PYATT.

AND A CHOIR OF MALE VOICES (GENTLEMEN AND BOYS).

ACCOMPANYIST: MR. F. HAROLD HANKINS.

CONDUCTOR: MR. J. GREENHILL.

Printed for the Society by

R. CLAY & SONS, THE CHAUCER PRESS, BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

2nd Period. Late Contrapuntal.

- 10 ROUND ... "Flout em and scout em," about 1690. ... Purcell.
(*Tempest.*)

MESSRS. DYVED LEWYS, GREENHILL, AND TREFELYN DAVID.

- 1 SONG ... "Who is Sylvia?" 1727. ... Leveridge.
(*Two Gentlemen.*)

MR. HENRY PYATT.

3rd Period. Early Harmonic. 1740 to 1825.

- 12 SONG ... "Orpheus with his lute." ... Dr. Arne.
(Fletcher, in *Henry VIII.*)

MADAME WILSON OSMAN.

- 13 GLEE (S.C.T.B.) "You spotted Snakes." ... Stevens.
(*Midsummer Night's Dream.*)

MISSES MAUD VERNON, BEATRICE BISHOP;

MESSRS. DYVED LEWYS AND HENRY PYATT.

- 14 SONG ... "Come away, Death," 1741. ... Dr. Arne.
(*Twelfth Night.*)

MR. GREENHILL.

- 15 SONG ... "Sigh no more, Ladies," 1754. Christopher Smith.
(*Much Ado.*)

MISS LENA LAW.

- 16 GLEE (S.S.B.) "When shall we three meet again?" 1780. M. P. King.
(*Macbeth.*)

MADAME W. OSMAN, MISS M. VERNON, AND MR. H. PYATT.

- 17 SONG ... "If music be the Food of love," ab. 1781. ... Clifton.
(*Twelfth Night.*)

MR. DYVED LEWYS.

- 18 DUET ... "Here will we sit," 1807. ... Hutchinson.
(From "Come, live with me.")

MADAME W. OSMAN AND MR. GREENHILL.

- 19 CHORUS (S.C.T.B.) "What shall he have that killed the deer?" 1824.
(*As You Like It.*)

(Arranged, 1864, for S.C.T.B., by Hatton.)

- 20 SONG ... "Over Hill, over Dale." ... T. Cooke.
(*Midsummer Night's Dream.*)

MISS MAUD VERNON.

- 21 ROUND (T.T.T.T.) ... "To see his face." ... Sir H. Bishop.
(*Venus and Adonis.*)

MESSRS. GREENHILL, D. LEWYS, TREFELYN DAVID, AND BIRD.

4th Period. Late Harmonic. 1825 to 1886.

- 22 SONG ... "If music be the Food of love," 1863. *Dr. W. C. Sellé.*
(*Twelfth Night.*)

MISS LENA LAW. (Accompanied by the Composer.)

- 23 SONG "Crabbed age and Youth." *Mrs. Mounsey Bartholomew.*
(*Pass. Pilgrim.*)

MR. DYVED LEWYS.

- 24 PART-SONG (S.S.C.C.) "You spotted snakes." *Sir G. A. Macfarren.*
(*Midsummer Night's Dream.*)

MESDAMES W. OSMAN, M. VERNON, B. BISHOP, AND LENA LAW

- 25 SONG ... "O Mistress mine." ... *Carrott.*
(*Twelfth Night.*)

MR. HENRY PYATT.

- 26 DUET ... "Tell me, where is Fancy bred?" *Mary Carmichael.*
(*Merchant of Venice.*)

MISSSES M. VERNON AND LENA LAW.

- 27 SONG ... "Take, oh, take those lips away." ... *Mori.*
(*Measure for Measure.*)

MR. TREFELYN DAVID.

- 28 QUINTETT (S.C.T.B.B.) "Some say that ever 'gainst
that season comes." *Anderton.*
(*Hamlet.*)

(From the Cantata, 'Yuletide,' composed for and performed at the
Birmingham Festival, 1885.)

MESDAMES WILSON OSMAN AND LAW; MESSRS. GREENHILL,
TREFELYN DAVID, AND PYATT.

- 29 SONG ... "Hark! the Lark." ... *Dora Bright.*
(*Cymbeline.*)

MADAME WILSON OSMAN.

- 30 PART-SONG (S.C.T.B.) "Come, live with me." *Sterndale Bennett.*
(*Marlowe, in Passionate Pilgrim.*)

The pieces in this Program are all different from those sung at the three last years' Entertainments. The words of the Shakspeare Songs, edited by Dr. Furnivall and W. G. Stone, in old spelling, are from the "List of Shakspeare Songs and Passages that have been set to Music," compiled by J. Greenhill, W. A. Harrison, and Dr. Furnivall, and issued by the New Shakspeare Society in May 1884. The words of the non-Shakspeare Ballads and Songs have been edited by Mr. Harrison and Dr. Furnivall.

For the characteristics of the four different Periods of Music named above, the reader is referred to the 'Critical and Historical Program' issued at the Society's Entertainment of May 1884.

WORDS OF THE SONGS, CATCHES, BALLADS, &c.,

SUNG ON MAY 14, 1886.

1 and 11. Who is Sylvia?

(Two Gentlemen, IV. ii. 38-52.)

Who is *Silvia*? what is she,
 That all our Swaines commend her?
 Holy, faire, and wise is she:
 The heauen such grace did lend her,
 That she might admirèd be.

Is she kinde as she is faire?
 For beauty liues with kindnesse.
 Loue doth to her eyes repaire,
 To helpe him of his blindnesse,
 And, being help'd, inhabits there.

Then to *Silvia* let vs sing,
 That *Silvia* is excell'g:
 She excels each mortall thing,
 Vpon the dull earth dwelling!
 To her let vs Garlands bring!

2. Peg o' Ramsay.

Mention of this ballad is made in *Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 73.¹ There are two tunes that go under the name of *Peg-a-Ramsay*; both as old as the time of Shakspeare. The oldest is found in William Ballet's *Lute Book*, and this, according to Sir John Hawkins and Mr. Chappell, is the one referred to in *Twelfth Night*. The words of the original ballad have not come down to us; but in *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to purge Melancholy* (1719, vol. v. p. 139), there is a song called 'Bonny Peggie Ramsay.' The following verses, which are here given with slight alterations, occur in this song.

BONNY Peggie Ramsay that any man may see;
 And bonny was her face, with a fair freckel'd Eye;
 Neat is her Body made, and she hath good skill,
 And round are her bonny arms that work well at the Mill.
With a hey trolodel, hey trolodel, hey trolodell lill,
Bonny Peggie Ramsay that works well at the Mill.

¹ *Sir Toby Belch*. My Lady's a *Catayan*, we are politicians, *Maluolios* a *Peg-a-ramsie*, and *Three merry men be wee*.

Some call her Peggie and some call her Jean,
 And some call her Midsummer, but they are all mista'en.
 O, Peggie is a bonny lass and works well at the Mill,
 For she will be occupied when others they lay still.

With a hey, &c.

Up goes the hopper and in goes the Corn;
 The wheel it goes about and the stones begin to turn,
 And the meal falls in the mill-trough and quickly does it fill,
 For Peggie is a bonny lass and works well at the Mill.

With a hey, &c.

3. Light o' Love.

This tune is twice alluded to by Shakspeare; in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*¹ (I. ii. 83), and in *Much Ado about Nothing*² (III. iv. 44). The earliest mention now known of the words is on the registers of the Stationers' Company in March 1638; but the following ballad by Leonard Gybson "to the tune of Lightie Love," and first printed in 1570, is to be found in the late Mr. Henry Huth's *Ancient Ballads and Broad-sides*.

A VERY PROPER DITTIE:

To the Tune of Lightie Loue.

*[Leaue Lightie loue, Ladies, for feare of yll name,
 And true loue embrace ye, to purchase your Fame.]*

By force I am fixed my fancie to write,
 Ingratitude willeth mee not to refraine:
 Then blame me not, Ladies, although I indite
 What lighty loue now amongst you doth raigne.
 Your traces in places, with outward allurements,
 Doth mooue my endeouour to be the more playne:
 Your nicyngs and ticings, with sundrie procurements,
 To publish your lightie loue doth mee constraine.

Deceite is not daintie, it coms at eche dish,
 Fraude goes a fisshyng with frendly lookes;
 Throughe friendship is spoyled the seely poore fish,
 That houuer and shouer vpon your false hookes;
 With baight you lay waight, to catch here and there,
 Which causeth poore fisses their freedome to lose:
 Then loute ye and floute ye, wherby doth appere
 Your lighty loue, Ladies, styll cloaked with glose.

¹ *Julia*. Some loue of yours, hath writ to you in Rime.

Lucetta. That I might sing it (Madam) to a tune:

Giue me a Note, your Ladiship can sett.

Julia. As little by such toyes, as may be possible:

Best sing it to the tune of *Light O Loue*.

Lucetta. It is too heavy for so light a tune.

² See the quotation to *The sicke Tune, or Captain Car*, no. 5, below.

With DIAN so chaste you seeme to compare,
 When HELLENS you bee, and hang on her trayne:
 Mee thinkes faithfull THISBIES be now very rare,
 Not one CLEOPATRA, I doubt, doth remayne.
 You wincke and you twincke, tyll Cupid haue caught,
 And forceth through flames your louers to sue:
 Your lyghtie loue, Ladies, too deere they haue bought,
 When nothyng wyll mooue you their causes to rue.

I speake not for spite, ne do I disdayne
 Your beautie, fayre ladies, in any respect:
 But ones ingratitude doth mee constrayne,
 As childe hurt with fire, the same to neglect;
 For proouing in louyng, I finde by good triall,
 When beautie had brought mee vnto her becke,
 She staying, not waying, but made a deniall,
 And shewyng her lightie loue, gaue mee the checke.

Thus fraude for frendship did lodge in her brest;
 Suche are most women, that, when they espie
 Their louers inflamed with sorowes opprest,
 They stande then with Cupid against their replie;
 They taunte and they vaunte; they smile when they vew
 How Cupid had caught them vnder his trayne;
 But warned, discerned the prooffe is most true
 That lightie loue, Ladies, amongst you doth reigne.

It seemes, by your doynge, that CRESSED doth scoole ye,—
 PENELOPEYS vertues are cleane out of thought;
 Meethinkes by your constantnesse, HELEYNE doth rule ye,
 Whiche both Greece and Troy to ruyne hath brought.
 No doubt, to tell out your manyfolde driftes,
 Would shew you as constant as is the sea sande:
 To truste so vniust, that all is but shieftes,
 With lightie loue bearyng your louers in hande.

If ARGUS were lyuyng, whose eyes were in nomber,
 The peacockes plume painted, as writers replie,
 Yet women by wiles full sore would him cumber,
 For all his quick eyes, their driftes to espye;
 Suche feates, with disceates, they dayly frequent,
 To conquere mennes mindes, their humours to feede,
 That bouldly I may geue arbittrement
 Of this your lightie loue, ladies, indeede.

Ye men, that are subiect to Cupid his strooke,
 And therin seemeth to haue your delight,
 Thinke, when you see baight, theres hidden a hooke,
 Whiche sure wyll bane you, if that you do bight:
 Suche wiles and suche guiles by women are wrought,
 That halfe their mischefes men cannot preuent;
 When they are most pleasant vnto your thought,
 Then nothyng but lightie loue is their intent.

Consider that poyson doth lurke oftentyne
 In shape of sugre, to put some to payne,
 And fayre wordes paynted, as dames can define,
 The olde prouerbe saith, doth make some fooles faine!
 Be wise and precise, take warning by mee;
 Trust not the crocodile, least you do rue;
 To womens faire wordes do neuer agree,
 For all is but lightie loue, this is most true.

ANEXES so daintie example may bee,
 Whose lightie loue caused yong IPHIS his woe;
 His true loue was tryed by death, as you see,
 Her lightie loue forced the knight therunto;
 For shame then refrayne, you ladies, therefore,
 The cloudes they doo vanish, and light doth appeare;
 You cannot dissemble, nor hide it no more,
 Your loue is but lightie loue, this is most cleare.

For TROYLUS tried the same ouer well,
 In louyng his ladie, as Fame doth reporte;
 And likewise MENANDER, as stories doth tell,
 Who swam the salt seas to his loue to resorte,
 So true, that I rue such louers should lose
 Their labour in seekyng their ladies vnkinde,
 Whose loue thei did prooue, as the prouerbe now goes,—
 Euen very lightie loue lodgde in their minde.

I touche no suche ladies as true loue imbrace,
 But suche as to lightie loue dayly applie;
 And none will be griued, in this kinde of case,
 Saue suche as are minded true loue to denie;
 Yet frendly and kindly I shew you my minde;
 Fayre ladies, I wish you to vse it no more;
 But say what you list, thus I haue definde,
 That lightie loue, ladies, you ought to abhore.

To trust womens wordes in any respect,
 The danger by mee right well it is seene,
 And loue and his lawes who would not neglect,
 The tryall wherof hath most peryllous beene?
 Pretendyng the endyng if I haue offended,
 I craue of you, ladies, an answeere againe;
 Amende, and whats said shall soone be amended,
 If case that your lightie loue no longer do rayne.

4. Three merry Men be we.

This ballad is quoted by Sir Toby Belch, *Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 74; also in Peele's *Old Wives' Tale* (1595), Act I. sc. i.; in *Westward Hoe* (1607); in *Ram Alley* (1611). The following is from Peele:—

THREE merrie men, and three merrie men,
 And three merrie men be wee,
 I in the wood, and thou on the ground,
 And Iacke sleeps in the tree.

This song is expanded into the following verses in *The Tragædy of Rollo Duke of Normandy*, Actus 3, Scena 1 [end of Act], by John Fletcher.

They are sung by a Yeoman or "Page of the Cellar;" a Butler; a Cook; and a Pantler. We have adapted these verses to the following tunes:—

1. *Fortune my Foe*, which is found in Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book, and also in William Ballet's MS. Lute Book. It is mentioned in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* (III. iii. 55), and three times in Beaumont and Fletcher. It was sometimes called *The Hanging Tune*. "The metrical lamentations of extraordinary criminals have been usually chanted to it for upwards of two hundred years" (Chappell, p. 163). Most probably, therefore, this is the tune to which the words of Verse 1 were originally set.

2. *Lord Willoughby*. This appears in Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book under the name of *Rowland*.

3. *The Jolly Pinder* and *The Friar and the Nun*.

4. *Watkin's Ale*, found in Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book, as arranged by Byrd. The Chorus, *Three Merry Men*, which is repeated after each verse, is from a MS. common-place book in the handwriting of John Playford.

All the tunes mentioned above are printed in Mr. W. Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, to which valuable work we have been under great obligations in preparing this part of the Program.

COME fortune's a whore, I care not who tell her,
Would offer to strangle a page of the Cellar,
That should by his oath to any mans thinking
And place, have had a defence for his drinking.

But this she does when she pleases to palter,
Instead of his wages she gives him a halter.

Three merry boyes, and three merry boyes,
and three merry boyes are we,
As e're did sing three parts in a string,
All under the triple tree.

But I that was so lusty, and ever kept my bottles,
That neither they were musty; and seldome lesse then pottles.

For me to be thus stopt now
With hemp instead of Corke, Sir,
And from the Gallows lopt now,
Shewes that there is a forke, Sir,
In death, and this is the Token:
Man may be two waies killed,
Or like the bottle broken,
Or like the wine be spilled.

Three merry boyes, &c.

O yet but looke on the master Cook, the glory of the kitchen,
In sowing whose fate at so lofty a rate, no Tayler had a stich in;

For though he make the man,
The Cook yet makes the dishes:
The which no Tailor can,
Wherein I have my wishes,

That I who at so many a feast have pleas'd so many Tasters,
Should come my selfe for to be drest, a dish for you my masters.

Three merry boyes, &c.

O Man or Beast, or you at least,
That wears or Brow or Antler,
Prick up your eares unto the teares
Of me poore Paul the Pantler.
That am thus chipt, because I clipt
The cursed crust of Treason
With loyall knife, O dolefull strife,
To hang thus without Reason.

Three merry boyes, &c.

5. The Sicke Tune.

Beat. [sadly] Good morow, sweete Hero!

Hero. Why, how now? do you speake in 'the sicke tune'?

Beat. I am out of all other tunes, me thinkes.

Mar. Clap's into 'Light a loue,' (that goes without a burden,) do you sing it, and ile daunce it.

Beat. Ye Light aloue with your heels, then if your husband haue stables enough, youle see he shall lacke no barnes. *Much Adoe*, III. iv. 40-9 (Q1).

[This is identified with the tune of the widely-known ballad of *Captain Car*, whose burden is 'Syck, sike, & totowe¹ sike.' It is here printed from the Cotton MS. *Vespasian*, A. xxv, but with the contractions expanded. The MS. has been corrected in many places by another hand: ? a little later. The poem was printed in Ritson's *Ancient Songs* (1790), p. 139-145.]

It befell at martynmas,	[leaf 178]
When wether waxed colde,	
Captaine care said to his men	
'We must go take a holde,'	4
Syck, sicke & totowe sike,	
& sicke & like to die;	
The sikest nighte that euer I abode,	
God lord haue mercy on me	8
'Haille <i>mary</i> , & wether you will,	
& wether ye like it best,	
To the castle of Crecrynbroghe,	
& there we will take <i>our</i> reste.'	12
Sycke, sicke, et c.	16
'I knowe wher is a gay castle,	17
Is builded ² of lyme & stone,	
Within their is a gay ladie,	
Her lord is riden & gone.' ³	20
Sicke, sick, et c.	24
The ladie ⁴ lend on her castle walle,	
She loked vpp and downe;	
There was she ware of an host of men	
Come riding to <i>the</i> towne.	28
Sycke, et c.	32
Com yow hether ⁵ my merimen all,	
& look what I do ⁶ see!	
Yonder Is ther ⁷ an host of men:	
I musen ⁸ who they be.	36
Sick, et c.	40

¹ too too.

² The *ed* has a line thro it, as if to strike it out.

³ MS first 'riden & gone', then struck out, and 'ryd from hom' written over.

⁴ MS has 'she' struck out.

⁵ MS 'Se yow' corrected into 'Com yow hether'.

⁶ MS '& se yow what I' corrected into '& look what I do'.

⁷ MS 'I see' corrected into 'Is ther'.

⁸ *n* is a correction, and a bad one.

She thought he had been her own ¹ wed lord That had ² comd riding home;	
Then was it traitur capitaine care, The Lord of ester towne.	44
Sicke, et c.	43
They wer no soner at supper sett, Then after said the grace, Or Capitaine care & all his men Wer lighte aboute the place.	52
Sicke, et c.	56
'Gyue ouer thi howsse, thou lady gay, & I will make the a bande, [= bond] To nighte thoust ly within ³ my armes, To morrowe thou shall ere my lande.'	60
Sicke, et [c].	64
Then bespake the eldest sonne, That was both whitt & redde, 'O mother dere, geue ouer your howsse, Or elles we shalbe deade.'	68
Sicke, et c.	72
'I will not geue ouer my hous,' she saithe, 'Not ⁴ for feare of my lyffe; It shalbe talked throughout the land The slaughter of a wyffe.'	76
Sicke, et c.	80
'Fetche me my pestilett,' [she saithe] '& charge me my gonne, That I may shott at [this ⁵] bloody butcher, The Lord of easter towne.'	84
Sicke, et c.	88
She styfly stod on her castle wall, ⁶ & lett the pelletes flee; But then ⁷ she myst the bloody bucher, & she ⁸ slew other three.	92
[Sicke, et c.]	96
'[I will ⁹] not geue ouer my hous,' she saithe, ¹⁰ 'Netheir for lord nor lowne, [10 leaf 178, back] Nor yet for traitour capitaine care, The lord of Easter towne.'	100
Sicke, et c.	104

¹ 'own' is a correction.

² MS 'As he' corrected to 'yt had'.

³ MS 'thou shall ly in' corrected to 'thoust ly wt in'.

⁴ not is a correction.

⁵ ? MS.

⁶ MS 'Styfly vpon her wall she stode', corrected to 'She styfly stod on her castle wall'.

⁷ But then struck out by the corrector.

⁸ she corrected out.

⁹ MS torn and covered over.

‘I desire of captine care, & all his bloddye band, <i>That</i> he would saue my eldest sonne, <i>The</i> eare of all my lande.’	108 112
Sicke, [et] c.	
‘Lap him in a shete,’ he sayth, ‘& let him downe to me, & I shall take him in my arme; His waran wyll ¹ I be,’	116 120
Sicke, [et] c.	
The captayne sayd vnto him selfe: With sped before <i>the</i> rest, He cut his tonge out of his head, His hart out of his brest.	124 128
Sicke, [et] c.	
He lapt them in a handkerchef, & knot it of knotes three, & cast them ouer <i>the</i> castell wall, At <i>that</i> gay ladye.	132 136
Sicke, [et] c.	
‘Fye vpon <i>thee</i> , Captayne care, & all thy bloody band, For <i>thou</i> hast slayne my eldest sonne, <i>The</i> ayre of all my land!’	140 144
Sicke, [et] c.	
Then bespake <i>the</i> yongest sonne, <i>That</i> sat on <i>the</i> nurses knee, Sayth ‘mother gay, geue ouer your house, It smoldereth me.’	148 152
Sicke, [et] c.	
‘I wold geue my gold,’ she saith, ‘& so I wolde my ffee, For a blaste of <i>the</i> westeyn wind To dryue the smoke from thee.’	[col. 2] 156 160
Sicke, et c.	
‘Fy vpon <i>thee</i> , John Hamleton, <i>That</i> euer I paid the[e] hyre, For <i>thou</i> hast broken my castle wall, & kyndled in thee ffyre.’	164 168
Sicke, et c.	
The lady gate to her close parler, The fire fell aboute her head; She toke vp her children thre, Seth ‘babes, we are all dead.’	172 176
Sike, et c.	

¹ MS ‘shall’ corrected to ‘wyll’.

Then bespake *the* hye steward,
That is of hye degree,
 Saith 'ladie gay, you are no close
 Wether ye fighte or flee.' 180
 [Sicke, et c.] 184

Lord Hamleton dremd in his dream,
 In caruall¹ where he laye,
 His halle were all of fyre,
 His ladie slayne or daye. 188
 [Sicke, et c.] 192

'Busk & bowne, my mery men all,
 Even & go ye with me,
 For I dremd *that* my haall was on fyre,
 My lady slayne or daye.' 196
 Sick, et c. 200

He buskt him and bownd hym, [leaf 179]
 & like a worthi knyghte;
 & when he saw his hall burning,
 His harte was no dele lighte 204
 [Sick, et c.] 208

He sett a trumpett till his mouth,
 He blew as it plesd his grace;
 Twenty score of hamlentons²
 Was light aboute the place. 212
 [Sick, et c.] 216

'Had I knowne asmuch yesternighte
 As I do to daye,
 Captaine care & all his men
 Should not haue gone so quite [*awaye*].'
 [Sick, et c.] 224

'Fye vpon the[e], captaine care,
 And all thy blody bandes,³
 Thou haste slayne my lady gay,
 More wurth then all thy lande[s]!' 228
 [Sick, et c.] 232

'Yf *thou* had ought eny ill will,' he saith,
 'Thou shoulde haue taken my lyffe,
 & haue saved my children thre,
 All & my lousome wyffe.' 236
 [Sick, et c.] 240

Finis per me Willelmum
 Asheton, clericum.

[I suppose that William Asheton only copied the Ballad.—F. J. F.]

¹ Or 'carnall'.

² Hamiltens.

³ MS misses one stroke of the *n*.

6. Heart's-Ease (Sing care away).

Enter Will Kemp.

Peter. Musitions, oh Musitions, harts ease, harts ease,
O. and you will haue me line, play harts ease.

Fidler. Why harts ease?

Peter. O Musitions, because my hart it selfe plaies my hart is full :
O play me some merie dump to comfort me.

Romeo and Juliet, IV. v. 100-106 (Q2).

"The tune of *Heart's-Ease* belongs in all probability," says Mr. W. Chappell, "to an earlier reign than that of Elizabeth, as it was sufficiently popular about the year 1560 to have a song written to it in the interlude of *Misogonus*."

Misogonus was first produced about 1560. The author, apparently, was Thomas Rychardes, whose name is appended to the prologue. The MS. is dated Ketteringe Die 20 Novembris, Anno 1577; but from internal evidence it is proved to have been written many years earlier. Collier gives a minute analysis of the plot in his *History of Dramatic Poetry*, vol. ii. pp. 369—383.

In the second act occurs the following song "to the tune of heart's ease."

SINGE care away with sport and playe,
Pastime is all our pleasure :
Yf well we fare, for nought we care,
In mearth consists our treasure.

Let lungis¹ lurke and drudges worke,
We doe defie their slaverie :
He is but a foole that goes to schole ;
All we delight in braverie.

What doth't availe farr hence to saile,
And lead our life in toylinge ?
Or to what end should we here spende
Our dayes in irksome moylinge ?

It is the best to live at rest,
And tak't as God doth send it ;
To haunt ech wake and mirth to make,
And with good fellows spend it.

Nothing is worse than a full purse
To niggards and to pinchers :
They alwais spare and live in care ;
Ther's no man loves such flinchers.

The merye man with cupp and cann
Lives longer then doth twentye :
The misers wealth doth hurt his health,
Examples wee have plentye.

Tza [¹Tis a] beastly thinge to lie musinge
With pensivenes and sorrowe :
For who can tell that he shall well
Live here until the morowe.

¹ *Lungis*, louts, stupid clumsy people. (Dekker, *Satiromastix*, iii. 119 ; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Kt. of B. Pestle*, II. iii. 4.)

We will therfore for evermore,
 While this our life is lastinge,
 Ete, drinke, and slepe, and lemans keepe,
 'Tis *popery* to use fastinge.

In cards and dice, our comforte lies,
 In sportinge and in dauncinge,
 Our minds to please and live at ease,
 And sometimes to use praunsinge.

With Bes and Nell we love to dwell
 In kysinge and in ha[w]kinge;
 But whope hoe, hollie, with trollye lollye!
 To them weil now be walking.

7. Green Sleeves.

(*Merry Wives*, II. i. 64,¹ V. v. 22.²)

(From *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, 1584, by Clement Robinson and others. Arber's English Scholar's Library, No. 3, p. 17-20, 1878.)

[The earliest mention of this ballad in the *Stationers' Registers* is as follows:—

iijo die Septembris [1580.]

Ric. Jones. Lyncenced vnto him A newe northen Dittye of ye Ladye Greene
 Sleves iiijd

Mr. W. Chappell, however, shows that the date of this entry is not the date of the ballad, which, as he remarks, "had evidently attained some popularity before that time, because on the same day Edward White had a license to print 'A ballad beinge ye Ladie Greene Sleeves answer to Donkyn hir frende.'" He concludes "that *Green Sleeves* must be a tune of Henry VIII.'s reign."]

*A new Courtly Sonet, of the Lady Green sleeues. To the new tune
 of Greensleeues.*

*Greensleeues was all my ioy,
 Greensleeues was my delight:
 Greensleeues was my hart of gold:
 And who but Ladie Greensleeues?*

ALAS my loue, ye do me wrong,
 to cast me off discourteously:
 And I haue loued you so long,
 Delighting in your companie.
 Greensleeues was all my ioy,
 Greensleeues was my delight:
 Greensleeues was my heart of gold;
 And who but Ladie Greensleeues?

¹ *Mi. Ford.* [of Falstaffe] hee . . gaue such orderly and wel-behaued reproofe to al vncomelinesse, that I would haue sworne his disposition would haue gone to the truth of his words: but they do no more adhere and keep place together, then the hundred Psalms to the tune of Green-Sleeues.

² *Fal.* . . . let it thunder to the tune of Greene-sleeues, haile kissing Comfits, and snow Eringoes.

I haue been readie at your hand,
 to grant what euer you would craue.
 I haue both waged life and land,
 your loue and good will for to haue.
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

I bought thee kerchers to thy head,
 that were wrought fine and gallantly:
 I kept thee both at boord and bed,
 Which cost my purse wel fauouredly:
 Greensleeues was al my ioie, &c.

I bought thee peticotes of the best,
 the cloth so fine as fine might be:
 I gaue thee iewels for thy chest,
 and all this cost I spent on thee.
 Greensleeues was all my ioie, &c.

Thy smock of silk, both faire and white,
 with gold embrodered gorgeously:
 Thy peticote of Sendall right:
 and thus I bought thee gladly.
 Greensleeues was all my ioie, &c.

Thy girdle¹ of gold so red,
 with pearles bedecked sumptuously:
 The like no other lasses had,
 and yet thou wouldst not loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

Thy purse and eke thy gay guilt kniues,
 thy pincase gallant to the eie:
 No better wore the Burgesse wiues;
 and yet thou wouldst not loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

Thy crimson stockings all of silk,
 with golde all wrought aboue the knee;
 Thy pumps as white as was the milk;
 and yet thou wouldst not loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

Thy gown was of the grassie² green,
 thy sleeues of Satten hanging by:
 Which made thee be our haruest Queen,
 and yet thou wouldst not loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

Thy garters fringed with the golde,
 And siluer aglets hanging by,
 Which made thee blithe for to beholde:
 And yet thou wouldst not loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

¹ *Girdle* is either 3 syllables, or an adjective like 'fine' is left out after it.

² *grossie* in original.

My gayest gelding I thee gaue,
 To ride where euer likèd thee;
 No Ladie euer was so braue;
 And yet thou wouldst not loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

My men were clothed all in green,
 And they did euer wait on thee:
 Al this was gallant to be seen;
 and yet thou wouldst not loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

They set thee vp, they took thee downe,
 they serued thee with humilitie;
 Thy foote might not once touch the ground;
 and yet thou wouldst not loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

For euerie morning when thou rose,
 I sent thee dainties orderly,
 To cheare thy stomach from all woes;
 and yet thou wouldst not loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

Thou couldst desire no earthly thing,
 But stil thou hadst it readily:
 Thy musicke still to play and sing:
 And yet thou wouldst not loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

And who did pay for all this geare,
 that thou didst spend when pleased thee?
 Euen I that am reiected here;
 and thou disdainst to loue me.
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

Wel, I wil pray to God on hie,
 that thou my constancie maist see:
 And that yet once before I die,
 thou wilt vouchsafe to loue me.
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

Greensleeues, now farewell, adue!
 God I pray, to prosper thee:
 For I am stil thy louer true:
 Come once againe, and loue me!
 Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.

Finis.

8. O Death, rocke me on slepe.

Pist. What! shall we haue incision? shall we imbrew?
 Then 'Death rocke me a sleepe,' abridge my dolefull daies!
 Why, then let grienous gastly gaping wounds
 Vntwine the Sisters Three! Come, Atropose, I say!
 2 *Henry IV*, II. iv. 210-214. Q1, p. 32 (as prose).

[In the words above, Pistol undoubtedly quotes the first line of a well-known ballad, whose authorship is attributed to George, Viscount Rochford, the brother of the ill-fated Anne Boleyn. But, says Ritson, 'any other state-prisoner' of Henry VIII's time has 'an equal claim' to the Song. It is here printed from Ritson's text, *Anc. Songs*, 1790, p. 121-2, from a MS apparently of Henry VIII's period.]

O DEATH, rocke me on slepe,
 Bring me on quiet reste,
 Let passe my uerye guiltless goste,
 Out of my carefull brest! 4
 Toll on the passinge bell!
 Ringe out the dolefull knell!
 Let the sounde my dethe tell, 7
 For I must dye,
 There is no remedy,
 For now I dye. 10

My paynes, who can expres?
 Alas! they are so stronge,
 My dolor will not suffer strength
 My lyfe for to prolonge; 14
 Toll on the passinge bell!
 Ringe out the dolefull knell!
 Let the sound my dethe tell, 17
 For I must dye,
 There is no remedye,
 For now I dye. 20

Alone in prison stronge,
 I wayle my destenye;
 Wo worth this cruel hap that I
 Should taste this miserye! 24
 Toll on the passinge bell!
 Ringe out the doleful knell!
 Let the sounde my dethe tell, 27
 For I must dye,
 There is no remedy,
 For now I dye. 30

Farewell my pleasures past!
 Welcum my present payne!
 I fele my torments so increse,
 That lyfe cannot remayne. 34
 Cease now the passing bell!
 Rong is my doleful knell,
 For the sound my deth doth tell, 37
 Deth doth draw nye;
 Sound my end dolefully,
 For now I dye. 40

9. Hold thy peace, thou Knaue.

(Twelfth Night, II. iii.)

Toby. . . . But shall we make the Welkin daunce indeed? Shall wee rowze the night-Owle in a Catch, that will drawe three soules out of one Weauer? Shall we do that?

Sir Andrew. And you loue me, let's doo't: I am dogge at a Catch.

Clowne. Byrlady, sir, and some dogs will catch well.

Sir Andrew. Most certaine: Let our Catch be, *Thou Knaue.*

Clowne. *Hold thy peace, thou Knaue,* knight! I shall be constrain'd in't to call thee 'knaue', Knight.

Sir Andrew. 'Tis not the first time I haue constrained one to call me knaue. Begin, foole! It begins, *Hold thy peace.*

Clowne. I shall neuer begin if I hold my peace.

Sir Andrew. Good, ifaith! Come, begin! [Catch sung.]

The words quoted above are "a plain allusion," says Dr. Hawkins, to a catch written in Queen Elizabeth's time, "the humour of which consists" in this, that each of the singers calls and is called 'Knaue' in turn:

Hold thy peace, and I preethee hold thy peace, thou Knaue.

10. Flout em and scout em.

(Tempest, III. ii. 118, 119.)

FLOUT'EM, and scout'em! and skowt'em, and flout'em!
Thought is free.

11. Who is Sylvia?

(See No. 1, abuv.)

12. Orpheus with his lute.

(Fletcher, in *Henry VIII.*, III. i. 3-14.)

ORPHEUS with his Lute made Trees,
And the Mountaine tops that freeze,
Bow themselues when he did sing.
To his Musicke, Plants and Flowers
Euer sprung; as Sunne and Showers
There had made a lasting Spring.

Euery thing that heard him play,
Euen the Billowes of the Sea,
Hung their heads, & then lay by.
In sweet Musicke is such Art, [that]
Killing care, & grieve of heart,
Fall asleepe, or hearing, dye.

13 and 24. You spotted Snakes.*(M. N. Dream, II. ii. 9-24.)*

You spotted Snakes, with double tongue,
 Thorny Hedgehogges, be not seene!
 Newts and blindewormes, do no wrong!
 Come not neere our Fairy Queene!
Philomele, with melody,
 Sing in our sweete Lullaby,
 Lulla, lulla, lullaby! lulla, lulla, lullaby!

Neuer harme,
 Nor spell, nor charme,
 Come our louely lady nigh!
 So, good night, with lullaby!
 1. *Fairy*. Weauing Spiders, come not heere!
 Hence, you long legd Spinners! hence!
 Beetles blacke, approach not neere!
 Worme nor snaile, doe no offence!
Philomele, with melody, &c.

14. Come away, Death.*(Twelfth Night, II. iv. 51-66.)*

COME away! come away, Death!
 And in sad cypresse let me be laide;
 Fye, away! fie, away, breath!
 I am slaine by a faire cruell maide:
 My shrowd of white, stuck all with Ew,
 O, prepare it!
 My part of death, no one so true
 did share it.
 Not a flower, not a flower sweete,
 On my blacke coffin, let there be strewne;
 Not a friend, not a friend greet
 My poore corpes, where my bones shall be throwne!
 A thousand thousand sighes to saue,
 lay me, ô, where
 Sad true louer neuer find my graue,
 to weepe there!

15. Sigh no more, Ladies.*(Much Ado, III. i. 57-68.)*

SIGH no more, Ladies, sigh no more!
 Men were deceiuers euer:
 One foote in sea, and one on shore,
 To one thing constant neuer.
 Then sigh not so, but let them go!
 And be you blith and bonnie,
 Conuerting all your soundes of woe,
 Into 'hey nony, nony.'

Sing no more ditties, sing no moe,
 Of dumps so dull and heauy!
 The fraud of men was euer so,
 Since summer first was leauy;
 Then sigh not so, &c.

16. When shall we three meet again?

(*Macbeth*, I. i. 1-11.)

1. WHEN shall we three meet again?
 In Thunder, Lightning, or in Raine?
2. When the Hurley-burley's done,
 When the Battaille's lost, and wonne.
3. That will be ere the set of Sunne.

1. Where the place?

2. Vpon the Heath.

3. There to meet with *Macbeth*.

1. I come, *Gray-Malkin*!

2. *Padock* calls.

3. Anon!

All. Faire is foule, and foule is faire;
 Houer through the fogge and filthie ayre!

17 and 22. If music be the Food of love.

(*Twelfth Night*, I. i. 1-15.)

If Musicke be the food of Loue, play on!
 Giue me excesse of it, that, surfetting,
 The appetite may sicken, and so dye.
 That straine agen! it had a dying fall:
 O, it came ore my eare, like the sweet sound
 That breathes ypon a banke of Violets,
 Stealing, and giuing, Odour!—Enough; no more!
 'Tis not so sweet now, as it was before.
 O spirit of Loue, how quicke and fresh art thou,
 That, notwithstanding thy capacitie
 Receiueth as the Sea: nought enters there,
 Of what validity, and pitch so ere,
 But falles into abatement, and low price,
 Euen in a minute! so full of shapes is Fancie,
 That it alone is high fantasticall.

18. Here will we sit.

(From "Come, live with me," No. 30.)

19. What shall he have that killed the deer?

(As You Like It, IV. ii. 10-17.)

WHAT shall he haue, that kild the Deare?
 His Leather skin, and hornes to weare!
 Take thou no scorne to weare the horne!
 It was a crest ere thou wast borne:
 Thy fathers father wore it,
 And thy father bore it:
 The horne, the horne, the lusty horne,
 Is not a thing to laugh to scorne!

20. Over Hill, over Dale.

(M. N. Dream, II. i. 2-15.)

Fairie. Ouer hill, ouer dale,
 Thorough bush, thorough brier,
 Ouer parke, ouer pale,
 Thorough flood, thorough fire,
 I do wander euery where,
 Swifter than the Moons sphere;
 And I serue the Fairy Queene,
 To dew her orbs vpon the greene.
 The cowslippes tall, her Pensioners bee;
 In their gold coats, spottes you see:
 Those be Rubies, Fairie fauours;
 In those freckles, liue their sauours.
 I must goe seeke some dew-droppes here,
 And hang a pearle in euery couslippes eare.

21. To see his face.

(Venus and Adonis, st. 183-187, ll. 1093-1122.)

To see his face, the Lion walkt along,
 Behind some hedge, because hee would not fear him;
 To recreate himselfe when he hath song,
 The Tygre would be tame, and gently heare him:
 If he had spoke, the Wolfe would leaue his prey,
 And neuer fright the silly Lambe that day.
 When he beheld his shadow in a Brooke,
 The fishes spred on it their golden gills:
 When he was by, the birds such pleasure tooke,
 That some would sing some other in their bills,
 Would bring him Mulberries, and ripe red Cherries:
 He fed them with his sight, they him with berries.
 But this foule, grim and vrchinsnouted Boare,
 Whose downward eye still looketh for a graue,
 Ne're saw the beauteous liuery that he wore;
 Witnesse the entertainment that he gaue:
 If he did see his face, why then, I know,
 He thought to kisse him, and hath kild him so.

Tis true, true, true, thus was *Adonis* slaine,
 He ran vpon the Boare with his sharpe speare,
 Who would not whet his teeth at him againe,
 But by a kisse thought to perswade him there :
 And nousing in his flanke, the louing Swine,
 Sheath'd vnaware the tuske in his soft groine.

Had I been tooth'd like him, I must confesse,
 With kissing him I should haue kild him first :
 But he is dead and neuer did he blesse
 My youth with his : the more am I accurst :
 With this she falleth in the place she stood,
 And staines her face with his congealed blood.

22. If music be the Food of love.

(See No. 17, abuv.)

23. Crabbed Age and Youth.

(*Passionate Pilgrim.* No. 12.)

CRABBED age and youth cannot liue together,
 Youth is full of pleasance, Age is full of care ;
 Youth like summer morne, Age like winter weather,
 Youth like summer braue, Age like winter bare.

Youth is full of sport ; Ages breath is short ;
 Youth is nimble ; Age is lame ;
 Youth is hot and bold ; Age is weake and cold ;
 Youth is wild, and Age is tame.

Age, I doe abhor thee ! Youth, I doe adore thee !
 O, my loue, my loue is young !
 Age, I doe defie thee ! Oh sweet Shepheard, hie thee !
 For me thinks thou staies too long.

24. You spotted Snakes.

(See No. 13, abuv.)

25. O Mistress mine.

(*Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 36-41, 44-9.)

O MISTRESS mine, where are you roming ?
 O, stay and heare ! your true loue's coming,
 That can sing both high and low :
 Trip no further, prettie sweeting !
 Iourneys end in louers meeting,
 Euery wise mans sonne doth know.

What is Loue? tis not heereafter;
 Present mirth hath present laughter;
 What's to come is still vn sure:
 In delay there lies no plentie;
 Then come kisse me, Sweet and twentie!
 Youth's a stuffe will not endure!

26. Tell me, where is Fancy bred?

(*Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 63-72.)

TELL me, where is Fancie bred?
 Or in the hart, or in the head?
 How begot, how nourish'd?
 Replie! replie!

It is engendred in the eyes;
 With gazing fed; and Fancie dies
 In the cradle where it lies!

Let vs all ring Fancies knell!
 Ile begin it: Ding, dong, bell!
All. Ding, dong, bell!

27. Take, oh, take those lips away.

(*Measure for Measure*, IV. i. 1-8.)

TAKE, oh, take those lips away,
 that so sweetly were forsworne!
 And those eyes, the breake of day;
 lights that doe mislead the Morne!

But, my kisses bring againe,
 bring againe;
 Seales of loue, but seal'd in vaine,
 seal'd in vaine!

28. Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes.

(*Hamlet*, I. i. 158-164, Q2.)

Marcellus. It faded on the crowing of the Cock.
 Some say that euer gainst that season comes,
 Wherein our Sauours birth is celebrated,
 This Bird of Dawning singeth all night long;
 And then (they say) no Spirit dare sturre abroad;
 The Nights are wholesome; then no Plannets strike;
 No Fairy takes, nor Witch hath power to charme;
 So Hallowed, and so Gracious, is that Time.

29. Hark! the Lark.

(Cymbeline, II. iii. 21-27.)

HEARKE! hearke! the Larke at Heauens gate sings,
 and *Phæbus* 'gins arise,
 His Steeds to water at those Springs
 on chalic'd Flowres that lyes;
 And winking Mary buds begin to ope their Golden eyes.
 With euery thing that pretty is, my Lady sweet, arise!
 Arise, arise!

30. Come, live with me.

(Passionate Pilgrim. No. 19, by Kit Marlowe, ll. 1-20.)

LIVE with me, and be my Loue;
 And we will all the pleasures proue,
 That hilles and vallies, dales and fields,
 And all the craggy mountaines yeeld.

There will we sit vpon the Rocks,
 And see the Shepheards feed their flocks,
 By shallow Riuers, by whose fals
 Melodious birds sing Madrigals.

There will I make thee a bed of Roses,
 With a thousand fragrant poses
 A cap of flowers, and a Kirtle
 Imbrodered all with leaues of Mirtle.

A belt of straw and Yuye buds,
 With Corall Clasps and Amber studs:
 And if these pleasures may thee moue,
 Then liue with me, and be my Loue!

LOUES ANSWERE.

If that the World and Loue were young,
 And truth in euery shepheards tounge,
 These pretty pleasures might me moue
 To liue with thee, and be thy Loue.

Income and Expenditure of the NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY for the Year ending December 31st, 1885.

THE TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR 1885.

69†

RECEIPTS.		EXPENSES.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Balance ...	6 14 4	Printing, &c., Messrs. R. Clay and Sons,	
MEMBERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS:—		on ac. ...	100 0 0
For 1874—84	22 1 0	MEMBERS' MEETINGS ...	17 15 0
1885 ...	165 6 11	„ „ (Musical Evening)	15 15 0
1886, &c. ...	8 8 0	Binding, Messrs. Nevett Bros. ...	1 9 0
DONATION:—(Miss E. Phipson)	2 2 0	POSTAGES, STATIONERY, &c. ...	6 12 0
Sale of Publications ...	4 15 4	BALANCE at Bank ...	67 16 7
	<u>£209 7 7</u>		<u>£209 7 7</u>

Examined with the Vouchers and found correct, November 16, 1886.

FRED. D. MATTHEW.
EDWARD BELL. } AUDITORS.

KENNETH GRAHAME, Hon. Sec.



New Shakspeare Society.

MONTHLY ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

(*Seventy-Second Meeting, Friday, October 14, 1881.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed.

New members: Miss Teena Smith, Professor Unger, and The King's Inn Library, Dublin.

The Society's Report was read from the chair.

The following resolutions were passed relative to the death of the late President Garfield, it being before understood that his Royal Highness Prince Leopold was willing to act as the medium of communication between the society and Mrs Garfield:—1. "That the New Shakspeare Society desires to express to Mrs Garfield and her family and the mother of the late President Garfield its heartfelt sympathy with them in the grievous loss which they and their nation have sustained by the death of the late President of the United States, long a member of this society." 2. "That, as a slight tribute of admiration for the loving devotion shown by Mrs Garfield during the long and painful illness of the late President, she be, and hereby is elected the first honorary member of the New Shakspeare Society." 3. "That in memory of the late President Garfield's connection with Hiram College, U.S.A., and with the New Shakspeare Society, a set of the society's publications be presented to the library of the said college." 4. "That his Royal Highness Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, one of the vice-presidents of the society, be requested to communicate these resolutions to Mrs Garfield."

Mr Furnivall and Dr Bayne spoke of President Garfield's love of literature, retained in spite of military and legislative duties, and of the appropriateness of the Society's connection with the American people being through a man of such comprehensiveness of character.

A Paper by Mr J. W. Mills, B.A., of the Clifton Shakspeare Society, "I have much to say on behalf of that Falstaff," was then read from the chair. The paper was in three parts, in the first of which Mr Mills dealt with Falstaff as he appeared in 1 *Henry IV.*, and quoted Rochefoucauld's remark that "the same vanity which

makes us blame the faults from which we think ourselves exempt, induces us to despise the good qualities of which we are devoid." This observation he proceeded to apply to certain modern conceptions of Falstaff, and pointed out that in an age which sins privately and genteelly, which robs by joint-stock companies, gets drunk privately at its club, and goes *respectably* through the Bankruptcy Court, the conduct of a man who tells lies only to make men merrier and happier, and who robs purses half in jest and half in earnest, runs directly counter to all our *improved* notions of right and wrong. It was grossness, he continued, not vice, that so shocked the Victorian age; it was the seeming irreligious, not irreligion itself, that was the damnable sin. Hence the charm of Falstaff's thorough frankness, his *honest knavery*, considered by us an aggravation of his vices. Falstaff's own account of his immoralities was so obviously exaggerated for humour's sake as to be completely worthless as a gauge of his real character. In his charge against Dame Quickly, for instance, of stealing from his pocket "three or four bonds of forty pound apiece," no one was deceived except Dame Quickly herself, the obviously intended victim. His inexhaustible humour and animal spirits charmed us no less than his wisdom, shown in his well-known catechism upon "honour." Yet he was no coward; for he *led* his ragamuffins to where they were so soundly peppered that but three were left alive.

In his second paper Mr Mills dealt with the outlines of Falstaff's nature and life in 2 *Henry IV.*, which Falstaff's abundant frankness made an easy task. He pointed out that in Act v. 1, we might find an important hint about Falstaff's peculiar mode of delivering his jests. He says: "O, it is much, that a lie with a slight oath, and a jest with a sad brow, will do," &c.; which might explain his apparently ill-timed witticism upon Justice Silence, "Good Master Silence, it well befits you should be of the peace," a joke which seemed to have had no damaging effects upon his chances of a future loan. His shrewdness and insight into men were great, as shewn in the instance of Justice Shallow, whom he read like a book, and from whom he secured a loan of a thousand pounds. As to this episode, Mr Mills did not think it at all clear that Falstaff deliberately intended to defraud Shallow, so thorough was his belief in his own favour and friendship with the Prince. Officers, students, merchants, and traders often borrowed money upon prospects no more probable, nor did they on that account suffer social infamy. With regard to Falstaff's treatment of Dame Quickly, it was important to remember, in extenuation, that he retained her affectionate esteem to the very last. Falstaff's final repulse by the king did not necessarily imply that Shakspeare intended to point a moral. Shakspeare's only concern was with what life taught us, and life taught us that upon the whole prudent vice was just as profitable as prudent virtue—so far as this world was concerned. This episode must be intended to arouse our

sympathies by the sight of the poor fellow's disappointment, and to make us love him the more. Falstaff had faults, and great ones, for everything about the man was colossal ; but he might take a proud place among the great benefactors of the nation, as the very incarnation of laughter, genial, refreshing, and free from bitterness.

The death of Falstaff in *Henry V.* formed the subject of the third article. The writer considered that the grounds for introducing this episode were that Falstaff's existence, hitherto only occasionally clouded by debts and duns, lacked the more delicate lines of tenderness, and so for the first time in his career our minds were tuned to a minor key. The heartfelt grief of those who knew him best was the best testimony to his character ; and here we found the emotional element, hitherto so conspicuously wanting. Falstaff had loved sack ; but he had loved to share it, and the desertion of his former comrades was fatal to him.

After dwelling at length upon the affecting incidents of the death-bed scene, the writer declared it was difficult to listen with calmness to the self-laudations of the present age, as if civilization arose with Stephenson, and morality with the press. Civilization rose to a far greater pitch in Athens under Pericles than in England under Elizabeth ; and in England under Elizabeth than in Victoria's reign. Human nature was then fresher, nobler, and richer in all the higher elements, than now, and the vices of that period had their roots in the very exuberance of its strength and manhood, just as ours spring from cowardice and feebleness. Was love of sack worse than, through greed of gain, drowning every year scores of sailors in rotten ships ? or unchastity than, for greed of gain, undermining the health and happiness of thousands by poisoning their daily food ? Such enormities as these should at least make us less harsh in speaking of our forefather's failings. Our poetry truthfully reflected the difference between the two epochs, in the smooth but laboured lines, or sonorous incomprehensibilities, of modern verse, as compared with the boisterous vigour or simple sweetness of the Elizabethan poets.

After the usual vote of thanks *Mr Furnivall* remarked that if the paper was meant as an attack against the vices and hypocrisy of the present age, well and good ; but when we were asked to excuse Falstaff's faults because he makes us laugh, it was really time to protest. Falstaff's good-nature was merely a moral weakness ; if you *had* to judge him morally, then you could not condemn him too strongly. For this aged ruffian, this disgrace to the noble profession whose attributes were so beautifully described by Chaucer, robbing a poor woman, and doing his best to debauch the hope of England, no excuse could be found. It was no excuse to say that we now-a-days commit enormities of a deeper dye. As for the passage adduced in support of his courage, we read that he "*led*" his men, &c., not that he stayed and fought with them.

Dr Bayne dwelt upon the immense value of such a character as Falstaff as a promoter of laughter, hearty and unrestrained ; but, he pointed out, in all *testing* experiences of life, Falstaff utterly failed ; in friendship, indeed, we may give him the benefit of the doubt ; but we must notice how Shakspeare is mercilessly, almost unnecessarily, severe, in the casting off of Falstaff by the king.

Dr Nicholson denied the absence of an intended moral. He also pointed out that Falstaff was a character Shakspeare must constantly have met with in London—that of a disbanded captain, like Bobadill or Tucca.

Dr Darmesteter joined in protesting against any tentative rehabilitation of Falstaff's character. There was nothing to make us suppose that Shakspeare ever intended to introduce the faintest ray of the ideal, or the slightest touch of moral dignity. As for his idea of honour, it agreed exactly with that of Iago's, "As I am an honest man, I thought you had received some bodily wound ; there is more offence in that, than in reputation." True, the narrative of his death was of the deepest pathos ; but it would be a wrong inference to suppose that even here Shakspeare felt any sympathy with his hero : the scene was evidently meant as an illustration of the old saying, "When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be." It was noteworthy that Sir John dies not only a Christian, but a Puritan death ; his dying words are against the "whore of Babylon," the first whore, and the only one apparently, that ever aroused his virtuous indignation.

Mr Spalding remarked that the whole theory required stronger condemnation, viz. : that men were all either hypocrites and proud of it, or hypocrites who tried to conceal it, and that, for the writer's part, he rather preferred the former. The same should be said of the cheap cynicism that "prudent vice paid as well as prudent virtue."

Mr Mills, who was not present, thus comments on the discussion above : he admits that he wrote in the spirit of an advocate—*advocatus Diaboli*, if you will,—who undertakes to defend before a jury—modern Society—prejudiced against the accused from an inadequate conception of the difference between temptation to imperfect moral natures in Elizabeth's age and in our own times. The New Shakspeare Society were "reverend benchers."

Falstaff did not *of set purpose* debauch the hope of England ; their friendship was a casual connection, and did the prince rather good than harm. In his catechism of honor the knight meant *military glory* ; in *that sense* it is as wise as witty. Mr Mills denies that any such theory as "all men are either hypocrites and proud of it, or hypocrites who try to conceal it," is to be found in his paper. He maintains that weak morals + manly frankness, is better than

weak morals + hypocrisy. Thackeray says of Hogarth's pictures, "Not one of his tales but is as easy as 'Goody two shoes'; it is Tommy was a naughty boy and the master flogged him; Jacky was a good boy and had plum-cake." Such a scheme of morals is not found in Falstaff's end, who is granted "a competency for life," and dies honestly in his bed. The maxim:—"Prudent vice is upon the whole as successful as prudent virtue *so far as concerns this world*," is the belief of a school of thought to which belong Dean Stanley, Professor Maurice, Kingsley, Bishop Temple, Fenelon, Seneca, Cicero, Socrates, and such like cheap cynics. Pope sums up this "cheap cynicism" thus:—

"But sometimes *Virtue starves while Vice is fed*;
What then? is the reward of Virtue *bread*?
What nothing earthly gives nor can destroy—
The soul's calm sunshine and the heartfelt joy
Is Virtue's prize."—(Essay on Man.)

But Mr Mills' critic apparently holds the contrary doctrine; viz. that Virtue's prize is bread and beer, or a comfortable villa and a brougham, or an estate and peerage, according to the social rank of the virtuous man. Which of these two doctrines is consonant with human *experience* it is for inductive philosophers to decide; both cannot be true.

(*Seventy-Third Meeting, Friday, November 11, 1881.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr William Poel was announced as a new member.

Mr Kirkman's paper on "Suicides in Shakspeare," not being ready, was transferred to Jan. 13th, 1882, and a paper on "All's Well That Ends Well," by Mr J. G. A. Dow, M.A., of the Monday Shakspeare Club, Glasgow, was read from the Chair. As this will be at once printed in full, and sent round to members, and will also be bound up in the "Transactions," it is not abstracted here. The second Paper read—from the Chair—was an old one by Mr Richard Grant-White of New York, "The Tale of the Forest of Arden," telling, in its writer's happiest style, the story of *As you like it*, and commenting on the chief characters in the play in a way that was highly approved in the discussion that followed, except in the one instance of Touchstone, whom Mr Grant-White had identified in spirit with Jaques, as a loveless cynic. This view of the "clownish fool (who'd) go along o'er the wide world with" Celia, and whose good humour shone thro' his every word, was repudiated by every speaker.

Seventy-fourth Meeting, Friday, December 9th, 1881.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

MISS E. H. HICKEY read a paper upon *Romeo and Juliet*. After an account of the first appearances of the story in Italian literature, which would fix the date of the events at about the beginning of the fourteenth century, Miss Hickey went on to point out that the play was Shakspeare's early work, and it was interesting to notice the difference in conception and form between it and the later tragedies, from which it is separated perhaps by as much as ten years.

It was the only tragedy of Shakspeare's in which love played the part of parts; the only one in which the lyric element predominated. The action of the play lasted a little over four days, and through all of it there was hurry, vehemence, precipitancy towards the end.

Was it love or fancy, the first affection of Romeo for Rosaline? At any rate there was no falseness to any one; when the great love of his short life came upon him, there was no claim to be thrown aside, no bond to be broken. A difference in Romeo's language after he comes under the influence of his passion for Juliet was to be noticed; no longer the antitheses about heavy lightness, serious vanity, feather of lead, &c. His language was informed by passion, and became direct, natural, living. Romeo was, to the writer, one of the most loveable of Shakspeare's characters. "Virtuous and well-governed," he had the strength of purity, the courtesy that came of feeling, not convention, and that crowning gift of grace in which the strongest are so often lacking. He was one of those whose look and voice draw love from all who come near: "Good-morrow, Father," he says to the Friar, who replies, "Benedicite! what early tongue so sweet saluteth me?" When telling Benvolio of his tormenting passion he could break off to salute the puzzled serving-man, and help him out of his trouble. Lady Capulet's was an essentially vulgar nature, if by vulgarity we mean, with Ruskin, "deathful callousness." We found, by the way, in Juliet what would seem unnatural in a happy English girl, that element of cunning in her character. Few who read the play had any idea how little there was in the words spoken to each other by Romeo and Juliet at their first meeting; how merely conventional those words and kisses might have been, not binding these two any more than the embrace in a waltz would in our day. It was beautifully arranged that before the second meeting, Romeo should overhear Juliet's confession of love; thenceforth there was no need to resume "the august veil of natural reserve." Coleridge said that he did not know a more wonderful instance of Shakspeare's mastery in playing a distinctly rememberable variety on the same remembered air than in the transporting love-confessions of Romeo

and Juliet and of Ferdinand and Miranda. Romeo's confidant, the Friar, was one of those gentle, well-meaning souls to whom violent delight is only a thing doomed to a violent end. It was on the side of the "grace" in the big world outside his cloister that Brother Laurence ranged himself; but he was so apart from the world of passion that he simply had no idea of such things as the flesh-trembling of Tybalt, the wild vehemence of Romeo.

We should, as Coleridge pointed out, mark Shakspeare's gentleness on touching the tender superstitions, the *terre incognita* of presentiments in the human mind; and how sharp a line of distinction he commonly draws between these obscure forecastings of general experience in each individual and the vulgar errors of mere tradition. Indeed, it may, as he says, be taken once for all as the truth, that Shakspeare, in the absolute universality of his genius, always reverences whatever arises out of our moral nature; he never profanes his muse with a contemptuous reasoning away of the genuine and general, however unaccountable, feelings of mankind. It was important to contrast the deceptive nature of Romeo's presage with the truth of Juliet's.

It was years before Shakspeare wrote another tragedy; he had much to learn and much to feel. It might be that, feeling how there was the great tragic power in him, he waited for its growing and ripening, and worked at simpler work, determining that the work he thought the greatest should be done the best. When he led us again into these realms there was a vast change; he had learnt that the love between a man and woman was not the whole of life. He had learnt that a man's work must be done even if it meant the giving up of the dearest things—the breaking of the closest ties. There was no agony in *Romeo and Juliet*. There was pathos and pity, but we could bear to look on them lying dead in the morning light without our hearts being wrung as they are when "Enter Lear with Cordelia dead in his arms." They were not conquered by fate. "Star-crossed lovers" they might be, yet they had conquered. Theirs had been a love that no distrust had ever clouded, theirs a union that death, weaker than love, was powerless to break. Lovely and pleasant in their lives, in their death they were not divided.

In the discussion which followed, Mr Furnivall approved of the bringing out of the contrast between Shakspeare's earlier and later tragedies. He noticed the *reasonableness* of old Capulet when spoken to at first by Paris,—so different from his after violence—"Get her heart, Paris, woo her, &c., my consent is but a part," and he did not agree with Miss Hickey as to the sacrificial aspect of the play. As to Romeo, he differed from Miss Hickey. He never felt that Romeo was really a 'man': that spoony weeping and sighing over Rosalind, shutting up his windows to make 'himself an artificial night' (I. i. 138-146); that tearing his hair, weeping 'on the ground, with his own

tears made drunk' (III. iii. 68, 83), &c., when he heard of his banishment; that talk of cutting his name out of his body, &c. (III. iii. 10), were too far from an Englishman's notion of Manhood to enable any one to give very strong praise to Romeo. The Friar's reproach in III. iii. 109-113, was only too well deserved:—

“Art thou a man? thy form cries out thou art:
 Thy tears are womanish; thy wild acts denote
 The unreasonable fury of a beast: 111
 Unseemly woman in a seeming man!
 Or ill-beseeming beast in seeming both!
 Thy noble shape is but a form of wax, 126
 Digressing from the valour of a man.”

Of course Romeo was more than this, had manly and loveable qualities; but too much mustn't be made of him.

Dr Bayne said that the “cunning” noticed in Juliet was in love not uncommon with women, as in Helena's case. Romeo, in spite of faults, was at heart a noble fellow. Love in him is strong enough to quell his pride, and make him submit even to be called villain; but when his friend is killed, the limit of his forbearance is reached, and his manliness asserts itself.

Mr Harrison, as another instance of cunning in love, gave Desdemona, who deceived her father.

Dr Nicholson said that Romeo was not a man; he was a young man; if he had lived, he would have been the first citizen in Verona; and Mercutio, had he lived, would have been the second.

Miss Phipson observed in all Shakspeare's characters an indifference to truth, and thought that there was not in those times so strict a regard to truth in small matters.

Dr Nicholson then read his Notes upon three passages in *Hamlet*.

I. MORTAL COIL. *HAMLET*, III. I. 67.

Dr Nicholson defended this against Mason and Professor Elze's changes. His arguments (excepting those directly against these changes) were: (1) That the word excellently expressed Hamlet's feeling that he was here confined, cribbed and fettered far more than he would be when divested of this garment or “tabernacle” of flesh. (2) That the verb “shuffle off” as aptly described the endeavours of one so confined to free himself from a close encircling cable coil. (3) That “coil,” though then only a nautical term, existed by the evidence of Cotgrave and Capt. J. Smith (of Virginian renown). And (4) That nautical words and phrases were then so commonly used as to be in the mouths of mere shoregoers. He also adduced a passage given him by Miss Toulmin Smith from the Towneley Mysteries (1st part of 15th cent.)—“a masse of widows coylle.”

II. SABLES. *HAMLET*, III. II. 121-2.

This only seemed obscure, because commentators had not considered how Shakspeare necessarily dressed his characters. Hamlet in "inky" black; but as Claudius and Gertrude had recently married, and because Claudius had given himself to the enjoyment of the crown in "wakes and wassails, etc.," they were, as it were, in half-mourning—wore their ordinary royal robes, but now trimmed with sables. Hence Hamlet makes one of his usual sarcastic hits at them—"Wear black when those I ought to follow put on ostentatious shews of mourning which set them off in the pomps of this world? No." Such a remark would justly rouse the King's suspicions. But a passage in R. Armin's 'Italian Taylor,' &c. (Argument, Canto II.) runs—

"Enuie in her sables drest
Adorned like one of ire."

This has since induced him to suspect a second and occult meaning. "The devil take black, tis time I swooped to my revenge," a thought constantly in Hamlet's mind, though from infirmity of action he put it off till at last it occurred through the action of the King himself.

III. COMMA. *HAMLET*, V. II. 41-2.

Like others he had once proposed to change this word through ignorance of the then modes of speech. Two illustrations have been mislaid, but N. Breton in his 'Packet of Madde Letters,' 1603, gave (B. 1, lett. 38) "the place, [of combat] where God and a good conscience will quickly determine the quarrell: but I fear the point of the sword will make a comma to your cunning." Shakspeare used the phrase with more subtilty and felicity, because he represents her or it as standing between them, while (especially when we compare a comma with the other stops) she or it joins two allied persons or clauses, holding out a hand to either.

IV. THE WORLD'S A STAGE. *AS YOU LIKE IT*, II. 7.

Neither this nor the Seven Ages are original thoughts. The Fathers, &c. (quoted from N. & Q., 15 Oct. '81, p. 311) give this. So did the Globe motto, "Totus mundus agit histrionem," and so others. So does a new example from Withal's Dictionary, inserted when the section on Plays was enlarged, 1586, the first edition after plays had become fashionable and common, as shewn by the Theatre first mentioned in 1576, the Blackfriars, built the same year, and the Curtain finished in 1577. "Scena autem mundus, versatilis histrio, et actor quilibet est hominum.—This life is a certayne interlude or play. The world is a stage full of change every way. Every man is a player and therein a dealer." The translator attempts rhyme, as frequently in his proverbial sayings. The original is not improbably mediæval.

On these Notes Mr Furnivall said (1) that he quite agreed with Dr Nicholson in keeping "coil." His experience of Elze was, that if an author used the aptest possible word, Elze was sure to try and emend it: witness his changing the admirable "*leathern Adam*" of *Edw. III.* (Adam clad in skins, or his own skin, or leather) to an abominable "*heathen Adam*"; Dryden's happy 'crest' of the advancing ships, to a puddingy '*breast*'; Milton's right "champing his iron *curb*," to a ludicrous "champing his iron *rein*"—so quietly chafft by Mr Matthew in our *Trans.* 1877-9, p. 48*-49*—as if there had ever been a rider who didn't know of a curb bit as well as a curb chain. These Elzean emendations were a perfect pest. (2) As to *sables*, Shakspeare's own use of it in *Hamlet* IV. vii. 81, "for youth no less becomes The light and careless livery that it wears, Than settled age his *sables* and his weeds, Importing health¹ and graveness," shows that Shakspeare did not mean by *sables* a funereal or mourning dress, as he did by black, but only a brown rich dress, just as a widow going out of mourning now might say, "I'll throw off my crape cloak, and take to my sealskin." The father Hamlet's 'sable silverd' (cp. Sonnet XII. 4) might be any colour of brown, a more natural colour for a Scandinavian's hair than black. The fur 'sable' never was black²; tho in *Hamlet* II. ii. 474 the adjective meant that. (3) For *Comma*, Mr Furnivall suggested the meaning 'hyphen,' which gave the sense required by the passage. He founded this on the French "*Virgule*: f. A little rod, yard; streak; and thence also, a comma" (Cotgrave), though he admitted he could produce no instance of comma=hyphen, and that the first hyphens were two oblique parallels =, and not the single slanting metrical bar, or pause-mark / that the *virgule*, Ital. *virgola*, was. He also admitted that Ben Jonson spoke of 'hyphens' when he did of 'commas', though by his 'comma' he meant a 'semi-colon', that is, a stop making a pause longer than our comma. Gifford's scandalous alteration of Ben Jonson's text had confuzed men on this point; and unluckily when correcting Jonson, Col. Cunningham (*J.'s Works*, 2 cols., iii. 458) put "Folio, 1640" over Gifford's unauthorized changes, and "Gifford, 1816" over the Folio text (modernized). Why Jonson held the semi-colon as the shorter stop, and the comma as the longer one, was well explained by Cunningham: "as a dot over a period (:) denotes a lesser distinction than the period itself, so a dot over a comma (;) denoted a lesser distinction than the comma itself."

(4) On 'the world's a stage' Mr Furnivall referd to the extract printed by him in the *Trans.* for 1877-9, p. 471, from Googe's

¹ Corson's and Furness's doctrine of *respective* construction here, that *health* refers to *youth*, is to be considerd.

² At the Meeting on Jan. 13, 1882, Mr F. showd some sable skins lent to Miss Hickey by her landlord, a furrier in Regent St. These little things were darkish brown on the back, but mainly light brown, with yellowish and white bits on the belly. The most choice and valuable skins only are dark brown.

englishing of Palingenius Stellatus, who flourished about 1500 A.D. The metaphor could be carried much further back.

Dr P. Bayne remarked that Dr Nicholson's paper entitled him to the gratitude of the Society on account of its careful research, and the sagacity with which it swept away those cobweb emendations by which the unmistakeably Shaksperian phrase "mortal coil" had been obscured. But his suggestion on the famous *HAMLET* difficulty of the "suit of sable" or "sables," though learned and ingenious, was quite unnecessary; since, in Dr Bayne's opinion, the difficulty had been perfectly removed by Warburton, being shown to have arisen wholly from a misreading of the text. By merely supposing that Shakspeare intended to say "'fore," *i. e.* before, instead of *for*, the difficulty is swept away. What was the difficulty? That the "for" assigned a reason for Hamlet's wearing black, when the very point of his irony lay in exclaiming on the length of time since his father's death, implying the absurdity of wearing mourning, so that we irresistibly expect him to say that he will *not* wear black, or anything that proclaims a sense of bereavement. But this is precisely what he says, if Warburton's—not conjecture, but—*perception* of what Shakspeare meant to write is accepted. "Let the devil wear black 'fore I'll have a suit of sables." If Hamlet were in black at the time, the irony would not be the less pungent than if he were otherwise dressed; for then he would, in effect, threaten to cast his black dress to the devil. That Shakspeare connected "sable" and "sables" with darkness and gravity is demonstrated, even within the bounds of this play. Old Hamlet's beard was "a sable silvered," and the light livery of youth is contrasted with "the sables and the weeds" of "settled age." Warburton's reading does not involve the smallest meddling with the text: it is a restoration; since no one imagines that Shakspeare wrote with scrupulous regard to spelling, and his "for"—if we presume that he wrote "for" and not "'fore"—would naturally be supposed by a copyist or printer to be the causal conjunction.

To Mr Furnivall's objection that commentators generally had declined Warburton's suggestion, Dr Bayne replied that he could account for that only by its extreme simplicity, its absolute aptness—satisfactoriness. To the critics it seemed impossible that a problem so often deemed insoluble should be so easily solved.

To these criticisms Dr Nicholson replied—As to Warburton's change: (1) An explanation is to be preferred to conjectural readings. (2) Though the adjective "sable" generally meant black, the substantive "sables" always meant the fur. Hence the one change requires a second change, that of "sables" to "sable." (3) The repetition of black and sable (= black) forms a sentence hardly idiomatic, certainly not Shaksperian colloquial English. (4) "Let the devil wear black 'fore," &c., as though black had not been the devil's colour, is somewhat more than ridiculous, the more so as

Hamlet did not suit the action to the word. (5) The present reading says what according to Dr Bayne "we irresistibly expect." "So long! I'll no longer wear plain sincere black, but put on, for custom and decency's sake, an ostentatious shew of mourning"—of which (*subaudita*) my Aunt-Mother and Uncle-Father give me so good an example. Dr Bayne's theory of rejection won't stand the general run of facts. "Light lights," *R. J. I.* iv. 45, is at once accepted for the error, "Lights, Lights," &c. &c.

'*Tis nothing less* = anything but, Schmidt, as in *Richard II.* II. ii. 34, &c. When one now says—"This is mere trickery"—and his friend replies—"'*tis nothing less*," he answers affirmatively, meaning, it is in reality trickery, it is nothing less. But, though neither Nares, H. Phillipps in his Dictionary, Dyce, nor I believe any other commentator till Schmidt noticed it, in Elizabethan times the phrase was often used as a flat denial, signifying, "There is **nothing less** so than it," *i. e.* it is at the other extremity of the line, or the two are far as the poles asunder. This is its sense in *Richard II.* II. ii. 1. 34, and the following are two examples from Joshua Sylvester. "*Simile non est idem*," &c. st. 2:—

"O Mindes! O manners, most absurd
When (to the Scandall of the Word)
The more our Light the worse our Works:
When *seeming* SAINCTS be **nothing less**;
And more Prophane, who most Profess,
Than *Infidells* or *Jews*, or *Turks*."

So in "A Brief [Protestant] Catechism of the Lord's Supper:—

- Q. But, is Christ present in the Sacrament?
A. Yea: and his Flesh hee doth vs there present.
Q. How meanest thou, that the substantiall Essence
(After a reall and a carnall presence)
Of Christ his Body, in the Bread is closed;
And, of his Blood within the Wine inclosed?
A. No; **nothing less.** Q. &c."

These quotations are from the collected edition of 1626.—*B. N.*

jackanapes, sb. ape, monkey: *Henry V.*, V. ii. 148. *Vice*, &c. "It was a prety part in the old Church-playes when the nimble Vice would skip vp nimbly like a Jacke an Apes into the deuils nacke, and ride the deuil a course, and belabour him with his woodden dagger, til he made him roare, whereat the people would laugh to see the deuil so vice-haunted. This action, and passion had som semblance, by reason the deuil looked like a patible old *Coridon*, with a payre of hornes on his head, and a Cowes tayle at his breach." 1603. S. Harsnet. *Popish Impostures*, p. 115.

(Seventy-Fifth Meeting, Friday, January 13, 1882.)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

THE REV. J. KIRKMAN read his paper on "Suicide in Shakspeare." He regretted that there was no other word which he felt satisfied to substitute for suicide. The nearest he could suggest was *The Two Voices*, "To be or not to be," and how Shakspeare had dealt with that question as animating the human mind. Tennyson's '*Two Voices*' was of course an amplification, or a glorification, of Hamlet's soliloquy. Mr Kirkman presumed to differ from the facile author of '*Lessons from my Masters*,' because he blocked up the beautiful gate by a word Tennyson had not used. He said "Voice No. 1 opens the dialogue with a recommendation to the poet to commit suicide," so, whatever might follow, he at the start applied this ugly and black word to long courses of metaphysical or emotional movements of the soul, which might possibly lead to the final act called suicide, or which perhaps ought to lead to it.

Suicide was not however the original suggestion, but the conflict of "To be or not to be." With the one we had unlimited sympathy; towards the other, one's sympathy is not appealed to. Thus we must distinguish between the argument which might lead on to suicide, and the act to which it does not lead on after all. The one was everything; the other nothing at all.

By a precisely similar comparison, Shakspeare established a measureless distinction between the mental process and the final act to which it led, or even to which it did not lead. In both cases the moral lesson was the same, that the mental conflict was everything, the mere shedding of blood nothing. It was the working of conscience in Macbeth or in Lady Macbeth, not the difference of its issues; the meditations on death in Brutus, not the philosophic act of the soldier-stoic; Cleopatra pursuing conclusions infinite of easy ways to die,—the stings of thoughts, not the mortal stings of asps,—that most absorbed our attention.

The contrast between Hamlet and Ophelia made itself particularly felt in this respect. Hamlet thought a thousand suicides, but committed none; Ophelia wilfully sought her own salvation. Hamlet was all individuality; Ophelia was far too blanched of individuality to do anything extraordinary. The wonder was, that she had the sense to go mad. Nothing in her life became her like the leaving of it. Ophelia's suicide was so palpably the antithesis to Hamlet's meditation on suicide, that we had the kernel of the whole subject in it.

We must observe the frequency, comparatively speaking, of

suicides in the Roman plays (four in *Antony and Cleopatra*; two in *Julius Cæsar*), and with what absurdity even Dante put Brutus and Cassius along with Judas Iscariot and a host of other suicides; and then trace how Shakspeare evolved his noble favourite Brutus, the very type of intellectual democracy and the levelling-up of intellect. Brutus might *not* have committed the final act; and all his previous reasoning would stand untouched, unweakened. Titinius was a shadow, a true shadow, of Brutus, or rather of Cassius.

But to pass to the wondrous play of *Antony and Cleopatra*. There was a fastidious niceness about Cleopatra, and a royal delicacy of refinement in her experiments and "conclusions infinite," &c. The incomparable pathos of self-reproach in Enobarbus was a vortex of mind and mental agony, in which his death is but as centre. But Enobarbus, Eros, and Antony were a trio, in which each was master to the other.

Othello's death was of less account for the argument of suicide: it was the only thing left for him to do, the only way out. As to Romeo and Juliet, love would do anything, and death was a trifle in its estimate. Goneril was the typical case of Lady Macbeth; and poor Gloucester was the variety of escaping from incurable woe, which, after all, next to remorse of guilty conscience, was the commonest case, as Lucrece, from shame. It was strange that these two instances of suicide from inability to control remorse, should be women. But it confirmed the main position, that the whole lesson was one of mental history, in which the outward act went for little. In women emotion became uncontrollable, and gave a final momentum; in men it expended itself by reasoning.

There might be a difference of opinion about Timon, as to whether he was a suicide or not; the writer put him down as a case of self-administration of euthanasia. He prepared his grave, wrote his epitaph, had eaten his last root, cried, "Sun, hide thy beams! Timon has done his reign," and lay down and died.

Macbeth, who was altogether in that state in which many another, equally brave, would have slipped out by the contemptible back door of suicide, yet diverts himself therefrom by a petty turn of thought.

"Why should I play the Roman fool, and die
On mine own sword?"

We found all the *varieties* of causes and circumstances leading to suicide. Insanity in Ophelia; remorse of conscience in Lady Macbeth, Goneril; the high Roman style of exit in Brutus, Titinius, Eros; shame in Lucrece; love and despair in Romeo and Juliet, Pyramus and Thisbe; climax of abhorrence of life in Timon (if he did do it); nothing else left to do in poor Othello; dishonour and disgrace in Antony and Enobarbus; and evading of public humiliation in the proud Egyptian queen. To lump all these together under one heading was as indiscriminate as making all cats alike in

the dark. The suicides were about equally divided between men and women; and there was not one man actually belonging to the type of humanity in these isles, except Gloucester, whose act, however, was not consummated, and but two women.

Most instructive were the cases which did not end in suicide, although, as one might say, logically they ought to. Richard III. was more steeped in murder than Macbeth or his wife, more tortured by remorseful conscience than she or Goneril; yet his own moral cowardice retained him for punishment on this side the act.

In conclusion Mr Kirkman observed that on a former occasion some suppressed wrath was suggestively muttered against the reference made to two passages in Shakspeare, and the interpretation put upon them. Imogen says in *Cymbeline*, III. iv.—

"Against self-slaughter
There is a prohibition so divine
That cravens my weak hand."

And Hamlet in *Hamlet*, I. ii.—

"Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
His canon 'gainst self-slaughter!"

On these we had to allow two observations. First, whatever you take to be the meaning of "canon" or "divine prohibition," there is no canon in the Scriptures on the subject. Secondly, we must observe that both the speakers were in a heathen, not in a Christian, atmosphere. He had little doubt that the real emotion and principle of obedience in Hamlet and Imogen which was *sufficient* in either case, was to the instinct of self-preservation elevated by conscience into a moral law. But, as Hume says, "There is no law, natural or divine, against it." This observation was beautified on the last occasion to intimate that he (Mr Kirkman) did not disapprove of suicide! He certainly could not object to illogical critics intellectually cutting their own throats. They might possibly be *morts guèris*.

MR FURNIVALL agreed that the actual suicide was of little account compared with the mental conflict which led to it, but (in those cases which did *not* end in suicide) was there not always an idea of *vengeance*? Had not some of those men (Macbeth, for instance) to make expiation? They were not to be allowed to get out of it by stabbing themselves. They must be kept to be formally executed. In Brutus' case it was, after all, Cæsar who killed him.

DR BAYNE said that, in order to do justice either to Mr Kirkman's paper or his own appreciation of its merits, he would require to go over these in detail, which was impossible; but his censures were to be taken not as his estimate of the essay, but as mere qualifications to a verdict generally favourable. Mr Kirkman had referred to him (Dr B.) by name, objecting to his use of the word "suicide" in describing the issue in Tennyson's 'Two Voices.' He (Dr B.) did not care about the word, but if its meaning was definite, the fact that it

was Latin, and "self-slaughter" Anglo-Saxon, seemed hardly reason enough for proscribing it. He complained of a certain vagueness in Mr Kirkman's treatment of his theme, a haziness as to the connection between premise and conclusion. He would not deny that, both in Shakspeare's passages on self-slaughter and in Tennyson's handling of the question in the 'Two Voices,' there might be a balancing of higher life, viewed as true being, against low, degraded life, viewed as no being. But though Mr Kirkman used many elaborate and sonorous phrases, he (Dr B.) had not felt that the line of demarcation was distinctly drawn between these two. And what he particularly insisted on was that, whether they dilated on the high ideal aspect of the matter or did not, Shakspeare, Tennyson, and, he might add, Goëthe, did certainly condescend to treat of that self-slaughter which consisted in terminating the bodily life. Shakspeare could thread his way among the airiest abstractions,—could trace the thinnest cloud-films of thought floating on the firmament of intellect,—but he had a giant's grasp also on the beliefs, the mental habitudes, of common men. And whatever might be found in his pages as to the balancing of being against no-being, it was assuredly the life of breath and of blood he had in view, when he spoke of putting an end to it with a bare bodkin. Dr B. could not admit any grounds for questioning that Shakspeare, when he referred to the "canon" fixed by "the Everlasting" against self-slaughter, was thinking of the prevalent belief of his contemporaries that conscience and the Bible condemned suicide. Nor was the inference of an injunction against self-slaughter from the eighth commandment by any means forced or unnatural. Was there, he would ask, an army in Europe in which self-slaughter was not criminal, on the ground that it was a desertion of the colours? And could the Hebrews, every man of whom was a soldier in the army of his theocratic King, visible ever to him as cloud by day and fire by night, have any difficulty in understanding that they were forbidden to quit the ranks before getting their discharge? Dr B. objected to any mention of Goneril and Lady Macbeth in connection with each other, even so much as to suggest a useful contrast, the one being a mere vulture gorging on carrion, the other having in her at least a spark of finest life. He did not admit it to be proved that Lady Macbeth killed herself.

REV. W. A. HARRISON would differentiate the treatment of the Roman plays from that of the other plays, in talking of suicide, because Shakspeare, of course, took his facts from known sources (North's 'Plutarch').

MR J. KNIGHT cited two illustrations on the subject. The lines at the end of 'The Blot on the Scutcheon,'

"There are blind ways provided, the foredone
Heart-weary player in this pageant-world
Drops out by, letting the main masque defile
By the conspicuous portal"—

and then as to *Hamlet*, the words to Horatio, "Absent thee from felicity awhile," &c. *Hamlet* was prohibited from suicide so long as his uncle lived. After, he might have proved himself "more the antique Roman than the Dane."

DR NICHOLSON remarked that *Macbeth*, we must remember, was under the influence of the weird sisters, and trusted in their predictions to the very end. He thought that *Ophelia* was ill-used by Mr Kirkman. She had been for three months suffering under the loss of *Hamlet's* love, and then upon that came the death of her father, at the hands of her lover.

The second paper was by Mrs J. H. Tucker, of Clifton, on *Constance*, insisting on her motherhood as the key to her character, the centre of her life, in which her individuality was almost absorbed. Among all the heroines of *Shakspeare*, no figure stood out touched with more dramatic power than that of *Constance* against the background of the selfish kings. She appeared as a generous, high-spirited, impulsive woman, a pure and loving wife, ardent and impetuous in feeling; often rash and inconsiderate in action; just the one to find her confidence betrayed and taken advantage of by unscrupulous enemies. She did not appear to have been naturally vindictive or ambitious. When brought face to face with her great injurer, *Elinor*, she indeed met scorn with scorn—defiance with defiance; but her anger was loftier far as it was more unselfish, and bore down the rancorous spite of her mother-in-law. It was as the mother of *Arthur*, the rightful possessor of England as well as *Bretagne*, and doing battle on behalf of an oppressed and innocent child, that we must consider her. Nowhere else had *Shakspeare* so depicted the maternal character with all its forceful springs of action. *Volumnia* was a proud and tender mother, but it was as the Roman matron placing patriotism above even maternal affection that we admire her. *Hermione* found speech at the kiss of *Perdita*; but it was the dignified patience and gentle submission of the injured wife that clothed her with undying beauty. In *Constance* it was her intense absorbing devotion as a mother that had immortalized her for all ages. Yet we found a want in her character, which seemed to have been more vehement than strong, lacking self-reliance and resource and resignation to the will of Heaven. There were two salient points in the character of *Constance*—her ready wit and wondrous imagination. How cleverly she fenced with *Elinor*, how keen were her shafts in the hide of *Austria*, and how wonderful her conception of *Death*! No character exercised a stronger fascination over us, attracting us by its intense womanliness.

The third paper was the concluding lecture of a series delivered by Mr C. H. Herford, and dealt with *Shakspeare's* character. There were two conceptions to which the views taken of *Shakspeare's* character generally tended to approximate: on the one hand, that suggested more especially by the literal interpretation of the *Sonnets*,

of the man of intense and lawless passions; on the other, that suggested by his practical business-like habits and worldly success, of a man whose own life was calm, cheerful, unperplexed; but who was furnished with a sort of miraculous instructive faculty of representing the passions of others. The one view constructed his character from a narrow interpretation of his writings; the other in reality without reference to his writings at all. But if we knew anything it was this, that his dramas were not purely artificial products; but that many of their differences were related to the successive phases of Shakspeare's mental growth in which they were produced. It was clear we must study his character in his work and not apart from it; on the other hand, we must not ignore the element of art. It was the conflict of the individual with its society that was with wonderful variety handled in the tragedies. He hardly ever brings the cause of the tragic issue home to either side exclusively; if Hamlet was not quite sound, there was also something rotten in the state of Denmark; the disease, he implied, was general, not particular. While *character* was Shakspeare's profoundest interest, he was perfectly well aware of the relation in which it stood to society; he playfully satirized Arcadias in *As You Like It*; and when in *Winter's Tale* he made shepherds a theme of serious art, they were real, not Arcadian shepherds. And his best pictures of love were not to be found in the lyric raptures of Romeo and Juliet, but rather in the exquisite wooing of Perdita and Florizel, or the calm but deep wifely loyalty of Brutus' Portia.

The same fundamental respect for facts governed his treatment of men in the larger relations of political action. Living as he did in an age fundamentally sound, he had no radical antagonism towards the spirit of his age. Neither had he any superstitious reverence for rank. He could draw a prince like Cloten, and, in *Coriolanus*, was hardly less severe on the patrician aristocracy than on the faults of the multitude. If he appeared more favourable towards aristocracies than the people, it must be remembered that the great mass of citizens then had not only a far less significant voice in public affairs than now, but also a far smaller claim to such a voice. But politics, to borrow a metaphor from Portia, lay only in the suburbs of Shakspeare's mind; they were never the subject of his deepest utterances, they offered him no insoluble heart-searching problem. He was equally devoid of theological fanaticism. He drew Christians and pagans as men, not Christianity and paganism as creeds; he could draw the stoic Brutus with his paganism, and Hamlet with his belief in a Catholic purgatory. This impartial treatment of religions led to strenuous attempts being made to associate him with some one of them. It was clear that he *professed* Protestantism; it was also clear that the cultivated society of those days was not dominated by the Protestant creed, but was deeply penetrated with the Renaissance.

But the very centre of his art was *character*, and he never inti-

mated that the virtue of his characters was due to divine grace, or their vice to a want of it, or to a tribunal beyond the grave. Yet the moral feeling of his dramas, at least in the latter part of his career, was strong and pervading, being controlled by a loyalty to facts which would not allow him to represent vice as more invariably unfortunate, or virtue as more invariably successful, than they actually are.

S C R A P S.

urchin, sb. : *Tempest*, I. ii. 326. "But if a *Peeter-penny*, or an howzle-egge were behind, or a patch of tyth vnpaid to the Church (*Iesu Maria*) then ware where you walke for feare of *bull-beggars*, *spirits*, *witches*, *vrchins*, *elues*, *hags*, *fairies*, *Satyrs*, *Pans*, *Fuunes*, *Syluans*, *Kit with the candlesticke*, *Tritons*, *Centauris*, *Dwarffs*, *Giants*, *impes*, *Calcars*, *coniurers*, *Nymphs*, *changelings*, *scritchowles*, *Incubus the spurne*, *the mare*, *the man in the oake*, *helwayne*, *the fire-drake*, *the puckle*, *Tom thumbe*, *hobgoblin*, *Tom-tumbler*, *Boneles*, *and the rest* : and what girle, boy, or olde wisard would be so hardy to step ouer the threshold in the night for an half-penny worth of mustard amongst this frightfull crue, without a dozen *auemaries*, two dosen of crosses surely signed, and halfe a dosen *Pater nosters*, and the commending himselfe to the tuition of *S. Vncumber*, or els our blessed Lady?" 1603. S. Harsnet. *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures*, p. 135.

See Scots
booke of
Witches.

The good years, 'used as a slight curse,' Schmidt. *Lear*, V. iii. 24, &c. This was indubitably the Fr. *gorjeers* = the pox, or with a pox. But the corrupt pronounciation caused it to be looked on as a sort of innocent oath or exclamation. This is shown by Harsnet's *Popish Impostures*, 1603, where at page 165—"Who [*i. e.* the devil to give forth oracles according to these impostures] being always ready to command by *Mengus* his whip, his club . . . or an exorcists holy hands . . . and hauing his tail wel fizled with brimstone . . . afore, what a **good-yeere** needs all this leuel coyle and stirre, for determinating of councils, resolutions of Popes, allegations of Fathers [&c]." I say this quotation proves it (1) Because there is no accord between the original meaning and the subject. (2) Because Harsnet was a clergyman who though facetious in his ridicule was not, as his writings testify, in any way given to the use of oaths. The words *good-year* should not be changed to *goujeer* as it is in some modern copies.—*B. N.*

occupy, vb. : 2 *Hen.* VI., II. iv. 161. Many, out of their owne obscene apprehensions, refuse proper and fit words; as *occupie*, *nature*, and the like : So the curious industry in some of having all alike good, hath come neerer a vice, then a virtue. Ben Jonson. *Discoveries*, p. 112, ed. 1640.

(*Seventy-sixth Meeting, Friday, February 10, 1882.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

THE REV. M. W. MAYOW read a short paper upon the subject of What are the dozen or sixteen lines, which Hamlet proposed to insert in the Sub-Play?

He said that this matter having been already more than once before the Society, it might appear too bold in him again to introduce it; but that, as he had not found himself able to agree with any view which had been already propounded, he hoped he should be excused in offering a few remarks.

He proceeded to observe that the previous views seemed to lay down, as essential conditions for finding the lines:

- (1) That they must be a dozen or sixteen;
- (2) That they must be such as suit Hamlet's character and tone of mind;
- (3) That they must be such as, being an interpolation, may be omitted, and still leave the action of the Play unaffected by the erasure;
- (4) That they must be of a nature to catch the conscience of the King;
- (5) That they must have in them what may be illustrated by Hamlet's directions to the Players in Act III.

Hereon Mr Mayow remarked that with two of the above conditions he entirely agreed—the second and the fourth—but that from the other three he must dissent.

For, as to the exact number of the lines, though no doubt when the Prince named a dozen or sixteen to the Players, he conceived such small number would answer his purpose, yet it would be entirely to overlook his general character, to suppose that he would restrict himself to that number if his subject grew upon him and he felt disposed to expand it. His versatility and imagination, and his whole genius were too great and varied to let him feel he was so tied down, or to give him the least difficulty in enlarging his views in any way that struck him. And this remark also disposed of the third condition, for if Hamlet wrote more, the lines would be less of the nature of an insertion or interpolation, as would appear further in the sequel; whilst as to the fifth condition, it seemed to be of little or no weight, as in the first place, Hamlet's, which of course are also Shakspeare's directions to the Players, are far more general and less particular than as meant to apply only to this occasion; and secondly, it is very possible, as the Play is interrupted by the King's abrupt

departure, that the further lines of the piece might have given scope for the thunders of a "robustious periwig-pated fellow," who would "tear a passion to tatters" in over-acting his part.

Mr Mayow then brought the Sub-Play in its various parts under survey; and remarked that the opening speeches of the Player-King and Queen were just those by which Hamlet might be expected to introduce the further action, as well as a means by which he might prick the conscience of the Queen, an object which he manifestly had at heart (as he says, "Wormwood! Wormwood!"), as well as to catch the conscience of the King.

Proceeding to the long speech of the Reflections of the Player-King, beginning with—

"I do believe you think what now you speak;"

he observed, that though it was quite true, as had been remarked by Mr Malleeson, Gervinus, and others, that it had nothing at all in it to catch the conscience of the King, but reflected upon his own character, or the general fickleness of purpose of men and women, yet the lines were eminently characteristic of Hamlet's turn of mind, and could hardly be attributed to any other; whilst the fact that they contain no single word to unkennel the King's occulted guilt, seems an absolutely fatal objection to Professor Seeley's view, that in that speech the dozen or sixteen lines are to be found. If these were what Hamlet wrote, and all he inserted, the actual purpose of the Play would be entirely overlooked and set aside.

Mr Mayow then adverted briefly to the motives which induced Hamlet (over and above "here's metal more attractive") to cross over and lie down at Ophelia's feet; viz. (1) that he desired to be 'idle' (as he says), non-chalant, and unconscious, whilst his test was to go on, and (2) that he desired to be at the other side of the stage from the King and Queen, the better to observe and mark the effect of his scheme. Passing to the entry speech and actions of Lucianus, the nephew of Gonzago, he expressed his conviction that here, beginning with "Thoughts black, hands apt, drugs fit, and time agreeing," would be the particular one speech whereby, as he had told Horatio, he expected the King's "occulted guilt to be unkenneled." But he could see no reason to let this speech be considered the whole of Hamlet's composition. Its consisting of only six lines instead of a dozen or sixteen might not be an objection of much weight, for of course it might have run on ten or a dozen more if the Play had proceeded; but upon the internal evidence of all the speeches, he (Mr Mayow) had felt he could come to no other conclusion than that Hamlet wrote the whole of the Sub-Play as we have it. The fact that the Play mentioned had not come down to us, might indeed make it difficult to make a demonstration of this; but, as had been observantly remarked by Mr Malleeson, the very exactness of the parallel between the poisoning in the Sub-Play and the real murder

of his father as revealed to Hamlet by the Ghost, is a very weighty argument to make it probable that Hamlet, as Mr Malleson thinks, very materially altered the play of the murder of Gonzago; or, as Mr Mayow would say, that he discarded the old Play (with the exception of the names, and the near relationship of the murderer to the King, and the promised continuance of the story, "You shall see anon how the murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife"), and rewrote the whole just as it suited his purpose and object; not at all confining himself to the dozen or sixteen lines which at first he had intended; nor to an *interpolation* of a speech, but produced a piece of his own, with all its speeches and reflections, such as might answer his ends, and the whole of which was eminently marked by the characteristics of his own mind and disposition.

The more I think of it (Mr Mayow concluded) the more am I persuaded that my theory is the true one. Examine the Sub-Play speech by speech, paragraph by paragraph, and line by line; take of each the sense, the aim, the tone of mind; and I feel sure Hamlet is the only author and parent of all. So strong is my conviction of this, that I will venture to adopt, if I may without too much arrogance, an emphatic remark from another play: "Nay! it is ten times true; for truth is truth, to the end of reckoning."

A vote of thanks having been unanimously passed to Mr Mayow for his paper,

MR FURNIVALL said, that of course we were dealing with mere conjectures; but he did not agree with Mr Mayow. Why must we accept, as the imaginary work of such a mind as Hamlet's, the very poor stuff which the Sub-Play was composed of? There was no ground for Mr Mayow's supposition.

DR NICHOLSON said that it all went on the theory that there was a real play called "the mouse-trap." He agreed with Mr Mayow's first condition, but not with his fourth or second. No part of the Sub-Play seemed to him to call forth Hamlet's previous criticisms. In especial there is no Clown. Hence, he must hold to what he had previously said, and to what had been so ably set forth by Dr Ingleby. Shakspeare wanted a peg on which to affix his criticisms on the rival players, and wished to give more verisimilitude to the fact that Hamlet's murder and Gonzago's were brought about in the same manner and from similar causes.

DR BAYNE thought that it was a delicate point of criticism; it was quite possible that Shakspeare might have taken a point from a play that suited him. But we might fairly suppose that there was no such play; the question then was, with what object did Shakspeare write it?

MR HARRISON did not believe that Shakspeare meant his audience to understand that "the conscience of the King" was to be caught by Hamlet's "dozen or sixteen" inserted lines. Hamlet certainly never said so; and the very contrary seemed to be implied. The

King's conscience was to be caught by the representation of *the play*; the *play* is "the mouse-trap" to effect the capture. His "occulted guilt" was to "unkennel itself" in one scene and in one speech; that, namely, by Lucianus, "Thoughts black," &c. And so it did. The scene, had it not been abruptly ended by the King's departure, would have gone on to show how Lucianus got "the love of Gonzago's wife." But that this was no part of Hamlet's invention we were expressly told by himself. "THE STORY," he says, "*is extant, and writ in choice Italian.*" In other words, the Sub-Play was supposed to *follow the incidents of an existing novel*; this special incident of the poisoning in the garden being particularly alluded to by Hamlet as forming a part of that novel. And as regarded the wording of Lucianus' speech, it was in strict keeping with the rest of the Sub-Play; stilted and bombastic, in the Tamburlaine and Hieronimo style. Hamlet's inserted lines were meant, Mr H. believed, to serve quite a different purpose: to divert the attention of his audience *from* the King till the right time should arrive for the catastrophe, viz. when the story, as it unfolded itself, got to the poisoning scene. The wonder was, as Prof. Seeley remarked, that the King could allow matters to go so far as they did, and why he did not stop the Play when he saw the dumb show. The inserted lines also admirably served to illustrate Hamlet's satirizing vein. They read a lesson to his mother, as has been pointed out (*Transactions*, Part II, 1874, page 490). Her character and conduct were not obscurely hit at in the lines (190-194), "The world is not for aye . . . fortune love." His own vacillation of purpose was admirably described (ll. 178-186) — "Purpose is but the slave . . . purpose lose."

Above all, were not Rosencrantz and Guildenstern pointedly alluded to in ll. 194-240—"The great man down," &c.? How exactly were these lines the re-echo of what Hamlet had said, at the very moment when he determined to write the speech (II. ii. 346)— "It is not very strange; for my uncle is king in Denmark, and they that would make mows at him while my father lived, give twenty, forty, fifty, a hundred ducats a-piece, for his picture in little." Hamlet in his "want" had "tried" his "hollow friends," and found them fail him. Mr H. believed then, that (ll. 178-200) "Purpose is but the slave" . . . "seasons him his enemy," were meant to represent the insertion. The sense of the speech was complete without them; they were utterly dissimilar in style from the rest of the Sub-Play; they were in the philosophizing style of Hamlet, and therefore just what Shakspeare might write if he wished to represent the Prince composing something of his own. Moreover, Shakspeare, as Mr H. believed, purposely showed us where the "join" was, viz. at line 200, "But orderly to end where I begun." The whole of the insertion was an expansion of the thought, "What we do determine oft we break,"—a sermon of which that was the text. Hamlet hit all round; and, characteristically, did not even spare himself.

It was a curious coincidence, that these lines appeared in Q2, but were not in Q1. They might have been wanting in the copy of the actors' parts from which Q1 was made up.

DR LANDMANN then read his paper on "Shakspere and Euphuism; Euphuism adapted from the Spanish Guevara." (This paper is printed separately, and has been issued to members.)

In the discussion which followed a unanimous vote of thanks,

MR FURNIVALL said that this paper marked an epoch in the criticism of English literature. It showed—for the first time he believed—the preponderating influence of Spanish literature on the early Elizabethan; and it showed clearly that it was *not* Euphuism that Shakspere ridiculed in *Love's Labour's Lost*, though most of us had thought it was. But Guevara, Dr Landmann acknowledged, was one of the best known and most translated authors of the day; why then was not Lyly found out and exposed in his adaptation? Simply because every one cribbed then, and to crib well was thought an honour and praise to an author.

DR BAYNE remarked that Dr Landmann had thrown a most important light on the forces that influenced Shakspere and others, and it was especially interesting to learn the share Spain had in it.

DR NICHOLSON had never been able to believe that Euphuism had been ridiculed in *Love's Labour's Lost*. To him it appeared very noteworthy that Shakspere in his earlier plays had neither imitated nor ridiculed it. He must have been brought up on Guevara, Lyly, and Greene, and his non-imitation of them, especially as their style became the fashionable mode of converse, shows a dislike to it, and an independence of mind unusual in so young an author. That he did not ridicule it is, perhaps, due to "all the ladies of England being then Lyly's scholars." This supposition also seems confirmed by the Euphuism in Falstaff's speech, for the fashion was then probably dying out, or obsolete, and Falstaff (especially in that speech) the representative of an old-fashioned old world courtier.

SCRAPS.

Poor, a.: Hamlet, I. v. 185. 'So poor a man as Hamlet is.' See Lodge's Phillis, 1593 A.D., Sonnet xl, Sign. H 3.

"Resembling none, and none so poore as I.
Poore to the world, and poore in each esteeme,
Whose first borne loues, at first obscurd did die,
And bred no fame but flame of base misdeeme.

Vnder the Ensigne of vvwhose tyred pen,
Loues legions forth haue maskt, by others masked:
Thinke hovv I lyue, wronged by ill tongèd men,
Not Maister of my selfe, to all vvrrongs tasked."

(Seventy-Seventh Meeting, Friday, March 10, 1882.)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

A paper upon *As You Like It* and Lodge's novel of 'Rosalynde' compared, by W. G. Stone, Esq., was read by Rev. W. A. Harrison. (*This paper is printed separately, in full.*)

In the discussion which followed,

MR FURNIVALL remarked upon the value of such comparisons, which illustrated Shakspeare's art by showing the changes he made on his originals. Had Shakspeare enjoyed the advantages of a modern stage, he would have kept that incident of Lodge's, of the attack on Saladyne's house by his brother, as agreeing with the violent beginning of the play, and contrasting with the peaceful continuation and end. It was interesting to notice this instance of the villainy practised on younger brothers or minors by their guardians in those days. There was systematic plunder going on: a minor would have a guardian appointed him by the king, and this guardian would try to make as much as he could out of the estate, and also to make as much as possible out of his ward's *marriage*.

DR NICHOLSON thought that in all stories of the sort and date of 'Rosalynde,' though the plot might be good, the characterization was almost *nil*. He quite believed in Celia's natural love for Oliver, and in the repentance of the latter, who was good at bottom.

This subject, of Oliver's and Celia's betrothal, was discussed by Miss Phipson, Miss Marx, and Mrs Wedmore.

DR BAYNE then read one or two short notes on "Some recent characterizations by Mr Ruskin of Shakspeare's heroines." Mr Ruskin's words, in 'Proserpina,' Pt VII, are the following:

"It may be well quickly to mark for you the levels of loving temper in Shakspeare's maids and wives, from the greatest to the least.

"1. Isabel. All earthly love, and the possibilities of it, held in absolute subjection to the laws of God, and the judgments of His will. She is Shakspeare's only 'Saint.' Queen Catherine, whom you might next think of, is only an ordinary woman of trained religious temper:—her maid of honour gives Wolsey a more Christian epitaph.

"2. Cordelia. The earthly love consisting in diffused compassion of the universal spirit; not in any conquering, personally fixed, feeling.

‘ Mine enemy’s dog,
Though he had bit me, should have stood that night
Against my fire.’

These lines are spoken in her hour of openest direct expression ; and are *all* Cordelia.

“ Shakspeare clearly does not mean her to have been supremely beautiful in person ; it is only her true lover who calls her “ fair ” and “ fairest ”—and even that, I believe, partly in courtesy, after having the instant before offered her to his subordinate duke ; and it is only *his* scorn of her which makes France fully care for her.

‘ Gods, gods, ’tis strange that from their cold neglect
My love should kindle to inflamed respect ! ’

Had she been entirely beautiful, he would have honoured her as a lover should, even before he saw her despised ; nor would she ever have been so despised—or by her father, misunderstood. Shakspeare himself does not pretend to know where her girl-heart was—but I should like to hear how a great actress would say the ‘ Peace be with Burgundy ! ’

“ 3. Portia. The maidenly passion now becoming great, and chiefly divine in its humility, is still held absolutely subordinate to duty ; no thought of disobedience to her dead father’s intention is entertained for an instant, though the temptation is marked as passing for that instant, before her crystal strength. Instantly, in her own peace, she thinks chiefly of her lover’s ;—she is a perfect Christian wife in a moment, coming to her husband with the gift of perfect Peace,—

‘ Never shall you lie by Portia’s side
With an unquiet soul.’

She is highest in intellect of all Shakspeare’s women, and this is the root of her modesty ; her ‘ unlettered girl ’ is like Newton’s simile of the child on the sea-shore. Her perfect wit and stern judgment are never disturbed for an instant by her happiness : and the final key to her character is given in her silent and slow return from Venice, where she stops at every wayside shrine to pray.

“ 4. Hermione. Fortitude and justice personified with unwearying affection. She is Penelope tried by her husband’s fault as well as error.

“ 5. Virgilia. Perfect type of wife and mother, but without definiteness of character, nor quite strength of intellect enough entirely to hold her husband’s heart. Else she had saved him : he would have left Rome in his wrath—but not her. Therefore, it is his mother only who bends him : but she cannot save.

“ 6. Imogen. The ideal of grace and gentleness ; but weak ; enduring too mildly, and forgiving too easily. But the piece is rather a pantomime than a play, and it is impossible to judge of the feelings of St Columba, when she must leave the stage in half a minute after mistaking the headless clown for headless Arlecchino.

"7. Desdemona, Ophelia, Rosalind. They are under different conditions from all the rest in having entirely heroic and faultless persons to love. I can't class them, therefore,—fate is too strong, and leaves them no free will.

"8. Perdita, Miranda. Rather mythic visions of maiden beauty than mere girls.

"9. Viola and Juliet. Love the ruling power in the entire character: wholly virginal and pure, but quite earthly, and recognizing no other life than his own. Viola is, however, far the noblest. Juliet will die unless Romeo loves *her*: "If he be wed, the grave is like to be my wedding bed;" but Viola is ready to die for the happiness of the man who does *not* love her; faithfully doing his messages to her rival, whom she examines strictly for his sake. It is not in envy that she says, 'Excellently done,—if God did all.' The key to her character is given in the least selfish of all lover's songs, the one to which the Duke bids her listen:

'Mark it, Cesario,—it is old and plain,
The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
And the free maids, *that weave their thread with bones*,
Do use to chaunt it.'

(They, the unconscious Fates, weaving the fair vanity of life with death); and the burden of it is—

'My part of Death, no one so true
Did share it.'

Therefore she says, in the great first scene, 'Was not *this* love indeed?' and in the less heeded closing one, her heart then happy with the knitters in the *sun*,

'And all those sayings will I overswear,
And all those swearings keep as true in soul,
As doth that orb'd continent the Fire
That severs day from night.'

Or, at least, did once sever day from night,—and perhaps does still in Illyria. Old England must seek new images for her loves from gas and electric sparks,—not to say furnace fire.

"I am obliged, by press of other work, to set down these notes in cruel shortness: and many a reader may be disposed to question utterly the standard by which the measurement is made. It will not be found, on reference to my other books, that they encourage young ladies to go into convents; or undervalue the dignity of wives and mothers. But as surely as the sun *does* sever day from night, it will be found always that the noblest and loveliest women are dutiful and religious by continual nature; and their passions are trained to obey them, like their dogs. Homer, indeed, loves Helen with all his heart, and restores her, after all her naughtiness, to the queenship of her household; but he never thinks of her as Penelope's equal, or Iphigenia's. Practically, in daily life, one often sees

married women as good as saints; but rarely, I think, unless they have a good deal to bear from their husbands. Sometimes also, no doubt, the husbands have some trouble in managing St Cecilia, or St Elizabeth; of which questions I shall be obliged to speak more seriously in another place: content, at present, if English maids know better, by Proserpina's help, what Shakspeare meant by the dim, and Milton by the glowing violet."

On these passages Dr Bayne's notes were as follows:

"1. *Isabel*. Yes: she has the hardness—the austerity—of ascetic saintship. Shakspeare is careful not to make her amiable. She has no sympathy with her brother in his weakness—in his wish to live—not an unpardonable weakness, one would say. There is what seems even an unnecessary harshness—a lack of sensibility—in her dealings with her brother. When Claudio asks her what comfort she has brought him from her interview with Angelo, she answers in what seems a tone of cruel jest. No doubt Shakspeare may have intended to represent her as in a state of semi-frantic bewilderment and confusion of thought, on account of Angelo's proposal, similar to that into which Hamlet was thrown by the appearance of his father's ghost, and which he expressed in a weird, unmirthful mirth. But in Isabella it grates on us, I think, more than even in Hamlet.

Claudio.

'Now, sister, what's the comfort?

Isabella. Why, as all comforts are; most good in deed:

Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,

Intends you for his swift ambassador,

Where you shall be an everlasting lier:

Therefore your best appointment make with speed;

To-morrow you set on.'

Then when, in an agony of earnestness, he entreats her to save him, 'sweet sister, let me live,' she answers thus:

'O, you beast,

O, faithless coward! O, dishonest wretch!

.

Take my defiance:

Die; perish! might but my bending down

Reprieve thee from thy fate, it should proceed:

I'll pray a thousand prayers for thy death,

No word to save thee.'

"This surely is harder than was necessary. In her pleading for him she is always ready to content herself with doing the *least* that can be required to satisfy the necessities of her position. Again and again she is on the point of retiring after receiving a denial. Lucio keeps her to her work, urging her to persist. Even Angelo has some slight difficulty in preventing her from retiring the moment he says her brother cannot live. But her intellectual discernment is always keen and clear. In finally pleading for Angelo, she nicely distin-

guishes between criminal breaking of a law by actual deed and the mere intention to break a law. We may conclude that Shakspeare purposed to show, in the character, that conventual virtue exerts a chilling influence on natural affection,—probably also that the Church ideal of saintliness assigns too high a place to chastity.¹

"2. *Portia*. In attractiveness—in combination of gifts and graces—beauty, intellect, affection, eloquence, geniality, vivacity, perhaps the first of Shakspeare's women. The one a man would best like to have for a wife. She has not a trace of the marble-cold austerity of Isabel. To associate her 'unlessoned girl'—not 'unlettered,' as Mr Ruskin has it—with Newton's simile of the child on the seashore, is to rise over the facts on the wings of imagination. The context of *Portia*'s words, in which she expatiates on her lowliness and docility, not in relation to the infinitude of truth, but to her husband, is incompatible with Mr Ruskin's hypothesis.² Nor is it possible to accept Mr Ruskin's final key to her character. This, he says, is 'given in her silent and slow return from Venice, where she stops at every wayside shrine to pray.' In support of his opinion Mr Ruskin would doubtless refer, first, to *Stephano*'s announcement of his mistress's approach—

'My mistress will before the break of day
Be here at Belmont; she doth stray about
By holy crosses, where she kneels and prays
For happy wedlock hours.

Lorenzo.

Who comes with her?

Stephano. None but a holy hermit and her maid.'

And secondly, to what *Portia* herself says when *Lorenzo* welcomes her home:

'We have been praying for our husbands' welfare,
Which speed, we hope, the better for our words.'

"But in order to estimate the seriousness of *Portia*'s shrine-visiting and praying during her return, we must recollect that, before leaving Belmont for Venice, in order to keep *Lorenzo* and *Jessica* in the dark as to the object of her journey, she adopted a particular device.

'I have toward heaven breathed a secret vow,
To live in prayer and contemplation,
Only attended by *Nerissa* here,
Until her husband and my lord's return:
There is a monastery two miles off,
And there we will abide.'

"To secure success in the jest of the rings, it was necessary that

¹ So thinks the curate in Mallock's *Paul and Virginia*, after being converted from Christianity.—G. Collingwood.

² Mr Ruskin means, "*Portia* admits that Intellect is inadequate to *Love's* lore," just as Newton confesses its inadequacy to *Nature's*.—G. Collingwood.

Lorenzo and Jessica should remain in ignorance that Portia and Nerissa had been at Venice instead of in the monastery, and the statement as to the praying at shrines was perfectly adapted to maintain the deception.¹ There is not only no hint of such prayerful intentions, but, on the contrary, an air of urgency and promptitude difficult to reconcile with it, in Portia's words to Nerissa, when they are on the point of leaving Venice.

‘We'll away to-night,

And be a day before our husbands home.’

Fibs are of course legitimate in the carrying out of jests. But if there is gradation in the morality of fibs, one would say that fibs affecting things so solemn as religious vows, as contemplation, as prayer, are of the grey rather than the white variety. Viewed in connection with all that we otherwise learn respecting Portia, the words on which Mr Ruskin depends afford evidence that the religious element was *not* strong in her character. Her devoutness, sincere as it was, betrayed no trace of exaggeration, or even of accentuation. It had its place in the general harmony of her nature,—one of the many angels singing in her breast; her breast a temple, not cloistral and ecclesiastical, but open to the blue sky and to the untrammelled sunlight.”²

Mr Furnivall, Miss Phipson, and Miss Marx joined in objecting to the classification of Viola and Juliet together; and Miss Marx insisted that Cordelia must have been beautiful, or else her sisters would not have hated her so.

¹ Though the monastery was fictitious, there is no proof that the shrines are so. The ladies, starting earlier and by coach, reach Belmont only a few minutes before the rest: while Stephano, the avantcourier, arrives a good while before his mistress, leaving her plenty of time for her prayers.—G. Collingwood.

² One must remember that Portia is a Venetian of the Renaissance described by an Englishman of the Renaissance. This sliding-scale of fibbery and rationalistic nature-worship are French ideas of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries. It is a sociological anachronism to apply them here. A woman in Portia's circumstances could unite mediæval religious observances with all the grotesque fun of the cinquecento. See Molmenti, *Vie Privée à Venise*, II. 13.—G. Collingwood.

As the tone of Mr Collingwood's notes has been taken to suggest—tho needlessly, I think—the notion that Dr Bayne or any of us who have for years loved and respected Mr Ruskin, were “attacking” him, and that Mr Collingwood was repelling an attack, I just say that nothing was further from our thoughts. It was only because of Dr Bayne's long-standing regard for Mr Ruskin and his opinions, and because of his acknowledged eminence, and the freshness, brilliance, and suggestiveness of his characterization, in the main, that Dr Bayne brought the matter forward. He then wished Mr Ruskin to see his comments before they were issued, and I sent the proof on to Brantwood; but the doctors having ordered Mr Ruskin to be kept quiet, Mr Collingwood added a few notes of his own, “just to show that Dr Bayne's criticism had not passed unchallenged.” And so the matter ended with the friendliest possible feeling on all sides.—F. J. Furnivall.

As to Isabel's hardness, Mr Furnivall said we must recollect that she was in intent a nun, one who regarded personal chastity as almost the chief virtue. She was sent to plead for her brother who had committed an offence against his own chastity and that of his own lady-love, and when Angelo said "he must die," she was at once obliged by her conscience to acknowledge the justice of this.

With reference to that part of Mr Stone's paper which deals with Orlando's behaviour to Rosalind at their first meeting, Mr Harrison writes :—

"This is the only point on which I venture to differ from Mr Stone. I think that, in justice to Rosader, I should read the passage from Lodge. Was not this sonnet the best, nay, the only return that Rosader could make to Rosalynde? Saladyne had taken good care to keep him in an impecunious state. It is, I think, open to question whether Orlando's utter silence about the chain does not contrast unfavourably with Rosader's intense appreciation of the jewel, which he values higher than the sole monarchy of the world. Shakspeare means Orlando to be modest, and to be struck dumb with his passion; but does he not seem to have made him too much of 'a lifeless block'? And by so doing does this not make it appear as if all the advances came from Rosalind; and that too at a time when she was still the second lady in the court, and a duke's daughter?

"Of course, later on, when she has assumed the 'doublet and hose,' it is strictly in keeping with the situation that she should speak 'like a saucy lackey.' But at this time, for her to tell Orlando that he has 'overthrown more than his enemies,'—even if it were Leap-year,—seems to me to make Rosalind too mannish; while his *utter silence* makes Orlando less manly than one would like.

"Woman is 'apter to love,' says Rosalind in Shakspeare, 'than to confess she does.' 'At the time when, under the impulse of the moment, she discovered herself to Orlando, she gave the lie to this her own rule.'—Gervinus's 'Sh. Comm.,' 1875, p. 397."—W. A. H.

To this Mr Stone replies :—

"Since Lodge preferred that Rosalynd should send her gift by a messenger, a sonnet was not only the best return which Rosader could make, but, in the judgment of his day, he might have been deemed lacking in courtesy if he had requited her with plain prose. As Shakspeare brought the lovers together at this early stage of their relations, I submit, in excuse for Orlando's dumbness, that, (α) besides being under the influence of an overmastering joy, he had been bred 'rustically at home,' and might therefore be reasonably supposed to want the readiness and happy audacity which a youth accustomed to court-life and the society of great ladies is enabled to acquire; (β) that it had been presumptuous in Orlando to declare his passion to one who was 'the second lady in the court and a duke's daughter'; and this being so, the present case forms an exception to the rule in these matters."—W. G. S.

(*Seventy-Eighth Meeting, Friday, April 14, 1882.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

DR PETER BAYNE read a paper on "Shakspere's Characters contrasted with those of George Eliot." Claiming that all great modern writers had been influenced by Shakspere, and were, to some extent, his pupils, Dr Bayne noted the change from drama to novel as the medium of expression of popular writers. Had Shakspere lived now, he would, in the outset at least, have written novels, not dramas: no Englishman of letters of the first order, since his time, had made his chief appeal through the stage; the public of Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray was sought, not that of Robertson and Burnand. Yet the best novel was something not far different from the best drama "writ large." Both Shakspere and George Eliot delighted in psychological analysis and in solving subtle problems of character; she, therefore, might have had signal success in writing out his dramas into novels. To George Eliot the experiences of Macbeth, who "could not say amen," and of Claudius, who could not pray, would have been eminently intelligible. She dealt with mixed characters, like Bulstrode in *Middlemarch*. She, if any one, could have written out *All's Well* into a novel. Helena's rather startling character and history would not have perplexed her, for Helena's object in life was, like Dorothea's, to make the joy of another soul. Was Browning's view true—that woman's supreme wish was to absorb herself in the man she would make noble, though he were not so? Or was woman's ideal a union of the powers of mother with those of wife? Helena's ideal combined the two.

Shakspere belonged to an age of Faith; George Eliot to an age of Scepticism. His men and women were more broadly and permanently typical than hers. Dorothea, Casaubon, and Will Ladislaw were distinctive of the nineteenth century. She believed in the influence of blood and race, as in *Fedalma*. So did Shakspere: Perdita was a lady, though brought up by peasants. She felt the symbolism of gems; Shakspere that of flowers. He held the mirror up to human nature in stable equilibrium; she, to it in comparatively unstable. She was the champion of women—Maynard Gilfil, Adam Bede and Savonarola were her only heroes—and never showed the "mystery of feminine malignity." Her works were largely an indictment of men in favour of women. This was not like Shakspere's truth and fairness to both sexes. Her "note" was the working out of neutral, indirect influences as modifying character, and her special power that of tracing the imperceptible stages in the progress of evil: witness Arthur Donnithorne and Maggie Tulliver, Bulstrode and Tito. The origin of evil with Shakspere was generally temptation, as with Angelo and Macbeth; or innate badness, as with Iago and Richard III. Many folk in reading of Tito felt that they *must* have taken

the first step with him, and could not tell how they could have stopped short. With George Eliot, man was more of a drift-log, swayed hither and thither by the tide of circumstance, than with Shakspeare. He knew the worth of will in man, that 'twas in *ourselves*, not in our stars, if we were underlings. All his heroes had a feeling of God, knew that there was a divine vengeance and a moral law. He apprehended religion more definitely than Goethe or George Eliot. Since his time, some things that he did had been better done by other men and women; but his largeness and greatness were unapproached; he wore the crown of the literature of the world.

MR FURNIVALL thought this a most brilliant and interesting paper. As to the difference of treatment of things between Shakspeare and George Eliot, Shakspeare could not have, in the rapid action of the drama, any such minute analysis of character as was possible in the slower development of the novel. Shakspeare, too, dealt with things as a man; Miss Evans as a woman. As to whether Shakspeare, if he lived now, would have preferred to write novels, Mr F. doubted: was it not a fact that novels had not the lasting power of dramas? Shakspeare, like George Eliot, had no heroes: his nearest was Brutus. Of men's imperfections he knew too much; but, naturally, he did not know so much of women as of men; so he drew most of his women perfect, and they were the triumphs of his art.

MR JOSEPH KNIGHT did not believe that there was any woman in the world that would accept Shakspeare's women as they would George Eliot's; it was also his firm opinion that there had never been in the world any man at any time who knew anything at all about any woman. In Shakspeare's women all their abstract good qualities were laid open for our inspection; but he gave us the most real women in the worst. George Eliot, as a woman, knew a woman's heart, and could do for them what Shakspeare did for men.

MISS PHIPSON held that Shakspeare was a thorough partizan of his sex; and this was always behind his characters of women.

REV. W. A. HARRISON quoted from *As You Like It*. *Orl.* "Can you remember any of the principal evils that he laid to the charge of women?" *Ros.* "There were none principal; they were all like one another, as half-pence are; every one fault seeming monstrous, till its fellow fault came to match it."

DR JUSSEERAND did not agree with Mr Furnivall in putting the novelist below the dramatist. In France at the present day they held the drama to be the lower; there was so much more of the sensuous, of the appealing to ear and eye alone, in the drama.

MISS LATHAM pointed out that a drama required action; at the end of every act the action of the play must be advanced a stage; hence there was no time for the characterization that was found in a novel.

DR BAYNE, in replying, noticed one delicate touch of Shakspeare's; that when Angelo found that he had no murder on his soul, we only heard that there was "a quickening in his eye." A novelist could have

worked this out in a volume of psychological analysis and illustrative incident; but if Shakspeare had been wrong in this, he would have been wrong in all, and the touch required more genius than the volume.

(*Seventy-ninth Meeting, May 12, 1882.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

THE REV. W. A. HARRISON, M.A., read a paper upon "cursed Hebena." (*This is printed separately, in full.*)

MR FURNIVALL admired the way in which Mr Harrison had got new matter together. He had produced most interesting medical evidence, and his arguments must be taken as quite conclusive as to the meaning of "hebena." Of course the reading "hebena" would be adopted in Miss Teena Smith's Parallel-Text *Hamlet* and the Society's *Old-Spelling Shakspeare*, as in both, the revized text would be founded on Quarto 2.

DR BAYNE agreed that the evidence was quite conclusive.

DR B. NICHOLSON was of opinion that if we continued our research we should find that Shakspeare was quoting the words of some old medical treatise, in the same way as he quotes the words of Holinshed, &c. on matters of history.

MISS LATHAM suggested that we might find some information on the subject in witch-lore; and quoted "Slips of yew, sliver'd in the moon's eclipse."¹

A paper on *Macbeth*, by Mr J. C. Gibson, of the Glasgow Monday Shakspeare Club, was then read from the chair. Mr Gibson said that in *Hamlet* we heard the wail of one who found the time to be out of joint. In *Measure for Measure* we had a bitter satire on man's imagined superiority to temptation. In *Othello* we saw the fatal consequences of the virulent poison of jealousy. Yet there were still lilies among the thorns, and beautiful characters among the sin and misery. But in *Macbeth* the blackest phases of life were dealt with. Light seemed to have left the world, and the convulsed state of the natural world seemed typical of the moral. Shakspeare had given us in this play a study of "life's fitful fever," which must interest us. There were no perplexing psychological puzzles propounded; the thoughts and actions were all stated with bold certainty and clearness. When we first saw *Macbeth*, the tide of life was running high in him; he had just returned from the wars in the full flush of victory, and was one whom the king delighted to honour. But there was no strength in his character, and when suddenly confronted by temptation he yielded to it. In *Lady Macbeth's* character there was no vacillation; not for one moment

¹ A Paper on this subject read a short time since by Mr W. G. Black before the Monday Shakspeare Club, will be printed in *The Antiquary*. Mr Black's purpose was to show how Shakspeare's text might be elucidated by the study of folklore.

did she hesitate. This extraordinary woman was endowed by nature with all that might have made her a powerful curb upon this blind rush of evil. Such a concentration of sheer intellectual force, such invincible will-power, no other character of Shakspeare's possessed, except Richard III. Like his, all her splendid faculties were arrayed on the side of evil. Did not the description of their castle's seat, where "Heaven's breath smells wooingly," and where in every jutting, frieze and buttress, the martlet "hath made his pendent bed and procreant cradle," seem an emblem of Lady Macbeth's suggestion, "look like the innocent flower, but be the serpent under it." Lady Macbeth knew the full compass of the instrument she had to play upon, when she sarcastically twitted him with want of courage. When on the verge of committing the crime Macbeth suddenly encountered Banquo, he controlled himself sufficiently to feign perfect calmness; he played the hypocrite perfectly; he almost touched Piero de Cosimo's criterion of a perfect traitor (*Romola*, Chap. IV.), who "should have a face which vice can write no mark on—lips that will lie with a dimpled smile—eyes of such agate-like brightness and depth that no infamy can dull them—cheeks that will rise from a murder and not look haggard." What a deep look Shakspeare allowed us into this man's soul just before he murdered the king! Then, as we stood riveted with horror at the appalling deed, we were suddenly startled back to consciousness by the jarring "knock, knock, knock," which gave rise to the porter's grim jests. Instead of this comic scene being strangely out of place as some commentators said, Shakspeare was sternly true to nature here. We forgot, when our senses were strung to this high pitch of excitement, that life was "a perpetual see-saw between gravity and jest,"—that the world's pulse was beating its even time, and could not wait for us to sound the deep mysteries of its moral anomalies. Thus, we felt a strange grating on our senses when brought face to face with ordinary life again. Here Lady Macbeth's unswerving resolution and caution alone saved them. When Lady Macbeth discovered the cause of her lord's depression, she counselled him as Jezebel did her lord—"Arise and eat bread, and let thine heart be merry." If solitude could not calm Macbeth's tossing brain, surely a temporary lull would be found in the whirl of a crowded hour's glorious life; but Banquo's ghost broke the fascinating spell, and like Belshazzar, when he saw the handwriting on the wall, Macbeth's "countenance was changed," and "his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other." Here his wife's tact again rescued him. As long as her will had the full sweep of its power, she could do anything; but let us look at her without her will-power, in the sleep-walking scene. Browning made one of his characters say "strange secrets are let out by Death!" So there are by Death's image—sleep. The closing scenes of Macbeth's life were fitting sequences of the past. Like Saul at his wits' end, he sought

the witches, and their first revelations infused momentary life and hope into him. But these "sweet bodements" had hardly bloomed when they faded.

Macbeth now became a pessimist. His wife's death hardly touched him; it was merely another proof of the wearying monotony of time. Yet we do not expect his life will end in suicide; the inexorable laws of justice demanded satisfaction. Macbeth, like George Eliot's "Tito," from a man who at one time never thought of anything cruel or base, gradually slipped away from his better self, until at last he committed some of the vilest deeds which ever made man infamous. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth were terribly convincing proofs of the awful castigating powers of conscience. Their treacherously-won throne was reached only that they might find they were "perk'd up in a glist'ring grief and wore a golden sorrow."

A general discussion of the Play followed. Dr Bayne remarked that Shakspeare had, in Macbeth, treated the problem of a character, naturally noble, succumbing to a great temptation. One of the temptations which most deeply tried superior natures was that of ambition,—often the glance of a crown. To this yielded the Roman virtue of Julius Cæsar; even Cromwell was shaken by it. The speeches in the sleep-walking scene appeared too connected and rational for a dream, though interesting as showing the two lives that man could lead, one in sleep, one awake.

Miss Latham thought that both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth had previously considered the possibility of such a murder.

Dr Nicholson thought that as Shakspeare had showed in his other plays—*Henry V* for example—he knew that two consecutive dark scenes only neutralized the effects the one of the other, so this was one proof, among others, that the Porter scene was Shakspeare's.

SCRAPS.

foreslow, v. t. delay : 3 *Hen. VI.*, II. iii. 56. "The Frier, being glad that his plot stood in so good terms, **foreslowed** not his business, but coming straight to her bed side . . . told them that he must begin with holy shrift." 1607. R. C. Hy Stephen's *World of Wonders*, englisht, p. 180.—F.

Coast, v. i. : *Henry VIII.*, III. ii. 38. *Bag and baggage* : *As You Like It*, III. ii. "It is the fashion of vagabond players, that **coast** from Towne to Towne with a trusse¹ and a cast of fiddles, to carry in their consort, broken queanes, and *Ganimesdes*, as well for their night pleasance, as their dayes pastime." 1603. S. Harsnet. *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures*, p. 149.—B. N. (See this passage in a larger extract for '(devil's) dam' on p. 56, *Trans.* 1880-2.—F.)

¹ They remoued bagge, and baggage, as your wandring Players vse to doe. *ib.* p. 11.—F.

(*Eightieth Meeting, Friday, June 9, 1882.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

DR NICHOLSON read a paper entitled 'Was Hamlet Mad?' (The paper is printed separately, in full.) In the discussion which followed

MR FURNIVALL said :—It is my duty as Chairman to ask you for a vote of thanks to Dr Nicholson for his ably argued Paper to-night. That given, as I see by your hands it is, my business as a student of Shakspeare, is to urge you to reject the whole of the Doctor's arguments, tho' I am sure almost every one of you has already instinctively done so. There can be but few men or women in the world who wish to rob *Hamlet* of half its value, and to turn all the seeming contradictions and difficulties of Hamlet's words and character into the ravings and acts of a maniac, of no interest to any human being except his doctor and attendant, save to excite pity. If Hamlet was only a younger Lear, half mankind's interest in him would be gone. No doubt if Shakspeare has clearly made his hero a madman, we must accept him as such; but we all know that our poet has done nothing of the kind. Occasionally "a mad doctor"—happy double meaning of the term!—has assured us that Hamlet was mad, and has printed a book to prove his assertion; but we have taken it as evidence that the doctor himself wanted medical treatment, or at least, a quieting of his professional cry "there is nothing like leather". But now, our friend Dr Nicholson, who is not technically "a mad doctor," comes forward and tells us that Hamlet is really a "case" of mania. Luckily he gives us the evidence for his opinion.

What does the main part of this evidence amount to? Simply that on a difficult occasion, when Hamlet had to excuse himself for a rude act and rude words, he told 'a Society lie'. The truth he told first to his friend Horatio: "I got into a towering passion with Laertes. I forgot myself." The Society lie, the excuse, he told Laertes: "I really didn't mean to offend you. I was mad when I said what I did." Who of us,—looking at the circumstances, and knowing what men do in like ones now,—can reasonably hold Hamlet—Hamlet the continual exaggerator—to his words as if they were his dying confession, or gospel, and bring in a verdict of 'Mad' against him? Before I could do it, I should have to take leave of my senses.

Undoubtedly Hamlet lied—if that is the right word for such conventional excuses—either to Laertes or to Horatio; and that he did so to Laertes and not Horatio, is to me clear. In my *Leopold Sh. Introduction* in 1874, I said, “We are glad that he [Hamlet] asks Laertes’s pardon, sorry that he makes a lying excuse for his rudeness to him,” p. lxxiii.

Take the other bits of the Doctor’s evidence. Hamlet’s behaviour after the Ghost’s disclosures plainly springs from *hysteria*, not *mania*. His non-regret at the death of Polonius—who irritated and bord him, turnd Ophelia against him, and backt his father’s murderer—was just what a self-absorbd man like Hamlet would feel. He had the indifference of his time and race to all other murders than that of Claudius; and his hesitation about that was necessary for his character in the 5-act play which Shakspeare pland, where both Claudius and Hamlet had to die in the last scene. (Had Hamlet been Laertes, and cared for his father like Laertes did for Polonius, we should have had no play.) So also when Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were made safe: Hamlet only wanted them shunted; and he took the shortest means to get them out of his way.

As to Ophelia’s description of Hamlet: who can trust her words to be anything like literally true? Discounting them, I hold that Hamlet having rezolv’d to give up Ophelia, or at least, to test her, did, to some extent, act the madman before her; that he yet spoke kindly to her when he met her again; but when she return’d his gifts, he then turnd fiercely on her as if she had been no better than his mother; and he kept somewhat the same temper in the Play-scene. As to his exaggerated

“I lov’d Ophelia: forty thousand brothers
Could not, with all their quantity of love,
Make up my sum”,

I set it beside his

“now could I drink hot blood,
And do such bitter business as the day
Would quake to look on” (III. ii. 373-5), &c., &c.

Moody men like Hamlet don’t love as Othello lov’d, or Romeo. Moreover, if Hamlet was mad when he jumpt into Ophelia’s grave, and there and afterwards insulted Laertes, why was he sane when he utterd the 2½ lines abuv about Ophelia? The ‘mad’ advocates can’t fairly sort the speeches in that scene into ‘mad’ and ‘sane’, and use one set to prove Hamlet’s madness, and the other to prove his love for Ophelia. If his ‘madness’ made him jump into the grave and talk rodomontade to Laertes, it made him talk the like rodomontade about his love for Ophelia.

As to Burbage, or any later actor playing Hamlet as a madman: Richard Burbage and his brother Cuthbert were lessees of the Globe

and Blackfriars, and Shakspeare was only one of their company. R. Burbage was the first tragic actor of his day. If he could get a better effect by playing Hamlet as a madman, and thus earn himself, Shakspeare, and the Company of Shareholders, more money than by playing the character as in possession of his senses—tho' with disturbance thereof—I take it that Shakspeare wouldn't object. He was a man of business, and had to make the theatre pay.

We however are free to take our conception of Hamlet, solely from Shakspeare's words; and I, for one, wholly decline to accept the view that Hamlet was mad, or became at any time no-man—losing his gift of Reason—tho he was hysterical and unnervd. To 9 men and women out of every 10, Dr Nicholson's theory would halve, nay, quarter, the value of *Hamlet* and the character of Hamlet; and I hope the Doctor will some day see that his unconscious professional bias has led him astray. In Shakspeare's play, only the Fool (Polonius) and the weak Women think Hamlet mad. Claudius knows better; and so does Horatio.

DR BAYNE, having very warmly commended Dr Nicholson's essay as a comprehensive and vigorous statement of his case, and admirably adapted, were it only by the friction of opposition which it provoked, to give rise to animated discussion, declared himself unconvinced. Hamlet, as a study in character, was in Shakspeare's highest order of workmanship. There was nothing greater in Shakspeare. But it was not marked by the delicate finish, the perfect proportion and consistency of some of Shakspeare's characters, Iago, for example, or Othello. It might be impossible, therefore, to maintain against Dr Nicholson that Shakspeare was faultlessly consistent in his delineation of Hamlet,—that he had not let a trait or two pass which suit a madman better than one in a state of sanity. The main lines, however, in the character, were drawn with magnificent decision, and these were not the lines of madness. There was no necessity to fall back upon that hypothesis in order to account for the circumstances which drove Dr Nicholson to have recourse to it. Hamlet's ghastly merriment, immediately after his interview with the ghost, did seem, at first glance, delirious. But had not the profoundest Shaksperian critics rightly decided that it was true to human nature to represent the mind, in moments of tremendous excitement, as rocking and reeling in a kind of intoxication, distracted enough, no doubt, but quite distinct from madness? The absence of a feeling of moral responsibility was no insuperable difficulty for those who, like himself, agreed with Mr Furnivall that Shakspeare did not intend Hamlet to be by any means exemplary in a moral point of view. It might be suggested also that Shakspeare, though his *Hamlet* was an original and mighty creation, had been half-unconsciously influenced, in making the prince kill Polonius and send his old schoolfellows to death in England, by the rough-draft of the story as told by 'Saxo Grammaticus,' and that he did not

sufficiently consider whether those incidents, with the mixture of recklessness and of something very like cruelty accompanying them, were perfectly in unison with the spirituality, the reflectiveness, and even the elements of tenderness, that enter into his own conception of Hamlet. The practical inefficiency, the shilly-shallying, the half-honest self-reproaches, the sophistical self-excuses of Hamlet had, once for all, been traced to their right source by Goethe. The faculty of speculation and the faculty of action are, to a considerable extent, antithetic to each other. The man who can invent plausible reasons for ten causes of action, is least of all to be relied on to carry out one of the ten. Hamlet was the kind of man who could spin a theory of the universe sooner than thread a needle. Goethe had assuredly furnished the key to Hamlet's character, as it stands related to the speculative intellect on the one hand, and to a genius for action on the other. Perhaps the strongest point urged by Dr Nicholson in support of his theory, was what seemed the deliberate confession of Hamlet to Laertes that he was mad. If this could be taken as the sincere utterance of Hamlet's consciousness that he was, in very deed, a maniac, the evidence would be recognized by any medical psychologist as strong. But, in point of fact, Hamlet's reference to his distraction in his apology to Laertes, was a mere formal appeal to the bystanders as to what was currently accepted at the court, and the substance of his excuse was that he had been carried beyond himself by passion.¹

So much in the way of reply to Dr Nicholson's arguments. The evidence of a positive kind that Hamlet was not mad was overwhelming. He (Dr Bayne) had jotted down four heads while Dr Nicholson was reading, under which, if there were time, absolutely irresistible proof might be adduced that Shakspeare had not intended to delineate him as a madman. (1) In the very moment of shock and horror on account of the appearance of the ghost, he formed a scheme of operation against his uncle, from the main principle of which—the assumed madness—he never deviated. (2) He is throughout a humourist, as well as the keenest and most brilliant of wits. His wit has become proverbial,—the expression of the irony of nations. "Very like a whale,"—nothing was ever said wittier than that. For humour, and for that pathos which goes well with supreme humour, take the scene with the grave-digger. One of the finest things in Thackeray is the mere echo—the faint after-shine—of this scene;—the application, namely, to the Muse of the Restoration, the Muse of Congreve, of Hamlet's address to the skull of Yorick.

¹ I would supplement these remarks on Hamlet's apology to Laertes, by saying that Hamlet's estimate of his madness is to be had not in it, but in his confidential talk with Horatio in the grave scene. He therein confines himself to the statement that he "forgot himself" to Laertes, and his tone is evidently that of one who not only knows that he is not mad, but knows that his friend looks upon the notion of his madness as absurd.—P. B.

(3) The connectedness of his ideas. He seizes upon this proof of sanity, himself, in the scene with his mother. Madmen would "gambol from" the matter in hand. Hamlet did not gambol from it. This evidence alone would be conclusive. (4) To put into one category a general characteristic of which the preceding heads may be viewed as specific illustrations; Hamlet, apart from practical requirements, is a consummately able man. There is nothing in literature so clever as Hamlet. His familiar talk is the tersest, raciest, or else the most splendid prose in the English language, or, so far as I may judge, in any other. His thoughts reach the loftiest heights and the lowest depths of philosophy and of theology. He says a few impatient words to strolling players, and the passage becomes classic and canonical as a definition of the functions of the drama,—to "hold the mirror up to nature." If Hamlet is a madman, then the *Academy* and the *Athenæum* ought to have correspondents in Colney Hatch, for madmen say finer things than ever are said by men in their right minds. In conclusion, the speaker referred to the unquestionable and close alliance there often was between genius and madness. With the biographies of Byron and of Shelley in our hands, it would be easy to show that both were frequently more like madmen than sane men, and even in Carlyle there was something very like a vein of madness. That Shakspeare had this most interesting and important fact in his mind in delineating Hamlet, he (Dr B.) had no doubt. But no accepted definition of madness would send to an asylum either Byron, Shelley, or Carlyle, and, taken together, they could hardly, for intellect, be measured against Hamlet. That he was designed for the portrait of a madman is incredible.

MR HARRISON considered that Dr Nicholson had fairly established his conclusion. It would not, of course, be maintained that Hamlet was mad in the sense in which Lear was mad or as Ophelia was mad. But there were madmen and madmen. Hamlet was neither a maniac nor an imbecile; he was a *melancholiac*. His was a kind of insanity, the symptoms of which have been frequently described by medical psychologists; in which the will and the moral feelings were the subjects of the disease, while the intellect and the imagination were not in any wise impaired. So far from it, indeed, they might be abnormally vigorous and brilliant. Hamlet's thoughts and feelings and moral conduct, after his interview with the Ghost, are not those of a sane person. He tells his friends, it is true, that it is his purpose hereafter "to put an antic disposition on." But this is an observed symptom of insanity, and is quite as consistent with the theory of real as of feigned madness. Madmen often thus try to make themselves out to be more eccentric than they really are. And before he declares his intention to act the madman we find him meditating suicide, hating his life, and only restrained by the thought of the "Canon against self-slaughter" fixed by "the Everlasting." This, in one so

young and one circumstanced as he is, must be looked upon as a symptom of incipient disease. Then he has "bad dreams"—another characteristic symptom. He breaks out into violent and uncontrollable fits of delirious excitement which he cannot repress even before his own friends, with whom he has no need to feign; as, for instance, immediately after the departure of the Ghost, and again when alone with Horatio at the conclusion of the play.

The evidences of his sanity which he offers to his mother would prove nothing as to his state of mind. They might do so in the case of a maniac or an imbecile. But, according to the testimony of the physicians of lunatic asylums, the pulse of the melancholiac is not abnormal, nor are his powers of memory and attention necessarily impaired. So much as regards the negative proofs. As positive evidence of his insanity we may notice his cruel and unnecessary violence of language and manner to Ophelia, and the grossness of his words spoken to her in the play-scene. Were he merely trying to appear insane before the Court, he would at least have controlled himself in addressing the being whom he so tenderly loved. His behaviour at the grave of Ophelia is that of a person who has lost the power of self-control.

Hamlet's appeal to Laertes' gentlemanly feeling, if all the while he is knowingly saying what is a deliberate lie, is unquestionably, to quote Johnson's words, "unsuitable to the character of a good or a brave man." Granting that he was constitutionally vacillating and infirm of purpose, yet surely Shakspeare did not mean us to see in him a liar and a coward.

MISS PHIPSON held that if Hamlet had been deficient in moral responsibility, he would not have cared about his mother's crime, nor would he have been so earnest about killing his uncle.

DR NICHOLSON replied: So far as I can judge, though some of my arguments have been opposed by beliefs and suggestions, and though counterproofs of his sanity have been advanced, none have been met. The case is one *De Lun. Inq.* and I hold that my arguments must prove my view unless they can be shown to be either not facts, or facts that do not imply madness. But a word on these beliefs. Hamlet, we are told, to exculpate himself was guilty of a deliberate lie six times solemnly repeated before God and men, either for a mere fancy or for a cowardly purpose. This view is stated, not proved. To me it is irreconcilable with Hamlet's character, and destroys my interest in him. Mr Furnivall loses almost all interest in the play if Hamlet be mad. But my contention is, that there is madness in him—that he is only occasionally and paroxysmally mad. This I stated at the outset, and a second time in the grave scene, dwelt on by Mr Furnivall, as though I had not remarked on Hamlet's speech—"Hear you, sir," &c. If an interest be taken because of an unproved hypothesis, so much the worse for the interest. I still feel the interest I did, but a more intelligent one. The noble and ignoble

thoughts, the subtlety of these, and of their expression, the different and most life-like characters thus expressed, the contrasts between Hamlet's sane and insane utterances and actions, the intricacies thus caused, the working out withal, in so exquisitely interesting and pathetic a manner of the two moral principles I have spoken of, all interest me most intensely. By the way that, "Polonius and the women were the only people who held him mad," must be an oversight. I am told that Hamlet had "the indifference of his time and race" to other murders, but that his hesitation as to that of Claudius was necessary to make out a five act play. I cannot admit an inconsistency which so lowers Shakspeare and his chief play. So, too, I cannot admit that Shakspeare would allow Burbage to misrender Hamlet for the sake of a few pence. I was once rebuked by Mr Furnivall for thinking that Shakspeare had an eye to the main chance. But I never went as far as this, nor could I. If Ophelia's words be not "literally true," that is, if she did not mean what she said, I give up the belief that Shakspeare meant us to believe anything that his characters say.

Dr Bayne's four proofs that Hamlet was sane are, I venture to think, arguments by one who has not studied the phases of insanity, or had practical acquaintance with it. I always listen with pleasure to Dr Bayne's acute and frequently far-seeing remarks, but the study of madness is a speciality on which I, a medical man, can only speak as to its broader lines and with diffidence. On it, all but those who have attended to it speak and think as did those mentioned in my two introductory illustrations. These, I think, re-read, dispose of Dr Bayne's proofs, Nos. 2 and 4. As to No. 3, madmen do not always "gambol from the matter," though I think I have shown that Hamlet occasionally did so. Madmen often tell their tales with a coherence which is striking, and Hamlet's madness was not so much one of intellect as emotional. This, too, is to be noticed, that he was talking, not on any of his mad points, but on facts—the faults of his mother and uncle. To (1) I reply that on the confession of my opponents he was then temporarily mad, "distracted, reeling in a kind of intoxication." I cannot believe in settled plans made at such a time, though I can believe in a strong desire for revenge. There is no proof of either sanity or madness in this latter, but there is one proof of madness in his want of determination in carrying out his partially carried-out plans. The question whether his assumed madness was a truth, or whether he gave this as a plausible pretext which would hide the real madness which he felt, must be decided by his other thoughts and actions. I would add that my opponents would explain all his actions, except perhaps the "very like a whale" scene, as those of a sane man, forgetting on their own hypothesis that he must have assumed a semblance of madness. Such semblances I admit, but contend, with Scoloker and others, that they were realities.

After Dr Nicholson's reply, the Chairman askt all who were prezent to give their opinions, which they did in succession, and he then dezired those who thought with Dr Nicholson that Hamlet was mad, to hold up their hands: Dr Nicholson and Mr Harrison did so. For 'On the contrary', every one else in the room—some 15 folk—held up his or her hand.

SCRAPS.

set up his rest, made up his mind, rezolv'd: *Errors*, IV. iii. 27. *crosses*, money: *L. L. Lost*, I. ii. 36. "[*Dulippo*.] This amorous cause that hangeth in controuersie betwene *Domine doctor* & me, may be compared to them that play at primero [. . . *a un giuoco mi par simile di Zara*, &c.]: of whom some one peradventure shal leese a great sum of money before he win one stake, & at last halfe in anger shal **set vp his rest** [. . . *e dolente al fin dir, vadane il resto*, &c.]: win it: and after that another, another and another . . . til at last the one of them is left with as many **crosses** as God hath brethren [. . . *viene un bel punto, che accumula da un lato il tutto, e lascia l'altro povero*.]" 1566. Gascoigne's *Supposes* (Ariosto's *I Suppositi*), Act III. sc. ii. Roxb. Lib. ed. of G.'s *Poems*, vol. i. p. 225.—W. G. S.

Jack o' the clock: *Rich.* II. V. v. 60. "I have often observ'd (with all Submission and Resignation of Spirit to the inscrutable Mysteries of Eternal Providence) that when the Fulness and Maturity of Time is come that produces the great Confusions and Changes in the World, it usually pleases God to make it appear by the manner of them, that they are not the Effects of human Force or Policy, but of the Divine Justice and Predestination; and tho' we see a Man, like that which we call **Jack of the Clock-house**, striking, as it were, the Hour of that Fulness of Time, yet our Reason must needs be convinc'd, that his Hand is mov'd by some secret, and to us who stand without, invisible Direction." 1661. Abraham Cowley. *A Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell*, Works, ed. 10, ii. 649, 650.—W. G. S. [I remember seeing two men, two Jacks of the Clock, who used to strike the hours and quarters close to the clock face of St Dunstan's in the Strand. At least I think there were two; there was certainly one.—B. N.]

painting, sb. a pigment for the face. *Cymbeline*, III. iv. 52 (see *N. Sh. Soc. Trans.* 1877-9, p. 466), "*Fard*: m. Fard, **painting** (properly, Ceruse or white Lead)." 1611. Cotgrave. (*Ceruse*: f. Ceruse, or, white lead, wherewith women paint. *ib.*)—F.

foppery, sb. *Lear*, I. ii. 128. *Ineptie*: f. Vnaptnesse, vnseasonableness; fondnesse, trifling, vainnesse, **fopperie**, childishnesse. 1611. Cotgrave.—F.

(*Eighty-first Meeting, Friday, October 13, 1882.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

This, the opening meeting of the Tenth Session, was open to the public.

The CHAIRMAN prefaced the proceedings by some remarks upon the objects of the Society, and the lines upon which it was worked—those of chronological study—stating that they might consider their battle fairly won. He announced a forthcoming edition of an old-spelling Shakspeare—the first since Shakspeare's time—and hoped that next year the whole of the comedies would be placed in the hands of members.

MISS E. H. HICKEY then read a paper upon *Julius Cæsar*, of which the following is an Abstract.

Miss Hickey noticed the internal evidence for placing the play in Shakspeare's middle period, there being an absence of puns and conceits, and a freedom and harmony of versification as well as a few of the early-work rimes, while the difficulties and obscurities of expression which we find in the later work were wanting.

As to the original of the play, Miss Hickey failed to see the indebtedness to Appian's *Chronicle* for Act III. sc. ii., which had been brought forward by Mr Watkiss Lloyd and others. Shakspeare had followed North's *Plutarch* closely, taking from the original many touches which seemed essentially Shakspearean; and he here stands to his original in a relation wholly different from that in which he stands to the originals of other plays. The gift given us by Plutarch, passing through Shakspeare, is the same, and yet not the same; the "pasture of great souls" yields delights and nutrition, but we come to Shakspeare and receive more and greater abundantly.

We note specially the influence of the Renaissance upon Shakspeare, in the deep imbuing of his mind with the sense of "the grandeur that was Rome." He felt the true Roman to have been an image of strength, physical and moral. In the *Merchant of Venice* it is said that he is one in whom

"The ancient Roman honour more appears
Than any that draws breath in Italy."

"I am more an antique Roman than a Dane," said the ideal friend, Horatio. In all Shakspeare's Roman women there is not one moral flaw. Throughout his plays we can trace the same sympathy and

admiration for Rome and the Romans, and his imagination appears to have been most strongly imprinted by Julius Cæsar. One of the most remarkable allusions which show this, occurs in *Richard III.* Act III., where the little king says,

“That Julius Cæsar was a famous man ;
With what his valour did enrich his wit,
His wit set down to make his valour live.
Death makes no conquest of this conqueror ;
For now he lives in fame, though not in life.”

It has been represented that though Julius Cæsar gives the name to the Play, not only is Brutus the hero, but Cæsar is represented in an unheroic light, his speech disfigured by “thrasonical brag,” his mind swayed by superstition, and certain physical defects brought forward. It seemed to Miss Hickey that a good deal of this impression arose from two things: our lack of careful study of context, and our habit of using a nineteenth century standard in judging of other century development of character and art. Shakspeare’s age was without doubt, compared with ours, an age of unreserve, and words were uttered and deeds done which involved none of that loss of dignity which must in our day follow hard upon their uttering and their doing. Allowing for the difference in ideal brought about in nearly three centuries, Cæsar did not seem to Miss Hickey on the whole a braggart. As to the influence that superstitious fears have upon him, is he not wrought on by his love for Calpurnia rather than by regard for her dreams? and was not the English belief in Shakspeare’s day in entire sympathy with that of the heathen world in omens and auguries? We find through Shakspeare’s plays that the brave accept fate, but do not reject premonitions or presentiments any more than they disbelieve in the influence of planets upon their lives; and where we find absolute disbelief, it is in the bad, not in the good.

It is a want of careful study of the context again that makes Cæsar appear to certain people in an unheroic light; as to the stress laid upon his physical defects, it is Cassius who lays this stress, and it is surely a defect in Cassius’ nature, that he is incapable of recognizing Cæsar’s true greatness. His mind’s eye seems to be short-sighted; and in his narration to Brutus of Cæsar’s “weakness” he seems to show a thick wit and a thin heart.

It has been suggested that Shakspeare may have kept Cæsar’s greatness in the background, in order that he might appear to us as he did to the conspirators; this Miss Hickey was unable to accept; Cæsar is the hero of the play because he is the dramatic centre of it, and all converges to him whether in life or in death, and what first sets Brutus apart is his relation to Cæsar.

The man who grapples with the spirit of Cæsar seems to stand forth as the noblest of those Romans for whom Shakspeare had such

sympathetic admiration. Is he defeated because circumstances are too strong for him? or because the causes of his defeat lie in himself?

Brutus knows no personal cause to spurn at Cæsar; indeed, he calls him his best lover. To his life a terrible struggle has come; he sees, as he believes, the attempted sapping of the foundation of Roman liberty; and the guilty hand of the sapper is the hand of his friend, the hand of his "best lover." Cassius sounding him finds that he is ready, at any price, to save Rome. But he will decide nothing rashly; he will have time to consider. A little later his mind is made up; it must be by the death of Cæsar that Rome shall be set free.

In the soliloquy of Brutus at the beginning of the 2nd Act we have strong evidence of some great flaw in his judgment, and we shall not part from him before learning that his want of wholeness and soundness of judgment helps to ruin the cause which is to him a struggle for freedom. He knows no personal cause to spurn at Cæsar. He calls him his best lover; he has loved him not less than any dear, dear friend of Cæsar's has done. It is for the general only that Brutus must spurn at Cæsar. In the argument which Brutus puts forward he shows how his mind is under the sway of false reasoning. It is potential evil that he aims at. Cæsar is to be destroyed because he *may* do mischief! Neither does Brutus recognize that the Republic is past grace, past salvation. The people crave a ruler, a new spirit necessitates a new form, and the old Republic shall not live again.

It has been said that Brutus is used by the conspirators to cover their own moral nakedness; we may carry on the metaphor by adding that the garment they have donned impedes and stays them in their course. Cassius, a man of far lower moral stature than Brutus, is possessed of far more practical judgment; but he, as well as others, is controlled by a power in Brutus exercised consciously or unconsciously throughout. Out of Brutus' very singleness of heart springs that assertive self-belief which is not vanity, but comes through an identification of himself with his cause, which he feels to be so utterly right that it must prosper.

Portia is shown to us in one relation only, as the noble wife of one who is entirely worthy of her. Her life is blent with that of Brutus, yet she has never lost her individuality. The fine scene in which she claims his confidence has been contrasted with that in which Lady Percy seeks to win the partnership of Hotspur's trouble. There is a very striking antithesis in the two men, the two women, and their relation to each other.

There is a beautiful account of Portia's parting from Brutus when he left Rome, in North's *Plutarch*, which one is tempted to wish that Shakspeare had used. But it was not needed for the play, and his non-use of it seems therefore a proof of his mastery of

his art. And though Shakspeare has not brought in the incident of the emotion of Portia at the sight of the picture of the parting between Hector and Andromache, it has probably influenced him in his conception of her character.

After the murder of Cæsar, Brutus, who had insisted on sparing Antony, commits another practical blunder in allowing him to make the funeral oration.

In the scene of the quarrel between the two generals, it is curious how unconscious Brutus appears of having given any occasion of annoyance to Cassius. With strange inconsistency he blames Cassius for not sending him gold, after he had accused him of obtaining gold by wrong means,—means which he himself would scorn to use. It is certainly the irony of facts. Later on he blunders again. In his anger Cassius had spoken true words,—“I am a soldier, I, Older in practice, abler than yourself To make conditions.” Cassius *is* the better general, but through his incapacity for seeing it, Brutus ruins his cause.

In spite of all its disasters, the life of Brutus had had great good in it. He had known and possessed Portia, and he had found no man but he was true to him. Best of all, he had been true to his own self, and had never been false to any man. His ideal was preserved, and he died to live for us as the noblest Roman of them all.

Blind to his beauty and glory, Dante has placed him and Cassius with Judas Iscariot; each of these three “traitors” crunched in one of the three mouths of “The Emperor of the kingdom dolorous.” Not so felt Michael Angelo, not so felt she who spoke of

“That dim bust of Brutus jagged and grand,
Where Buonarrotti passionately tried
From out the close-clenched marble to demand
The head of Rome’s sublimest homicide,
Then dropt the quivering mallet from his hand,
Despairing he could find no model-stuff
Of Brutus in all Florence, where he found
The gods and gladiators thick enough.”

Perhaps the best expression of the difference between Brutus and Cassius is to be found in North’s saying that Cassius was not so simple and pure as Brutus. But there is no sharp antithesis between them; the difference is delicately, as well as clearly, marked. How much real greatness Cassius must have had would appear, if only by Brutus’ words, “The last of all the Romans, fare thee well! It is impossible that ever Rome should breed thy fellow.”

Miss Hickey considered that Shakspeare took a more favourable view of Antony in the later dramas than in the earlier one, the hero of Antony and Cleopatra being a greater man than the Antony of Julius Cæsar. In the play before us he can make a spectacle of the holiest feelings of friendship, and then say with a sneer, “Now let it

work. Mischief, thou art afoot." He can sit at a table and damn with a spot his sister's son. He can use Lepidus as a tool and then throw him over, and send for Cæsar's will "to cut off some charge in legacies." His words over Brutus' body seem to show some genuine appreciation of him; but he knew how popular Brutus had been, and he knew that the way to obtain popularity himself was not to depreciate others. Had he been sincere, would he have said to Eros, "'Twas I That the *mad* Brutus ended?"

Mr Knight thought that the catastrophe of Julius Cæsar was the death of the Roman Republic at Philippi; it rather seemed to Miss Hickey that it was not her death, but her burial, that was set forth. The interest in the play was not so much the interest of a historical drama as of a tragedy. The men concerned in the events, their feelings, their character, were more to us than the events themselves. There is a war of principles, but the principles are incarnate in men of like passions with ourselves. And if incarnation be in one sense a veiling, in another it is a revelation.

A vote of thanks having been unanimously passed to Miss Hickey for her paper,

Mr F. J. FURNIVALL gave it as his opinion that Shakspeare had distinctly reduced the heroic proportions of Cæsar, and that his sympathies were with Brutus. He noticed how Brutus killed Cæsar for his *potential* evil; but when Cassius would put Antony to death for exactly the same reason, Brutus refuses to have his own argument used against him. Contrary to Miss Hickey, Mr Furnivall thought the Antony of *Julius Cæsar* a greater man than him of *Antony and Cleopatra*. No doubt Antony likes acting, and is an actor; but there is the ring of true love in his words about Cæsar.

DR DARMESTÉTER concurred generally in the opinions of the paper, for which he thanked Miss Hickey.

REV. W. A. HARRISON also expressed surprise at Miss Hickey's preference for the Antony of *Antony and Cleopatra*, agreeing with Mr Furnivall that Antony's feelings were true. Cassius seemed to be contrasted with Brutus as the man of action with the man of thought. Cassius was the more dangerous man, as Cæsar saw.

MR TYLOR made some observations on the predominating Fate in the play.

DR B. NICHOLSON on the question as to who was the hero, said that there was no personal hero; there was shown instead the fall of the Republic and the rise of Imperialism. The play showed that Shakspeare studied his authorities well. Not only the life of Julius Cæsar, but the lives of Brutus and Cassius also, as the evidences show, must have been closely studied. Dr Nicholson agreed with Miss Hickey in seeing no evidence of the indebtedness of the play to Appian's *Chronicle*; and also in preferring the Antony of *Antony and Cleopatra* to that of *Julius Cæsar*. The Antony of the former had

a truly noble mind; witness his treatment of Cleopatra after her desertion, and of Enobarbus.

In reply, Miss HICKEY defended her preference for the Antony of *Antony and Cleopatra* by pointing out the impression of greatness he had made on all around him; and the way in which they all lamented his fall. A fall implied a height.

(*Eighty-second Meeting, Friday, November 10, 1882.*)

THE REV. W. A. HARRISON in the Chair.

A paper by Miss Teena Rochfort-Smith, the editress of the society's four-text edition of *Hamlet*, on "The Relation of the First Quarto of *Hamlet* to the Second, and on Some of the Textual Difficulties of the Play," was read by Mr Furnivall. Miss Rochfort-Smith said that, in order to form an independent opinion on the relation of the two Quartos, she had, before looking at any commentator, read first the First Quarto and afterwards the Second; had then compared the two together line by line; and, lastly, had read the commentators. Her strong opinion was that the First Quarto was Shakspeare's "first sketch" of his great play. She noted the changes of the names of Corambis and Montano to Polonius and Reynaldo; the vital ones of the anti-Clown speech, with its plainly genuine "cinkapase of ieasts," "the warme Clowne cannot make a iest vnleffe by chance;" the confidential scene between the Queen and Horatio, not reproduced in Quarto 2—which the writer contended was Shakspeare's work misreported—and other smaller points; and then passed on to the changes in the characters of the Queen and Ophelia, which had so struck her as a woman. Comparing the characters in the two Quartos—in the course of which Miss Rochfort-Smith developed a very sharp attack on Ophelia, whose thwarted love she declared to be disappointed vanity more than anything else, and whom she termed a disgrace to her sex—the writer contended that the alterations and improvements in Quarto 2 proved a re-working of these characters by Shakspeare. The like conclusion must be drawn from the re-worked Hamlet, Laertes, &c.; and therefore, in the matter of text, Quarto 1 could be used only to show the history of any doubtful phrase or word, like "sallied flesh," and to correct any miscopying in Quarto 2. The relation of Folio 1 to Quarto 2 was, in the main, settled by Dr Tanager in the last part of the society's *Transactions*. Its copier had preserved several genuine passages of the play left out by the copier or printer of Quarto 2; but its text had been touched up and altered by the players, whether Heminge and Condell, or others of Burbage's company. The only safe rule for an editor was, to take Quarto 2 as his foundation-text, and not depart from it except in case of plain

mistake or omission. Specially in the cases of unexpected and archaic words and phrases would players' alterations be certain, as Mr Furnivall had shown was the case in *Troilus and Cressida* and *Much Ado*. Passing, then, to "textual difficulties," Miss Rochfort-Smith dealt with (a) I. i. 116, 117, between which she proposed to insert the line, "While in the Heauens aboue were signs beheld," or "In Heauen aboue were dread portents;" (b) with I. ii. 129, where she insisted on retaining "sallied" in the sense of assaulted, harassed "by the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune;" she contended that the "grieu'd and sallied" of Quarto 1 proved that "solid" could not have been the original reading, as it could not have been joined with "grieu'd," while the same "grieu'd" showed that "flesh" stood for the whole being, and not only the materials of the body. Mr Harrison well paralleled the phrase by the "Romeo and Juliet" "shake the yoke of inauspicious stars From this world-wearied flesh;" (c) with I. iii. 74, "Ar of a most felect and generous chiefe in that," where she retained "chiefe" = eminence, on the strength of Prof. Taylor Thom's citation from George Cranmer's "chiefety of dominion" in Earle's *Philology*; (d) with I. iv. 36—38, "the dram of eale" lines, which she declined to alter, seeing that "devil" was twice spelt "deale" in II. ii. 628, "May be a *deale*, and the *deale* hath power," and that "doth" means "puts;" (e) with three cases of Quarto 2's archaisms modernised in Folio 1: "for to drinke," I. ii. 175, "for to preuent," I. ii. 175; "*an* auspitious and *a* dropping eye," in which she declined to follow the Folio changes; (f) with a miscopying of "foule" as "fonde" in Quarto 2, I. ii. 273, in which she gladly accepted the right copying of the Folio; (g) with the Folio change of Quarto 2's "*Speake* to it, Horatio," into "*Question* it, Horatio," I. i. 46, which she refused to adopt, on the ground that Marcellus's repetition of his first phrase was far more natural in his excited state than the *littérateur's* avoidance of the recurrence of that phrase. *Prima facie*, it was Shakspeare who had altered the "Question it" of Quarto 1 to the "Speake to it" of his recast play in Quarto 2. The change back to the Quarto 1 "Question it" was exactly such a one as an actor-emender would make. Other difficulties were dealt with.

A complimentary speech from the chairman followed, with a discussion, by a full meeting, of Miss Rochfort-Smith's main points.

With regard to the doubtful "chiefe in that," a note by Prof. W. Taylor Thom, of Hollins Institute, Virginia, U.S.A., was read.

Prof. Taylor Thom stood for the retention of the reading of the Folios, recognizing "chief" and the "cheff" of the Folios as mere variants. The scanning of the line should least of all trouble us; when we find *safety* in line 21 of the same scene, appearing as a trisyllable, might we not contract and slur vowels in l. 74? Or might we not scan it as an Alexandrine? In fine, Shakspeare wrote

many bad lines, and this might well be allowed to go along with the others.

Of the various emendations and explanations that have been made, none were entirely satisfactory. Neither "of a" nor "chief" could well be omitted, the Quartos and Folios all having "of a" and some form of "chief." Shakspeare and the Elizabethans must have been familiar with "chief" in the physical sense of head, headman, top rank, highest station—and further in the intellectual sense of head, mind, taste, choice, corresponding to such rank and station. And so Polonius would say exactly what he meant, whether we understood "chief" as applied to the taste dictating the kind of dress, or to the dress itself as showing the *taste* and adapted to the *rank* of the wearer. That this "head" meaning of "chief" was still predominant in the Elizabethan mind was shown in part by Shakspeare's use of "kerchief" for head-covering, as distinguished from "napkin," our "handkerchief." Furthermore, Mr Earle (*Philology of the English Tongue*, § 350) quoted from George Cranmer, MS. notes on *Hooker's Sixth Book*, this sentence among others: "You terme yt sometymes chiefety of dominion, sometymes souverainety, sometimes imperiall power;" where "chiefety," that is, highest rank in power, corresponded exactly to what Polonius wished to express by "chief," that is, the characteristic quality attending high rank, the superior taste and choice, namely, shown in conforming to the requirements of high rank. It would be entirely in keeping for him to use the word in a strained pedantic application.

SCRAPS.

kettle-drum, and 'rouse': Danish Drinking Custom. *Ham.* I. iv. 8—12.

"Thus when the hovering Publican [a bee]
Had suck'd the Toll of all her Span,
(Tuning his draughts with drowsie Hums,
As *Danes Carouze by kettle-drums*)," &c.

—'Fuscara, or the Bee Errant,' in Cleveland's *Works*, 1742, p. 3.—
W. G. S.

maund, sb.: *Lover's Complaint*, 36.

"And in a little *maund*, being made of oziars small,
Which serveth him to do full many a thing withall,
He very choicely sorts his simples got abroad."

1613. Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song the Thirteenth, *Works*, 1753, vol. iii. p. 919. *Corbeille*: f. A wicker Basket, or Maund; cf. *Mande*, &c. Cotgrave.—B. N.

(*Eighty-third Meeting, Friday, December 8, 1882.*)

DR PETER BAYNE in the Chair.

MR F. J. FURNIVALL read his Paper on the "Textual Difficulties in the Early Comedies," and mentioned the readings which, in disputed passages, would be adopted in the Society's forthcoming "Old-spelling Shakspeare."

Some notes by PROF. TAYLOR THOM, on three puzzle-words in *Hamlet*, were then read; the following is the substance of them:—

I. "Every word" (IV. v. 98—106).

"The rabble call him lord;
And, as the world were now but to begin,
Antiquity forgot, custom not known,
The ratifiers and props of every word,
They cry, Choose we; Laertes shall be king."

The general sense of this passage was quite clear, but Mr Furness gave no less than five conjectural readings for *word* (l. 101); and also gave the explanations of many editors and annotators, only one of which, that by Caldecott, being, so Prof. Taylor Thom thought, the true one, but not supported by any authority; viz., that "word" meant "appellation" or "title." That this was the real meaning—that "title" was the true synonym for "word"—appeared to be proven by the following citation in *Nares* (Glossary): "Lord Burleigh, in one of his letters to Walsingham after his advancement to the peerage, signs his name W. Cecill, but adds, 'I forget my new *word*, William Burleighe.'"

II. "Saint Patrick" (I. v. 135-6).

"Hor. There's no offence, my lord.

Ham. Yes, by Saint Patrick, but there is, Horatio."

Saint Patrick was especially distinguished as the *serpent-destroying* saint, and the Ghost has just said,—

"'Tis given out, that sleeping in my orchard,
A serpent stung me; . . . but know, thou noble youth,
The serpent that did sting thy father's life
Now wears his crown."

III. "Pajock" (III. ii. 273). It was only by reference to the multiplying habit of Hamlet's mind that Dyce's explanation of "pajock" as "peacock" appeared altogether satisfactory. Hamlet's process of

thought appeared to be about this: he thought of Claudius in the place and garb of his own Jove-like father as of the ass in the royal lion's skin (and place), and was on the point of rhyming, when his restless imagination passed from the idea of the place to the idea of the gaudy trappings, more particularly, in which Claudius had there tricked himself out like a peacock; and then, thinking of the peacock as the very embodiment of useless, vainglorious show, he abruptly finished the line in keeping with the last idea. In finishing, however, he made a pause, and then employed such a provincial name for peacock as should contain a hint of the wretched knave, the *jock* or *jack* of a fellow, to whom he first intended to liken the king. As to the reading itself, there seemed to be nothing improbable in it. Mr Dyce said he heard peacock called peajock in Scotland.

(*Eighty-fourth Meeting, Friday, January 12, 1883.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

THE REV. W. A. HARRISON read a Paper on "The Textual Difficulties in *Richard II.*" Beginning with a careful enumeration of the various editions of the play, and quoting Collier, Grant White, and Staunton as to the superior accuracy of Quarto 1 (1597), Mr Harrison went on to deal with the various difficulties in their order. The following were the chief difficulties noticed by him, with an abstract of his remarks and conclusions.

I. i. 186,—*"Cousin, throw up your gage."* So the Quartos; the Folios have *"throw down your gage."* But this is demonstrably wrong; to throw *down* a gage is to *give* a challenge; what the king bids Bolingbroke do is to *revoke* the challenge. The Quarto reading, then, *"Cousin, throw up your gage"* (*i. e.* Deliver up to me that gage which you hold in your hand), is certainly right.

I. iii. 150,—*"The slie slow hours."* In spite of the unanimous authority of the Quartos and of all the Folios but the second, for *"sly slow,"* Pope followed the second Folio in reading *"fly-slow"* (inserting the hyphen). This Mr Harrison thought a most unlikely and incongruous epithet for Shakspeare to use in this connection. The idea of *"flying"* was incompatible with the idea of the tediousness of the dragging hours. Another consideration which may have influenced Shakspeare in his use of *"slie"* before *"slow,"* is the alliteration. In this particular play he is nothing if not alliterative; in these two lines alone we get *slie, slow, shall; determinate, dateless, dear.*

I. iii. 193,—*"Norfolk, so fare as to mine enemy"* (Q1, 2, 3, 4, F1); *"farre"* (F2, Q5, F3), *"far"* (F1, and modern editions). In support of *"fare,"* may it not mean, *"I will not say farewell; but I bid you adieu 'as to mine enemy' (I should bid adieu);"* *"so fare as I should wish mine enemy to fare"*

II. i. 17,—“No, it is stopped with other flattering sounds
 As praises, *of whose taste the wise are found*,
 Lascivious metres, to whose venom sound,” &c.

So Q1. Q2 has “As praises of whose state the wise are found.” Q3 and 4 and F2 have “It is stopped with other flattering sounds As praises of *his state*; then there are found,” &c., which was adopted by most modern editors, including Dyce. F1 has “then there are *sound* Lascivious metres to whose venom sound,” which is clearly a misprint for “found,” and which Delius corrects to “then there are *found*,” &c.

Leaving the modern editors alone, and confining ourselves to the Folio and Quarto readings respectively: “Then there are found” Mr Harrison thought a feeble way of stating the fact that the king was enslaved by “Lascivious metres.” He preferred to keep the reading of Quarto 1, “As praises of whose taste the wise are found.” Shakspeare uses “taste” more than once in the sense of *test*, or *trial*, or *proof* (*Coriol.*, III. i. 318; *Cress.*, III. iii. 13; *Hamlet*, II. ii. 452; *Lear*, II. ii. 47). And so he uses to “find” in the sense of to “detect,” to see through, to discover the disposition of a person or the quality of a thing (*Henry V.*, IV. i. 276; *Lear*, IV. vi. 104), &c. “Of” is of course used for “by,” as usual in the phrase “To be found of.”

The meaning of the line would then be “Praises,” “of whose taste,” *i. e.* by the test or proof of which, “the wise are found,” *i. e.* discovered or detected. Mr Harrison thought the corruption of the word “taste” to be due to a printer’s mistake in mixing the letters, and so getting “state”; and the printer of Q3, finding this nonsense, must have doctored the passage.

II. i. 70,—“For young hot colts, being raged, do rage the more.” “Raged” has been strongly objected to by modern editors; the doubt being whether “raged” can be used in the sense of *angered*, or *irritated*; but it is found in this very sense in the same scene, l. 173, “In war, was never lion raged more fierce.” This line is generally construed “there was never a lion (that) raged more fiercely,” and this construction is of course possible; but it is unnecessary, and destroys the force and balance of the sentence.

“In war, was never lion raged, more fierce;

In peace, was never gentle lamb, more mild.”

“War” is contrasted with “peace”; a “raged lion” with a “gentle lamb,” “more fierce” with “more mild.”

II. i. 277,—

“I have from Port le Blanc, a bay

In Brittany, received intelligence

That Harry Duke of Hereford, Rainold Lord Cobham,

That late broke from the Earl of Exeter,

His brother, archbishop late of Canterbury,” &c., &c.

Here a line has evidently dropped out. As the text stands, it asserts that Rainold Lord Cobham lately broke from the Duke of Exeter. But this was not the fact, and Holinshed is too explicit on the subject for Shakspeare to err. Moreover, the line "His brother, archbishop late of Canterbury," is nonsense as it stands, because the person to whom the archbishop was brother has not been mentioned. This person was the old Earl, Richard, the father of Thomas who escaped. It is evident, therefore, that a line has been omitted, in which both this Richard and his son Thomas were mentioned. Malone accordingly supplies in brackets ["The son of Richard Earl of Arundel"], but the objection to this is that it seems to make Richard, and not Thomas, the one who escaped. The same objection applies to Ritson's suggestion. A better substitute would be "Thomas, the Earl of Arundel's son and heir" (H. H. Vaughan's suggestion).

I. iv. 20,—*"He is our Cosin (cosin)," &c.* So *Fi*, 2, 3, 4, *Q5*; modern editors, "cousin, cousin"; *Qi*, 2, 3, 4, "cousins' cousin" (with varying spellings). According to the Folios and the modern editors, Richard says, "He (Bolingbroke) is our cousin, cousin" (Aumerle). According to the Quartos, Richard means to say, "Bolingbroke is cousin to myself and to all whom I am cousin to; but by the indifference which he shows for us all, it is very doubtful whether, when he returns from banishment, he will come to see any of those his friends." The Quarto reading should, Mr Harrison thought, be kept; the contrast being between Bolingbroke's princely relatives, for whom he seemed not to care at all, and the "craftsmen," "draymen" and "oyster-wenches" whom he courted so assiduously.

II. ii. 57 (here *Qi* is corrupted by all the later copies),—

"Why have you not proclaimed Northumberland
And all the rest revolted faction, traitors?" *Qi*.

"And the rest of the revolted faction traitors?" *Q2* and 5, *Fi*, 2.
"And the rest of the revolting faction traitors?" *Q3*, 4. "And the rest of that revolted faction traitors?" *F3*, 4.

In each of these changes the rhythm of the line was spoilt. Mr Harrison stood for retaining the reading of *Qi*; the combination of "the rest" with the passive participle he thought thoroughly Shaksperian, and quoted numerous instances of it. If any alteration be necessary, Mr Harrison suggested "factious" for "faction":
"And all the rest revolted—factious traitors?"

II. ii. 4,—*"T' one is my sovereign, . . . t' other again," &c.*

So all the Quartos. *Fi* has "Th' one" and "Th' other." Most modern editors have quietly inserted "The one," "The other," damaging the metre, and getting rid of a characteristic ancient form of abbreviation.

II. iii. 80,—“Self-borne arms.” So the Quartos. F1, 2, 3, “Selfe-borne armes.” Modern editors print “self-born,” indigenous. Mr Harrison would retain the Quarto reading “self-borne.”

III. ii. 37, &c.,—

“Knows’t thou not

That when the searching eye of heaven is hid

Behind the globe, *that* lights the lower world,” &c.

So Q1, 3, 4, F1; as there is no (,) after “globe” in Q1 the conditions stated here only exist during an eclipse of the sun. But as Shakspeare evidently only means to express the fact that it is night, the (,) after “globe” as given in F1 should be retained. Q2 has “*and* lights.”

Mr Harrison thought it an open question whether we should read “and” or “that.” At first sight “and” seems to give the better sense, but “that” has the preponderance of evidence in favour of its being the correcter reading. And for the relative to belong to the more remote antecedent was too common a construction in Shakspeare to occasion any difficulty. Mr Harrison would therefore retain “that.”

III. ii. 122,—

“Where is the Earl of Wiltshire? where is Bagot?

What is become of Bushy? where is Green?”

asks King Richard, according to the Quartos and Folios. But in l. 132 he calls the *four* above-mentioned, *three* Judases. Holinshed says that Bagot had gone to Ireland, and is so understood by Shakspeare (II. ii. 141). Theobald accordingly altered it to “Where is he got?” If any alteration be required, the most Shaksperian would be Vaughan’s, “Where become?” For this phrase see 3 *Henry VI.*, II. i. 9; IV. iv. 25; *Tr. and Cress.*, III. iii. 11.

III. ii. 175-6. The Quartos and Folios unanimously read—

“I live with bread like you, feel want,

Taste grief, need friends; subjected thus,” &c.

Each line being a foot short. Pope, Steevens, and S. Walker suggest alterations; Pope’s emendation seemed to Mr Harrison the best:—

“I live with bread *like you*, feel want *like you*;

Taste grief, need friends *like you*; subjected thus,” &c.

III. iii. 95,—“But ere the crown he looks for *live* in peace.”

Warburton proposed “light in peace”; an anonymous writer (in Halliwell) “give him peace.” But a passage where Bolingbroke himself is the speaker settles the authenticity of the reading beyond all doubt; it is in 2 *Henry IV.*, IV. iv. 219,—

“How I came by the crown, O God, forgive,

And grant it may with thee in true *peace live*.”

III. iii. 119,—“This swears he as he is a *princess* just” (Q1, 2); an error corrected to “prince just” by Q3, 4. But this leaves

the metre halting: "This swears he, as he is a prince, is just." So the Folios and Q5, and this is evidently right; we must keep in mind the Shaksperian meaning of "just" and "unjust" as equivalent to "true" and "false."

III. iv. 10,—

"*Lady*. Madame, wee'le tell Tales.

Queen. Of Sorrow, or of Griefe?

Lady. Of eyther, Madame. *Queen*. Of neyther, Girle.

For if of *Joy*, being altogether wanting,

It doth remember me the more of Sorrow,

Or if of Griefe, being altogether bad,

It addes more Sorrow to my want of Joy."

All the Quartos and Folios read "of *Sorrow* or of *Griefe*," whereas it appears, from what follows, that one of the two words should be rejected, and *Joy* substituted. Rowe reads "Of sorrow or of joy"; Capell, "Of joy or of grief." It is a genuine textual difficulty.

III. iv. 22,— "And I could sing, would weeping do me good."

Here again the Quartos and Folios are unanimous. But modern editors refuse to admit the passage in this form. Pope altered it to "And I could *weep*, would weeping do me good," which is certainly better than Staunton's, "And I could sing, would singing do me good." Dyce, too, produces a parallel from *Lucrece*, which tells in favour of Pope's emendation. Mr Harrison, however, preferred to keep the discarded reading, which in the Cambridge *Shakspeare* is restored.

IV. i. 52,— "I *taske* the earth to the like, foresworn Aumerle" (Q1). "I *take* the earth" (Q2, 3, 4); "I *taske* thee, earth" (Capell); "I *take* thy oath" (Johnson); "I *take* oath" (S. Walker, *metri gratiâ*); "I *taske* thy *heart*" (Steevens, rearranging the letters in "earth"). The reading of Q1 is explained as meaning "I put the earth to the task of bearing the burthen of my gage." This, Mr Harrison thought, was exceedingly forced, but he had no suggestion to make.

IV. i. 119,— "Of noble Richard! then true *noblesse* would," &c.

So Q1; corrupted into "noblenesse" in all the other Quartos and Folios, at the expense of the metre, and the loss of a good old word.

IV. i. 149,— "Lest child, child's children cry against you woe."

Pope suggested "children's children." Mr Harrison suggested a much slighter alteration, "Lest child's child's children cry against you woe."

IV. i. 186,— "The emptier ever dancing in the air,
The other down, unseen, and full of water."

Johnson says rightly, "This is a comparison not easily accommodated to the subject." The comparison must be made between "empty" and "full," not more or less full. And one bucket ought to be quite empty, which gives the point of the sarcasm as against the usurper. Not only is it the bucket which is ascending that is always full, but being full it does not dance either. By removing the "r" from the end of "emptier," or by exchanging "r" for "d," the objection vanishes and the simile is perfectly consistent.

"Whilst you *mount up* on high." Shakspeare uses "to mount" in the sense of to "stand" or "sit" high, as well as "to move towards an eminence" (*Pericles*, II. i. 163; *All's Well*, I. i. 206).

IV. i. 237,—*"Nay of you, that stand and look upon."*

The Folios and Q5 alter this to

"Nay all of you that stand and look upon me."

Dyce and the Cambridge editors very properly reject the added "me," and show by citations from other plays that Shakspeare uses "look upon" in the intransitive sense; but they retain the "all" added by the Folios. This Mr Harrison would reject also.

IV. i. 255,—*"I have no name, no title,*

No, not that name was given me at the font,

But 'tis usurped."

This is a real textual difficulty, though it is one of exegesis rather than one connected with the emendation of the text. The allusion here is not evident at first sight. Annotators have hardly noticed, and not explained it. But what Richard says was the literal truth. In a contemporary French chronicle, '*Le chronique de la traïson et mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre,*' Mr Harrison finds this passage: "*Adonc respondi le recorde de ceulx de Londres. Seigneurs il est ordone de par tous les prelatz et par tous les seigneurs du conseil et du comuns du royaume Dengleterre que Jehan de Bordeaulx, qui fut nôme Roy Richart Dengleterre est jugie et codampne a estre en une prison royal.*" And again, "*a leure faire delivrer de cest monde Jehan de Londres, lequel fut nome Richart.*" The Lancastrian party, says the chronicler, in order the better to justify their treatment of King Richard, set up the story that he was not the real son of the Black Prince, but the offspring of his faithless princess and of a canon of Bordeaux; and they gave him accordingly the nickname of "John of London." Hence, doubtless, the allusion.

V. i. 25,—

"Our holy lives must win a new world's crown,

Which our profane hours here have thrown down."

So the Quartos. The Folios alter "thrown" to "stricken," probably on account of the metre. But that the Quartos have the true reading Mr Harrison did not doubt; for we have in III. iv. 65—

"Had he done so, himselfe had borne the crowne
Which waste and idle hours hath quite *throwne downe*."

V. ii. 27, 28,—

"Even so, or with much more contempt, men's eyes
Did scowl on gentle Richard ; no man cried, God save him."

So the Quartos. Folio 1 cuts out "gentle," making the line scan. Mr Harrison could not give up "gentle," and believed the lines should read—

"Even so, with more contempt, men's eyes did scowl
On gentle Richard ; no man cried God save him."

V. ii. 38,— "To whose high will we bound our calme contents."

So Quartos and Folios. "Bound" has been objected to, and altered to "bow." But "bow our calm contents" is hardly English. Capell, evidently taking "bound" to be a present indicative, suggested "bind." But may not "bound" be the past tense of the verb "to bind"? Notice that York is speaking of *the past*.

V. iii. 137. A good instance of the way in which F1 has corrupted the text, and with it the meaning, of the Quartos. The line stands in the Quartos—

"But for our trusty brother-in-law, *and* the Abbot."

The Folios drop the "and," making Bolingbroke's brother-in-law and the Abbot the same, whereas they were two different persons.

V. v. 13, 14. Instead of "the word . . . against the word," which is the reading of Q1, 2, 3, 4, Ff. and Q5 read "set the *faith* itself against the faith." But was not this intended as an addition, not a substitute? By adding it we get a perfect line—

". . . And do set the word itself
Against the word, the faith against the faith."

V. v. 31. This is a good instance of the value of Q1, which reads—

"Thus play I in one *person* many people,"

whereas all the other editions read "prison," a manifest corruption.

V. v. 50-58,—

"My thoughts are minutes ; and with sighs they iarre
Their watches on unto mine eyes, the outward watch," &c.

Whether the difficulty be a corruption in the text or an obscure allusion in the words, it seems impossible to make a satisfactory explanation of it.

The difficulties are—

(1) What do the tears symbolize, and what office do the matters they symbolize fulfil as regards the clock?

(2) How can thoughts which are minutes act along with (or by means of) sighs, which are the mechanism by means of which the clock registers minutes?

(3) How do tears show times, and what are times?

Mr Harrison could only hazard as a conjecture, that on the face of the clock there is supposed to be a smaller dial to register a minute. Thus we have two things, as the text states, which contribute to the indication of the minute—the sigh as the mechanical impelling force, and the tear as the object which is seen to be impelled, and which by its motion measures the minute. The *groan* shows the hour. But what then of “times”? “Times” has nothing corresponding with it in the imagery Shakspeare has given us. It must, therefore, be regarded simply as an adjunct of “minutes,” taking minutes as a genitive plural.

“So sighs and tears, and groans
Show minutes’ times, and hours.”

V. v. 70,—“Where no man *never* comes.”

So the Quartos: this is altered to “ever” in F₁, thus destroying a characteristic Shaksperianism—the double negative.

V. vi. 8,—

“The heads of Oxford, Salisbury, Blunt and Kent” (Q₁).

“The heads of Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt and Kent,” Q₃, 4, Ff., and Q₅. Q₁ is incorrect here; the correction accords with Holinshed.

V. vi. 35. A corruption of text by all but Q₁.

“Exton, I thanke thee not, for thou hast wrought
A deed of *slaunder*, with thy fatal hand.”

So Q₁. “A deed of *slaughter*,” Q₂, 3, 4, Ff.; again robbing us of a thoroughly Shaksperian phrase.

(*Eighty-fifth Meeting, Friday, February 9, 1883.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Hon. Secretary read the statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1882, and a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the honorary auditors, Mr F. D. Matthew and Mr E. Bell, for their kind services.

DR NICHOLSON mentioned that the state of his health compelled him reluctantly to give up the idea of proceeding with his paper on the *Sonnets*, set down for the next meeting, and the Chairman announced that a paper on “Massinger and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*,” by Mr R. Boyle of St Petersburg, would be substituted for it.

A paper was then read by MISS GRACE LATHAM on “The Witches of Shakspeare.” Miss Latham said that under Elizabeth the mass of the people had a deeply-rooted faith in witches and witchcraft, running through and influencing their whole lives, and that found its echo in a large number of plays, where it was introduced in the

most serious situations. For example, early in *Othello*, where to place the hero in an absurd light would wreck the tragedy, he is gravely accused of having won Desdemona by "witchcraft," "spells," and "conjured drams." Miss Latham proceeded to draw a comparison between Middleton's treatment of witchlore in his fine play, *The Witch*, and Shakspeare's in *Macbeth*, showing that while the three scenes of "Hecate, the Witch," were both extraordinarily fine and powerful, yet from the construction of the drama and the relation in which she stands to the other characters, the effect she was intended to produce was lost. She is in no way a motive power in the piece, and does not appear till the interest of the audience has been claimed by other characters; these visit and consult her, but their impulse to do so proceeds from themselves or from circumstances; they are not influenced by her, and, once they are outside her cavern, the play goes on as though no occult influence were hanging over their lives. She has no foreknowledge, and must ask her clients' wishes before she can serve them, while her power is even questioned by the duchess; whereas Macbeth's hags know of his intended visit beforehand, and are found preparing the charm which raises the lying spirits that they will not even suffer him to question, but which answer to his thoughts. The charming Isabella, too, takes the sympathy of the audience from Hecate. *The Witch* is also overweighted with learning, crammed with obsolete Latin words and witch recipes; in Shakspeare, on the contrary, the witch scenes are characterized by their extreme simplicity, and while as learned on the subject as his contemporaries, all his allusions to witch-brews or practices are taken from the then common superstitions, or from the plays or witch trials of his time, his aim being to touch the populace, not the learned only.

His object in writing *Macbeth* was to concentrate the interest of his audience on the soul-life of the thane of Glamis; but also, while throwing the three witches into the background, to make them pervade the whole play, to direct its action, and to link them indissolubly with Macbeth's fate. Thus they open the play, and we first hear his name from their lips as that of a creature for whom they are lying in wait, and though their scenes are few, the allusions to them are so frequent and so carefully chosen, that they hold their place quite as much by what is said of them as by their own words or deeds, and we feel their presence even when they are absent from the stage. Everything is done to increase their importance; Macbeth finds on inquiry that report gives them "more than mortal knowledge"; the practical, reasonable Lady Macbeth believes at once in the truth of their prophecies, and she herself is painted in such dark colours that she cannot throw them into the shade. The night of Duncan's murder is full of dire portents, wild cries, and spirit voices, and thus the supernatural effect is kept that Middleton so completely loses.

There is a curious parallel between Banquo's speech,—

“But 'tis strange :
And oftentimes, to win us to our harm,
The instruments of darkness tell us truths ;
Win us with honest trifles, to betray us
In deepest consequence.”—(I. iii.)

and the line of argument of one George Gifford, a country clergyman, who published in 1593 a book called, *A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraft*, where he maintained that they were not nearly such powerful beings as was generally supposed, but were always laying traps to cause men to sin. “The divels,” he says, “make a show of doing good to men, only from a most cruel and murderous purpose, even to draw men deeper into the pit of hell with them” (edition of 1603). Banquo appears to represent the rising scepticism on the subject. Glendower, in 1 *Hen. IV.*, is a magician of a higher class, one who commanded devils, instead of being, like a witch, subservient to them ; but his dramatic capabilities are not developed, lest he should become too prominent a figure in the play.

Speaking of the *Tempest*, Miss Latham said that though occupying a larger space, the spirit life has a far less important place than in *Macbeth*, their office being merely to help forward the action of the piece, and to contrast with the human characters. She contrasted the coarse, tipsy Trinculo and Stephano with the demi-devil Caliban, who is evil through and through, but poetical and grand as befits his origin, and compared him with Middleton's Firebrace, who, having the same parentage, is a mere vicious country lout. Miranda and Ariel, too, form another fine contrast, he belonging to one of the most delicate forms of spirit life, she of human nature. He is good through absence of evil, she through the instinctive choice of right ; he has no power to feel, but perceives the sufferings of others through his mental faculty, she is full of warm, quick human sympathy.

Scycorax having imprisoned Ariel in a cloven pine, could not undo her work, and Miss Latham cited a curious instance from the *Spalding Miscellany*, where Marion Grant was asked by a sister witch to take off for her a charm she had herself cast on a mill.

In *Midsummer Night's Dream* we have the pastoral side of spirit life, freed from all coarseness, though touching on the loves of the Queen of Elphane with human mortals, a subject found in different guise in trials of the time.

Shakspere, caring more for the real problems of human life, has made witch and spirit lore always rather an accessory than a principal interest, but working through a series of hints and indications, clear in direction and vague in boundary only, he produces a greater effect in smaller compass than did his contemporaries.

MR FURNIVALL reminded the meeting that the subject had occupied the attention of the Society before (v. "Spalding's Demonology"). Miss Latham had well brought out the influence that the witches had all through the play of *Macbeth*, an influence, nevertheless, completely subdued and kept back in order that the central figure might stand forth, that the great *human* interest might be the stronger. Mr Furnivall thought that Middleton's *Witch* was written after *Macbeth*. Its inferiority to Shakspeare's work was very marked. It was a question whether Shakspeare had not meant, in the Incantation scene, to show people what he really thought of the whole thing, by producing all these vulgar details.

DR BAYNE expressed admiration for the paper, and a general and cordial acquiescence in Miss Latham's views, stating that, though he had followed the reading closely, he had not met with a single point of decided difference. Miss Latham had, he thought, been felicitously right in laying stress upon Shakspeare's tact in avoiding, in the description of the ingredients of the witches' cauldron, both the recondite and the disgusting items on which contemporary dramatists of more learning, but less imagination and less sense, might have dwelt. It was almost incredible, for example, with what exhaustless stores of mythological and other erudition Greene heaped ornamentation on his productions,—the speaker referred particularly to Greene's novels,—all of which ornamentation was now as dead and as dreary as the filigree on old coffins. He could not say that he felt with Mr Furnivall as to the element of fun in the *Macbeth* witches. From boyhood he had appreciated rather their dignity and real, though picturesque, awfulness. But in fact the electric glare of modern science was destroying our capacity to shudder even momentarily at imaginations of the preternatural; and we might conclude that Burns in *Tam o' Shanter* had for the last time made successful use in art of the ancient, eerie interest—half terror, half curiosity—with which other generations regarded apparitions. Even of Burns's handling of his witch story in *Tam o' Shanter*, Carlyle, in his classic essay on the poet, had spoken half reproachfully. What, however, impressed the speaker most deeply in Shakspeare's use of his witches, was the *finality* of his treatment in respect of intellectual and ethical estimate of the entire phenomenon of the witch-oracular in human history.

"And be these juggling fiends no more believ'd,
That palter with us in a double sense :
That keep the word of promise to our ear,
And break it to our hope."

There it is. The sublime humbug of Delphi, the mystic, muffled obscurity of the Dodona grove,—this is the net value of it all! Supreme reason, supreme imagination, using one voice, Shakspeare's have spoken, and henceforward and for ever "the oracles are dumb."

MR HARRISON noticed that at the end of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* the working of the fairies was distinctly *anti-witch*.

DR NICHOLSON said, with regard to the priority of date of *Macbeth* and Middleton's *Witch*, that while the former is 1606, the latter, as shown by *some* of Malone's arguments, is later. And he would now notice another. In II. i. Isabel says—

“He does intend
To leave tobacco too ;
 some knights' wives in town
Will have great hope, upon his reformation
To bring their husbands' breath into the old fashion.”

Here, besides the mention of tobacco, we have “knights in town,” and “their wives,” not “their ladies,” spoken of in a way which at once recalls to us James's thirty pound knights, and the time when they became common, a date much later than 1606. Altogether, also, Middleton's play reads to me like an attempt to make capital out of a subject rendered popular in part by Shakspeare's play, and which, like most imitations, was, as he tells us, an “ill-fated labour . . . that long laid in imprisoned obscurity.”

As to the argument that *The Witch* contains the lines “Black spirits,” &c. in full, while our copy of *Macbeth* gives only the first words, and therefore presupposed the existence of *The Witch*, it was to Dr Nicholson no argument at all. Could Shakspeare, or any improver of the play, or copier, refer the actor's memory to a passage in a previous and unsuccessful play? It is even contrary to all probability that he would refer him to such in an ordinarily successful play. The natural conclusion from the wording in *Macbeth* (F.) surely is that the words were well known. We should refer in the same way to the song of “Rule Britannia,” &c. That it was so here is also shown by this, that Middleton refers to it again in I. ii., commencing “Titty and Tiffin, Suckin and Pidgin, . . . white spirits, black spirits, grey spirits, red spirits!” &c. But especially by this, that the first line occurs, all but verbatim, in R. Scot's *Discourse on Devils and Spirits*, ch. xxxiii., where they are spoken of as Brian Darcie's spirits, &c., as apparently noted in a book by W. W., mentioned in the margin on [the trial of] witches at St. Osee, Essex.

As to the witch scenes in *Macbeth*, as I believe, a political play, Dr Nicholson would explain them thus. James was a strong upholder of the existence of witches. Hence, just as Hell had, as he believed, tried to destroy him on his voyage from Denmark, again at the Carse of Gowrie, and now by the Gunpowder Plot, from which last in especial he had been by special providence preserved, so Shakspeare would set forth to all that the same attempt had been made hundreds of years before to thwart the predestined decrees of heaven and destroy the line of his ancestor Banquo, but with the like unsucccess. That James leant much on this pedigree is proved by these things.

First, that at Oxford, in 1605, he was received at St. John's College by three students, who repeated verses descriptive of this descent. Secondly, that in the Scottish Bellenden's translation of *The History of Scotland*, by Boethius, there is a hand pointing to the paragraph containing the pedigree.

The allusion to Garnet in the Porter's speech was the only indirect way in which Shakspeare could lead the spectator to reflect that the story of Macbeth showed, like the Gunpowder Plot, that it was the decree of heaven, against which the devices of hell were powerless, that James should

"A twofold ball and treble sceptre carry."

(Eighty-sixth Meeting, Friday, March 9, 1883.)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

A paper by Mr Robert Boyle, of the St Petersburg Shakspeare Circle, on *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and Massinger's probable share in the play; was read. (The paper is printed in full.) A discussion followed on the authorship of the play, and the views of Mr Boyle and Dr H. Littledale on the subject.

MR FURNIVALL said that he was compelled to give up his former opinion that Shakspeare was part-author of the play; he so constantly found in the play that a fine thought would be followed by an instant and decided falling off. The metre was broken, and the rhythm seemed not Shakspeare's; and there was a want of flow, and a general diffuseness and sprawl.

DR B. NICHOLSON expressed his conviction that there was no passage that in expression, style, rhythm, or in any other way, showed itself Shakspeare's; indeed, every passage showed the contrary, the plagiaristic phrases excepted. While not sure that the unknown coadjutor was Massinger, yet he thought him the most likely of those suggested. As yet he had not before him the evidence spoken of by Mr Boyle. The external evidence was not worth much. The play bore on its cover the names of Shakspeare and Fletcher, but both were then dead. Shakspeare's name was not given in the F. edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, nor was the play given in the 1623 F., or in any other edition of Shakspeare's works, though *Henry VIII* had been. The prologue was not Shakspeare's; the epilogue seemed to show a fear that the play would fail; and there was no reference to the great name of Shakspeare, which *was* still essentially "a name to conjure with." Mr Boyle spoke of the "simplicity of the underplot"; this was surely a bit of special pleading. Nearly all underplots are simple. Emilia's conduct when, on the death of the one that she preferred, she immediately accepted the other, was surely most un-Shaksperian.

The REV. W. A. HARRISON took a rather negative view of Mr Boyle's paper; he could not accept his arguments as conclusive, and found the quotations brought forward as rather confirmatory of the Shakspeare authorship. He agreed with Dyce, that Shakspeare might have sketched the play, but that it was mainly the work of Fletcher, whose trail was over it all. Broken though the metre might be, he had never met with any metre so like Shakspeare's.

Note.—Dr Peter Bayne's paper on "Shakspeare and George Eliot," read at a meeting of the Society on 14th April, 1882, appears in *Blackwood's Magazine* for April 1883.

SCRAPS.

"Well, bawd I'll turn,
And something lean to cutpurse of quick hand."—
Henry V., V. i. 78-9.

The full force of this line in those days will be better understood after perusal of the following. Speaking of the Foist, the pickpocket, and of the Nip the cut-purse, Greene says—"But of these two scurvie trades, the Foist holdeth himfelfe of the highest degree, and therefore they tearme themfelues Gentlemen foists, and so much disdaine to be called cut-purses, as the honest man that liues by his hand or occupation, in so much that the Foist refuseth euen to weare a knife about him to cut his meal withal, leaft he might be suspected to grow into the nature of the Nippe.—*The second part of Conny-Catching.* Grosart's reprint, p. 103.—B. N.

"Far from her nest the Lapwing cries away."—*Com. of Err.* IV. ii.

That this was a proverbial expression, expressed almost in these very words, here slightly altered to make an iambic line, seems probable from the following:

"cry with the Lapwing farthest from their nest."—

The first part of Greene's Notable Discouery of Coosinage. Grosart's reprint, p. 77.—B. N.

Malvolio's Chain. Twelfth Night, II. iii.

Sir Bounteous Progress describes himself as "a [rich] ordinary country knight."

"*Sir B.* Run, sirrah! call in my chief gentleman i' th' chain of gold;

* * * * *

Enter Gumwater. II. i.

Maw. . . master Gumwater.

Fol[ly wit]. That's my grandsire's chief gentleman i' th' **chain of gold**: that he should live to be a pander, and yet look upon his **chain** and his velvet jacket!—III. iii.

Gum. . . yet I have fifty pound a year, wench.

Fol. [disguised as the Courtezan]. Beside your apparel, sir?

Gum. Yes, faith, have I.

Fol. But then you reckon your **chain**, sir.

Gum. No, by my troth . . faith . . sweet lady, you might admit a choise gentleman into your service.

* * * * *

Fol. Why, I bind you by virtue of this **chain** to meet me to-morrow at the Flower-de-luce."

Middleton's *A Mad World, my Masters*, publ. 1608 (ed. Dyce), I. ii.

Merry Greek. Tr. and Cr., I. ii. To show that it was a proverbial phrase (as now, so far as the word "Greek") take this,—

"*Har.* Let me not be purloin'd—purloin'd, indeed!

The **merry Greeks** conceive me—there's a gem

I would not lose."—*Ibid.* I. ii.

windows of my eyes. *Rich.* III., V. iii. 116; *Ven. & Ad.* 482, *blue windows*, &c. Cotgrave.—"*Contre-fenestre*: f. A wooden window (on the outside of a glazen one), a counter window, or outward window." Similarly under *volet*¹, and so Sherwood under *window*, "a wooden *window* to shut over a glass one." Holy-oke's *Rider's Dict.* (1617) also has "a window . . . *Repagulum*," and under this latter word he gives "A barre that shutteth a door . . . A stoppe, a let."—B. N.

Limb. '*Antony is but a limb of Cæsar.*' *Jul. Cæs.*, II. i., &c. Of course by a natural sequence the person, or that which is subordinate or an acting part, is called a "limb," and sometimes the word is used—naturally also—in a depreciatory sense, as in "the limbs of Limehouse," VIII. ; V. iii. But it may be as well to note that "limb" was then used for "instrument." Batman, l. 5, c. 12, speaks of the ear as "the instrument or lymme of hearing," and twice more has "the lymme of hearing," while Bartholome, his original, has in the three instances only the word *instrumentum*. A limb of the devil is thus—the devil's instrument, not merely a *follower* of the devil.—B. N.

¹ *Volet* . . . a sheet, or wooden window to shut ouer a glasse one (as *Contre-fenestre*).

(*Eighty-seventh Meeting, Friday, April 9, 1883.*)

DR PETER BAYNE in the Chair.

MR F. J. FURNIVALL read some notes by MR W. G. STONE, joint editor with himself of the Society's Old-Spelling Shakspeare, on some of the Textual Difficulties in *All's Well* and *Twelfth Night*. Mr Stone, after pointing out that the principle of the "Old-Spelling" editors was to keep their basis-texts intact, by rejecting fancy emendations for conjectural explanations, preferring interpreting to emending, passed to *Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 126-7 (Cambridge Shaks.), as a good illustration. Here Sir Andrew says of his leg, "it does indifferent well in a dam'd colour'd stocke." All editors—except Knight, who reads "damask-coloured"—have adopted Rowe's "flame-coloured." Mr Stone accepted Dr Nicholson's explanation (*Notes and Queries*, 5th S. xi. 124) that Sir Andrew's stockings were black or dusk-coloured. In commenting on another passage in Shakspeare, Dr Nicholson brought together a number of proofs that hell was regarded in mediæval and Elizabethan times as a place that was dark, and even pitch-dark. So when Malvolio was confined in a dark room, to the clown's question, "sayst thou this house is darke?" Malvolio replies, "As hell, Sir Topas." So later, in Milton:

"A Dungeon horrible, on all sides round
As one great Furnace flam'd, yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Serv'd only to discover sights of woe," &c.—*P. L.*, i. 61—63.

Moreover, Mr Furnivall found in Cotgrave, under *Couleur*, "Couleur d'enfer. as much as, Noir-brun enfumé;" and under *Enfer*, "Couleur d'enfer. A darke, and smoakie browne." It might be that the colour of the inmates, rather than their habitation, suggested the epithet "dam'd colour'd." Devils have been always supposed to be black, and a flea on Bardolph's nose was likened to "a blacke soule burning in Hell." Should these explanations seem forced, we have another, offered by Mr R. M. Spence, who understands, by "dam'd colour'd stocke", chequered hose. He informs the readers of *Notes and Queries* (5th S. xi. 205) that "to this day old people among the peasantry of Scotland speake of any checkered garment as being of the 'dambrod,' *Anglicè* 'draught-board,' pattern."

When Malvolio is bending all his wits to decipher the mysterious letters M. O. A. I., Sir Toby whispers aside, "O, I, make vp that:

he is now at a cold sent"; to which Fabian responds, "Sowter will cry vpon't for all this, *though it bee as ranke as a Fox.*" Struck with the inconsistency of this, Hanmer read, "Though it ben't (be not) as rank as a fox." But Mr Stone held that a comic paradox was intended, the joke being similar to Grumio's, when he says of Katherine that "shee shal haue no more eies to see withall then a *Cat*;" a cat being remarkable for its keenness of vision. Mr Stone could not accept Dr Nicholson's emendation "crank (*i. e.* winding) as a fox," because, like Hanmer's "ben't", it made sense of what is intended to be nonsense.

In *Twelfth Night*, III. iii. 13—16, there was a serious crux. Sebastian replies to Antonio's friendly proffer in these words:

"My kinde Anthonio,
I can no other answer make, but thanks,
And thanks: and euer oft good turnes
Are shuffel'd off with such vncurrant pay:" &c.

Thus the Folio. Rigidly adhering to their principle, the editors of the *Old-Sp. Sh.* conjecture that "ever oft" means *with perpetual iteration*. Of conjectural readings that supplied the missing words, Mr Stone thought Theobald's "and thanks, and ever *thanks: and* oft good turns", and Lettsom's "and thanks, and ever *thanks: though* oft good turns", the best.

Difficulties in *All's Well*. Very early in this play—Act I. sc. i.—a few words have perhaps been lost. At the close of Helena's jesting talk with Parolles, she says (in reply to Parolles' enquiry, "Will you any thing with it", *i. e.* virginity), "Not my virginity yet:" the last word being punctuated with a colon. Hanmer added to "Not my virginity yet" the connecting words, "You're for the Court." After "Will you any thing with it", Malone proposed to insert "We are for the Court!" The Cambridge editors left a hiatus after "Not my virginity yet," and would have doubted the genuineness of the passage which follows, were it not for the "world of pretty, fond, adoptious christendoms, That blinking Cupid gossips;" which is so much in Shakspeare's manner. [The discontinuity in the text better marks Helena's abrupt outburst as to Bertram, of whom her heart and mind have all along been full.—Edd. *Old-Sp. Sh.*]

II. i. 142.

"Where hope is coldest, and despaire most *shifts*."

Most editors read either *sits* or *fits*. Mr Stone ventured, very diffidently, to defend the Folio reading, on the plea that despair is supposed (metaphorically) to shift its ground from one untenable position to another. [We have accepted Pope's emendation, *sits*.—Edd. *Old-Sp. Sh.*]

III. iii. 146, 7. When Bertram persists in his rejection of Helena, the King exclaims,

"My Honor's at the stake, which to defeat
I must produce my power."

Which to defeat; that is, the dishonour which Bertram's refusal will bring upon me, a thought unexpressed by the king. [Or "the mere fact that the king's honour is at the stake, like a criminal, is in itself a dishonour, *which to defeat*, he says,—to defeat which dishonourable predicament,—*I must produce my power*."—B. N.]

Theobald changed *defeat* to *defend*. Tyrwhitt defended the Folio reading on the ground that the French word "*defaire*" (whence our "*defeat*") signified to *free*, to *disembarrass*, as well as to *destroy*.

We now came to a crux of extraordinary difficulty.

IV. ii. 38, 39. In answer to Bertram's protestations of fidelity, Diana says,

"I see that men make *ropes* in such a *scarre*,
That wee'l forsake our selues."

The various emendations that have ever been proposed, it would be wearisome to recount: the conjectural explanations, however, it might be well to consider. Knight alone dared to keep both *ropes* and *scarre* in his text, explaining *scarre* as a rock—a precipitous cliff—and thus, figuratively, a difficulty to be surmounted. "Men," says Diana, "pretend to show how we can overpass the obstacle. Such terms as 'love is holy,' 'my love shall perséver' (spoken by Bertram), are the *ropes* by the aid of which the steep rock is to be climbed. The ropes 'that we'll forsake, ourselves,' are the supports of which we ourselves lose our hold after we have unwisely trusted to them." W. B., a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* (5th S. i. 305), asserted that *scarre* is not a precipice, but a *hollow, chasm, or fissure*; and that "to be in a *scarre*" is metaphorically equivalent to "being in a hole." W. B. thus paraphrased these lines: "I see that men in so deep a pit of difficulty make themselves ropes, whereby to extricate themselves, the material out of which they form them being the hope that women will prove unfaithful to themselves and their firmest convictions."

R. R. (Robert Roberts of Boston) supported W. B.'s definition of *scarre* by quotations; as to *ropes* he quoted these lines from *Naps upon Parnassus*, 1658, A. vi.:

"To praise thy wit I cannot hope,
It is so dark, I ne're shall grope
It out, but by *Ariadne's Rope*,"

applying them thus: "Men in the 'fix' of Bertram—in such a 'scarre'—wishing to persuade women to act in an unwomanly manner—to 'forsake themselves'—will furnish them with excuses and sophistical reasons—will make 'ropes' to give them, as Ariadne did to Theseus to guide him in the labyrinth."—*N. & Q.*, 6th S. i. 333.

Entirely different meanings were given both to *ropes* and *scarre* by J. D. (John Davies, Belsize Square), another correspondent of *Notes and Queries*. *Rope* he believed to be the O. Friesic rôp, a loud outcry. So in Layamon's *Brut*, 12,540: "There was wop (weeping), there was rôp (wailing)." *Scarre*, in Shakspeare's time, was a common form of *scare*. In the *Craven Glossary* we have this quotation from K. James on F. More: "All your speeches and hard conditions shall not *scarre* us." And in *Romeo and Juliet*, V. iii. 262, F. text, "But then, a noyse did *scarre* me from the Tombe." *Forsake* meant primarily, as the O. F. *forsaka* and German *versagen*, to refuse, to deny. B. R[ich], in *Greenes Newes both from Heauen and Hell*, 1593, sign. D 2, back, introduces a bricklayer "who forsooke to goe into heauen because his wife was there." Moreover in this play, the King says to Helena, concerning the young Lords offered to her choice,

"thy franke election make,

Thou hast the power to choose, and they none to *forsake*."

These preliminaries being settled, J. D. thus explains the difficulty. "Bertram has been protesting vehemently to Diana, and she replies, 'I see that men make loud protestations in the fear that we'll refuse (to give) ourselves.' She adds, therefore, because she wished to have something more substantial, 'Give me that ring.'"—*N. & Q.*, 5th S. viii. 182; x. 145.

Mr Stone concluded by tabulating the various definitions of *rope* and *scarre* which he had collected.

rope = rope; *scarre* = cliff.—Knight.

rope = rope; *scarre* = ravine.—W. B.

rope = clue; *scarre* = ravine.—R. R.

rope = outcry; *scarre* = scare.—J. D.

In addition to the above, Mr Stone had been informed by Dr Nicholson that he had met with an allusion to a method of catching deer by enclosing them with *ropes* held in men's hands; the men gradually contracting the circle, and driving the game closer and closer together. Diana then means that Bertram imagined he should, by his arguments, *scare* or drive her from each defence in turn, till she yielded, having no counter-argument to urge.

A note by Mr W. G. Black upon a passage in *Antony and Cleopatra* was read by Mr Furnivall, the passage being in Act III. viii. 16—18.

Eno.

How appears the fight?

Scar. On our side like the token'd pestilence,
Where death is sure.

This passage, Mr Black held, showed Shakspeare's knowledge of one of the superstitions prevalent in his day—the ancient personification of disease, the presaging apparition, or "death-angel", after which "death is sure."

In the discussion which followed, DR NICHOLSON preferred to understand the "token'd pestilence" as the pestilence denoted by marks, or plague-spots, on the body.

Mr Furnivall also read a paper by MISS ISABEL MARSHALL on *Cymbeline* and *A Winter's Tale*. Miss Marshall said that the reading of the plays of Shakspeare's Fourth Period left us conscious of a sense of harmony quite different to the feeling remaining in our minds after finishing one of the earlier ones. After reading one of the earlier plays, or one of the stern Third Period, our strongest sensation was of the life-like reality of the characters, or the earnestness and mystery of life and its duties. But in the later plays, the lasting impression was not so much of the seriousness of life as of its beauty. Miss Marshall then dealt with the close similarity between *Cymbeline* and the *Winter's Tale*—the two husbands, both falsely suspicious, receiving the same punishment—the loss of the children in both, the prophecy and oracle literally fulfilled, &c.; and noted a little touch of character in Imogen—that patience was not her strong point: she would fain be courteous and gentle even to Cloten, but he tried her beyond endurance. We saw it also in her eagerness for news of her husband, and her impatience to join him at Milford, which blinded her to the equivocal tone of his letter. In both these plays we found evidence of Shakspeare's belief in noble birth, its influence appearing unconsciously both in Guiderius and Arviragus and in Perdita, as well as the advantage of simplicity and the influence of nature in early years. Perdita was, indeed, what all the heroines of this Fourth Period were, a perfect poem. In conclusion Miss Marshall remarked that *Winter's Tale*, which was a later play than *Cymbeline*, was altogether more light-hearted. It had no characters so wicked as the Queen and Iachimo; and while in *Cymbeline* the lighter pastoral scenes were saddened by the death of Fidele and Cloten, and the world-weariness of Belarius, in *Winter's Tale* the corresponding scenes were enlivened by the mirth of Autolycus, and we felt certain that the king's anger was only transitory and all must turn out well.

(Eighty-eighth Meeting, Friday, May 11, 1883.)

The Society's Musical Evening was held in the Botany Theatre, University College, and a selection of Shakspeare's Madrigals, Glees, and Songs, in Chronological order, was sung, a programme of which will be found in the Appendix.

(Eighty-ninth Meeting, Friday, June 8, 1883.)

MR F. J. FURNIVALL, *Director*, in the Chair.

A vote of thanks to the Council of University College for allowing the Society the use of rooms in the College, was unanimously passed.

Dr B. Nicholson read a paper on the Textual Difficulties in *Winter's Tale*; and each difficulty was discussed by the meeting as it was brought forward.

Mr T. Tyler read a note upon a passage in *Cymbeline*, III. iii., "Nobler than attending for a check."

SCRAPS.

Intellect, sb. signature. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 137. Prof. T. S. Baynes, in the second of his admirable papers on "What Shakespeare learnt at School," says, *Fraser's Mag.*, Jan. 1880, p. 90-2:—"Love's Labour's Lost" supplies a curious piece of evidence tending to show that he [Shakspeare] had gone through a course of technical training in the elements of Rhetoric. It consists of a rare, and in many ways a remarkable, technicality occurring in the speech of Holofernes about the writer of the letter:—

"*Hol.* I will overglance the superscript: 'To the snow-white hand of the most beauteous Lady Rosaline.' I will look again upon the **intellect** of the letter, for the nomination of the party writing to the person written unto: 'Your Ladyship's in all desired employment, Biron.'—Sir Nathaniel, this Biron is one of the votaries with the king; and here he hath framed a letter to a sequent of the stranger queen's, which accidentally, or by the way of progression, hath miscarried."

In the unfamiliar use of this familiar term Holofernes is simply parading his knowledge of rhetorical technicalities. As a rhetorical exercise the boys of the upper school were required, in reading the poets, to pick out the figures of speech, enter them in a note-book, and give to each its technical name or names. In the classification of the figures common to the older manuals of rhetoric synecdoche usually follows metaphor, and the Latin equivalent of synecdoche is *intellectio*. Being given in the school manuals, this technical use of the term *intellectio* would be familiar to most who had received a training in the elements of rhetoric. But its precise meaning and range of application in this connection will be made clear by an extract from Wilson's English "Arte of Rhetorique," published before Shakespeare was born. Wilson, following a tendency common in his day, endeavoured to Anglicise the technical terms of his art; and, where this could not conveniently be done, he often selected the better known Latin equivalent instead of the original Greek word. Thus he translates synecdoche by *intellection*, of which he gives the following account:—

"*Intellection*, called of the Grecians synecdoche, is a Trope, where we gather, or judge, the whole by the part, or part by the whole. As thus: The king is come to London, meaning therby

that other also be come with him. The Frenche manne is good to kepe a fort, or to skirmishe on horsbacke, whereby we declare the Frenchmen generally. By the whole, the part, thus:—All Cambridge sorrowed for the death of Bucer, meanyng the moste parte. All England rejoiceth that pilgrimage is banished, and Idolatrie for ever abolished: and yet all England is not gladde but the moste parte.”

Intellection, Wilson also points out, is used in relation to signs and their significance for the mental act of realising by means of the sign the thing signified. He illustrates this meaning as follows:—

“By the signe we understande the thing signified, as by an Ivie garland we judge there is wine to sell. By the signe of a Bear, Bull, Lion, or any soche, we take any hous to be an Inne. By eating bread at the Communion, we remember Christes death, and by fath receive him spirituallie.”

The precise signification of *Intellect* in Holofernes' speech will now be apparent. It really means the sign-manual or signature of the letter. The signature is the sign reflecting and revealing the thing signified, which is of course the writer of the letter. *Intellect*, in this sense, is the object, the sign, and its significance, of which *intellection* is the act, the perception of the related terms. As a name for the signature of a letter it is thus strictly analogous to *superscript*, as a name for its address. As superscription is properly the act of writing an address, and superscript the address written, so *intellection* is the act of interpreting or understanding a sign, and *intellect* the sign interpreted or understood. I may add that the use of the verb in this sense was not unknown in the literature of Shakespeare's day. The following extract from a rare and curious book, “The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction,” by Richard Linche (1599), will illustrate Shakespeare's peculiar use of the noun:—

“Because the description of the Spring, the Summer, Autumn, and Winter are with everie one very familiar, I will cease to proceed therein, commemorating that onely of Ovid, when he speaketh of the regale seat of Phœbus:—

Before divine Apolloes regall seat.

The beauteous Spring sits crown'd with curious flowers,
Next whom (with eares of corne about her head)

The Summer sits in her all-parching heat,
And Autumne (dyde with juice of grapes) downepoures

A world of new-made wine of purest red,
Next whom (as placed all in due arow)
Sits grim-faced Winter covered all with snow.

These stations are many times thus *intellected*: by the Spring is meant Venus: the Summer signifies Ceres: Autumne challengeth Bacchus: and for the Winter we oftentimes understand Vulcan; and sometimes the winds with Æolus the commander, because from

these proceed those tempestuous storms which are commonly predominant in that season."

Here it will be seen that the verb *to intellect* is used in the strict technical sense of interpreting a sign, just as Shakespeare uses the noun for the sign interpreted. But although the word had this special meaning, none but a dominie bent on displaying his knowledge of scholastic technicalities would have designated the signature of a letter in this high-flown and pedantic style. The most strained and far-fetched terms are, however, quite natural in the mouth of Holofernes. But it may be safely asserted that only one trained in the elements of Rhetoric could have added this characteristic touch in drawing the portrait of the school pedant.

Early marriages in Italy: Romeo and Juliet, I. ii. 7—13.

"*Capu.* My Child is yet a stranger in the world ;
Shee hath not seene the change of fourteene yeares ;
Let two more Summers wither in their pride,
Ere we may thinke her ripe to be a Bride.

Pari. Younger then she are happy mothers made.

Capu. And too soone mar'd are those so early made."

In describing the ancient state of Florence, Cacciaguida told Dante :

"Non faceva nascendo ancor paura
La figlia al padre, ch'è *il tempo* e la dote
Non fuggian quinci e quindi la misura."
Paradiso, xv. 103-105.

"Time was not yet,
When at his daughter's birth the sire grew pale,
For fear the age and dowry should exceed,
On each side, just proportion."

Cary's translation. He adds this note : "When the women were not married at too early an age, and did not expect too large a portion."—W. G. STONE.

Dan Cupid: L. L. L. III. 1.

- (1) "For why? his [Greene's] pen hath paynted out **dan Cupid's** craft."

Also—

"or Virgil's . . .

- (2) **Dan** Ouids native land may striue to bear the bell :"
(3) Florian, an Italian nobleman and courtier, writes a letter which is said in a sort of announcement to be from **Dan** Florian, while the letter itself is signed **Dan** Florian.

3 is from Greene's *Mamillia* as above, p. 37. 1 and 2 are from Roger Portington's commendatory verses before it, p. 11.—B. N.

(*Ninetieth Meeting, Friday, October 12, 1883.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

This being the opening meeting of the Eleventh Session, the proceedings were prefaced by some remarks from the Chairman, in which he reviewed the general progress of the Society, and its work during the last session, commenting on the fact that the Society was now receiving and making use of papers of value from members in Russia, Canada, the United States, &c. He then spoke of the Society's "Old-Spelling" edition of Shakspeare's works, still at press, and mentioned some of the many difficulties the editors had to contend with, which would have the effect of delaying the issue of the first three volumes to members until about March 1884. He then read the following resolution which the committee had passed: "The Committee of the New Shakspeare Society desires (1) to express their sympathy with Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Smith in the calamity which has befallen them in the cruel death of their gifted daughter, Miss Teena Rochfort Smith; (2) to record their sense of the great loss which the cause of Shakspeare study in general, and the Society in particular, has sustained by the loss of the accomplished and devoted editress of the *Four-Text Hamlet* and other Shaksperian work undertaken, but of which death has prevented the accomplishment." He himself, the Chairman said, had in Miss Rochfort Smith lost his right hand, his greatest helper and friend, the reader of his every proof and revise, the supplier of his many defects. Miss Rochfort Smith's *Four-Text Hamlet* would, he added, be finished by him, if possible; the Concordance to the *Old-Spelling Shakspeare*, which she had contemplated making, must of course no longer be hoped for.

DR PETER BAYNE then read a paper on "The Supremacy of Shakspeare"; and a vote of thanks having been unanimously passed to him, a discussion followed, the Chairman, Mr Craig, Miss Latham, Mr T. Tyler, Mr Shaw, and Mr Flügel taking part.

(*Ninety-first Meeting, Friday, November 9, 1883.*)

REV. W. A. HARRISON in the Chair.

Mr F. J. Furnivall read a paper by P. A. DANIEL, Esq., on the Quarto (1597) and Folio of *Richard III*, the paper being Mr Daniel's

Introduction to the Facsimile of the First Quarto, which is being executed by W. Griggs and Son from the Duke of Devonshire's copy, and will shortly appear. The relation of these two versions to one another, and their origin and authority, was declared by the Cambridge Editors to be "perhaps the most difficult question which presents itself to an editor of Shakespeare." In the Society's *Transactions*, Mr Spedding had argued that the Folio was an incompletely revised version of the Quarto; Mr Pickersgill that the Quarto was the shortened actor's copy of the original work, the Folio the original work revised by some unknown hand. Both these and other critics assumed that the Folio was specially connected with Quarto 3. Mr Daniel showed that Quarto 6 was the Quarto closely related to the Folio, inasmuch as it shared with that exclusively twelve doubtful or erroneous readings, while it shared exclusively only one each with Quartos 3, 4, and 5, only two with Quarto 1, and none with Quarto 2. He then showed that, as many of the readings of Quarto 1 were manifest and intentional improvements and corrections of the Folio, Quarto 1 was a revised and shortened copy of the Folio, though often corrupted by its shortener, two characters being jammed into one, &c. He then showed that Heming and Condell, instead of putting their theatrical MS. into the hands of the printer, must have given to a transcriber or clerk a copy of Quarto 6 to correct by their MS. for printer's "copy." This clerk failed to correct many errors of Quarto 6, and they reappeared in the Folio printed from it, though a few were afterwards conjecturally emended by the printer or reader of the Folio proofs. The Folio must therefore be accepted as the play as first set forth by Shakspeare, and the Quarto as a copy revised by Shakspeare soon after his writing, or adaptation, of the play, but shortened and much confused and corrupted by its passage to and through the press. The Folio must be the basis of any edition of the play, but the deliberate improvements and additional lines of the Quarto must be adopted into the text, the Quarto corruptions being rejected.

In the discussion which followed, Mr Daniel's views were strongly approved by Mr Furnivall—who has partly edited the play on Mr Daniel's scheme—and other speakers. The Rev. W. A. Harrison gave the meeting a summary of the reasons of the Cambridge Editors for preferring the Quarto to the Folio as the basis of any text of *Richard III.* (a) Because it contains passages which are not found in the Folio, but which are essential to the understanding of the context. Whoever, therefore, cut these out, it could not have been Shakspeare. (β) Because the Folio contains a vast number of alterations for the worse (as they contend), alterations which *metri gratiâ* spoil the sense; or which modernize an archaic word or phrase; or which, for the sake of avoiding tautology, dilute and weaken the force of the passage as it stands in the Quarto. Upon this, Mr Harrison went on, issue was joined; and it was contended (by Mr Spedding and others) that the passages omitted in the Folio had

been omitted through accidents of the press, not purposely by the corrector; that the alterations in the Folio *were* improvements by which blemishes were removed, by which the metre was amended *without* injury to the sense; and that Shakspeare probably purposely removed many obsolete words which had become distasteful to him. Mr Pickersgill agreed with the Cambridge Editors, and contended (α) that of the passages said by Mr Spedding to be non-Shaksperian, about five-eighths could not be attributed to any other than the corrector of the play, and that therefore the corrector was not Shakspeare. (β) That in the alterations to improve the metre, sense and terseness and propriety of language were sacrificed. (γ) He gave forty-five passages in which something original, striking, or forcible in idea in the Quarto was diluted into commonplace in the Folio; or in which a thoroughly Shaksperian turn of phrase was modified into what was prosaic or commonplace. (δ) That the additions (so altered) in the Folio were thoroughly in the metre and style of Shakspeare.

(Ninety-second Meeting, Friday, December 14, 1883.)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The REV. W. A. HARRISON read, as a paper, Mr Richard Grant White's Preface to his new "Riverside" edition of Shakspeare, the Chairman explaining that, owing to a misunderstanding as to the date of publication, the preface had not been laid before the Society, as was intended, before the appearance of the book. Mr Grant White declared his edition to be not a text-book for schools, but an edition for readers of general intelligence. In the text he gave his finished work, results, not processes, avoiding the wearying of the reader by giving, as was usual, all the various readings, and the discussion of them. Explanation of obsolete words and phrases was given whenever needed, but was never obtruded when the poet himself made clear his own allusions; and in cases of corrupt or uncertain passages some restorations were introduced. Some examples of these explanations and restorations were then given, and with these the meeting dealt.

Tempest, I. ii. 56: "Thy mother was a *piece* of virtue." Mr Grant White's contention that Shakspeare, here and elsewhere, used *piece* as meaning a young woman—whether good or bad—was accepted. In *As You Like It*, I. iii. 11, his defence of the old change from the Folio reading "my childes father" to "my *father's child*" was rejected, the context showing such strong evidence in favour of the original reading. His emendation of the *Hamlet* passage (I. iv. 36),

"The dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance of a doubt," &c.,

where for "of a doubt" he would read "oft adulter," was unanimously rejected, the explanation of "doth of a doubt," as meaning simply "puts into confusion," being considered satisfactory enough, though, if emendation were required, "often doubt," where *doubt* = *dout*, "put out," was preferred to the severely condemned "oft adulter." The turning of Prince Henry's epithet for Falstaff, "chewet" (*K. Henry IV*, V. i.), into "suet," and printing "Peace, suet, peace!" caused some amusement, "chewet" being well known in Wynkyn de Worde's and other carving and cookery books; Markham's recipe for "A chewet Pye" is at pp. 80, 81 of his *English Housewife*; and Mr Harrison also produced the following extract from Cotgrave: "*Goubelet* . . . a kind of little round pie resembling our 'chuet.'" "A chuet pie . . . Goubelet." And from Dyce (Glossary): "Chewet signifies here a sort of small pie or pudding made of minced meat fried in oil." In *K. Henry VIII*, IV. ii, Mr Grant White's argument for supporting Hanmer's change of "Tied (= bound, squeezed) all the kingdom" into "tithed" was not approved. His contention that "the two Frenchmen" in *All's Well*, III. i, were "manifestly envoys" was answered by Mr Stone's showing that their embracing of the Duke's quarrel, and receiving of commissions in his army, was quite inconsistent with the mission of envoys; they were the Lords G. and E. (the brothers Dumain) who took leave of the King in II. i.

M. ZIOLECKI then read a short paper on "Shakspeare in Poland, Russia, and Servia," enumerating the translations and plays acted in Slavonic countries, and showing that of these countries Poland had taken the lead in intelligent appreciation of the poet, and that tragedies appealed more than comedies to the genius and sentiment of the Sclavs.

MR G. W. RUSDEN, of Melbourne, Victoria, spoke by request of the Chair on such study of Shakspeare as he had observed to be going on in Australia.

(Ninety-third Meeting, Friday, January 11, 1884.)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The Hon. Secretary laid before the meeting his statement of the Society's Income and Expenditure for the past year, audited, and a vote of thanks was passed to the hon. auditors, Mr F. D. Matthew and Mr E. Bell, for their kind services.

MR S. L. LEE, Hon. Treasurer to the Society, read a paper upon *Love's Labour's Lost*. Mr Lee attributed the contemptuous neglect which the play had received at the hands of Hazlitt and the eighteenth-century commentators, to their indifference to the chronological method of Shaksperian study. Rightly judged to be a first essay in original dramatic work, as Coleridge was the first to regard

it, the literary merit of *Love's Labour's Lost* must be rated very high, and it illustrated Shakspeare's youthful education, and his earliest conception of the relation that comedy should bear to contemporary life, so effectively as to make it invaluable to the student. There was a freshness of detail about the rustic scenes and characters that justified our treatment of them as reminiscences of the poet's country career. It gave us six village characters: Shakspeare's schoolmaster, Thomas Hunt, as Holofernes; the curate, Sir Nathaniel; the constable, Dull; the clown, Costard; the dairymaid, Jaquenetta; and the forester. It gave us the country boy's games—"more sacks to the mill," "hide and seek," "push-pin," &c. As Mr Spencer Baynes had indicated, Holofernes' and Sir Nathaniel's dialogues were full of quotations from the Latin books in use at sixteenth-century grammar-schools, and proved a more intimate acquaintance with the system of the classical education of the day than the dramatist could have gathered elsewhere than from his own experience. Biron's speeches on lovers' perjuries were variations on a distinctly Ovidian theme. Portions of the comedy made it probable that Shakspeare after his school-days was a reader of Rabelais, and was much influenced by the works of Sir Philip Sidney, whose advice in his *Apology* he follows. The current affectations of language were freely satirized; there was no vague parodying of Euphuism, but the bombastic periphrasis of his contemporaries, their scholastic pedantry, and love of alliteration and classical metres were each in turn mercilessly exposed. Turning to the plot of the comedy, Mr Lee showed that the "little Academe" was probably a playful criticism on the various schemes proposed in the sixteenth century for the restraint of youths from the vices in which, according to every Elizabethan writer, they indulged with dangerous persistency. It was noticeable that Frenchmen were made the typical slaves to the world's desires; perhaps because of the vicious influence ascribed to French intercourse at the time, but more probably because of the intricate relations existing between England and France—relations which gave the play the character of an historical extravaganza. The heroes, Navarre, Biron, Longaville, Dumain, and others, were named after the chief generals in the French civil wars, in which thousands of Englishmen, under Essex, the patron of the poets, were serving in 1591. The extant diary of one of Essex's companions in the campaign proves in what strangely careless diversions Marshal Biron and other French courtiers invited their English allies to engage amid death and disease and other horrors of war. It was doubtless this striking contrast that was hinted at in *Love's Labour's Lost*. It was shown how large a space French affairs occupied in English literature between 1589 and 1592; the chief characters were examined in the light of their living namesakes; it was stated how historical incidents in France and England probably suggested the interview in the play between the princess and Navarre, and the "Russian" episode, and how Armado was a whimsical portrait

of an eccentric frequenter of Elizabeth's court, Fantastico Monarco. In conclusion, Mr Lee urged the utmost care in comparing Shakspeare's characters with historical personages, and he specially deprecated any theory that credited Shakspeare with a particular partizanship.

A long discussion, by a full meeting, followed the paper, which was highly praised by all the speakers.

SCRAPS.

wit, whither wilt. *As You Like It*, IV. i. The run of the sentence seems to show that Rosalind is here quoting a known phrase. In Middleton's *More Dissemblers besides Women*, IV. i., the phrase "**wit, whither wilt thou?**" may be added to the three instances quoted by Steevens, and his notice of its occurrence more than once in Taylor the Water-poet as showing that it was a proverbial expression. Not improbably it and "Fortune, my foe" were phrases in popular songs.—B. N.

"*Ros.* His very hair is of the dissembling colours.

Cel. Something browner than Judas's.

3rd. Gossip. [He gave her.]

Now, by my faith, a fair high standing-cup,

And two great 'postle spoons, one of them gilt.

1st. Puritan. Sure that was Judas, then, with the red beard."—

Middleton. *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, III. ii.

(Before 1619, not improbably before 1613.)

[Dyce says—after others—that Judas was represented in paintings and tapestries with red hair and beard; and Steevens gives an instance from *The Insatiate Countess* in loco, and in *M. Wives*, I. iv. Two others.]

Whist: The Tempest, I. ii. 378. It is perhaps unnecessary to give further instances of the use of this word, as it was in Shakspeare's time not uncommon. But I adduce the following, because of the grave nature of the work in which they occur. In Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Hoby's translation of *Castilio's* [B. Castiglione's] *Courtyer*, published in 1561, though part at least was translated in 1556, we find in Sig. K. 2. v. : [Many noisily entered interrupting the discourse] "and when all was whist," &c. Again at Sig. I. i. 2—"Here when all was whiste; Sir Fridericke saide." And thirdly we have—"Here Bembo paused . . and when all things were whist M. Morello of Otona said:" Sig. T. t. 3. v.¹—B. N.

¹ We find it also in Greene's *Menaphon* in Melicutus' Eclogue, when he contends for the generalship with Menaphon:

"Be whist, be still, be silent Censors now."

(Ninety-fourth Meeting, Friday, February 8, 1884.)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

Mr P. Z. Round and Mr F. Dally were announced as new members.

MISS GRACE LATHAM read a paper entitled "O poor Ophelia!" which is printed in full.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the discussion, held this paper to be the most delicate and thorough analysis of the character of Ophelia that had yet appeared. Miss Latham had taken, perhaps, a man's view, rather than a woman's, of Ophelia; judged by Helena's high standard, she failed miserably; but Miss Latham's judgment was the more reasonable and natural one, as justified by the points she had so well brought out, regarding Ophelia's bringing up and education. He himself found, in almost the first words of Ophelia, the key to her whole character. "I do not know, my lord, what I should think." That was it; she never seemed to know what she should think. He doubted whether, in the play-scene, there could be detected any attempt to shield Hamlet from danger.

REV. W. A. HARRISON commended several points in the paper; particularly that which suggested that Ophelia had been *watched* in her youth, and that of her extreme *caution*, a state of mind so very akin to insanity; without it she had really not enough substance in her mind to go mad.

MR T. TYLER thought that Miss Latham had hardly given Ophelia sufficient credit for the essentially female quality of *dis-simulation*; perhaps this would explain Ophelia's apparent willingness to give Hamlet up; at any rate, the point was worth working out.

MR F. WEDMORE thought the paper a brilliant apology for a contemptible character. Other members also spoke.

DR F. DALLY attended with reference to a correspondence he had had with the Director about some relics of Shakspeare in his possession which he wished to exhibit to the Society, the relics consisting of a carved oak table, and other pieces of wood-carving.

DR DALLY stated at some length the nature of the relics and the arguments for their genuineness, and produced rubbings of the carvings; and it was considered by the meeting, after careful attention to Dr Dally's statements, that he had made out a sufficiently strong case to warrant the Society in consenting to an exhibition of these relics at a future meeting; and Dr Dally undertook to put his notes into the form of a paper, to be read at the same time that the relics were laid before the Society.

Ninety-fifth Meeting, Friday, February 29, 1884.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

A PAPER on *Troilus and Cressida*, by G. B. Shaw, Esq., was read by Miss Latham. After a sketch of the story of the play, Mr. Shaw asked what attraction could so uncongenial a story have had for Shakspeare? He held that Shakspeare treated the story as an iconoclast treats an idol. He had long suspected Chapman and the ancient poets, and on reading Chapman's 'Iliad' saw he was right; and hence *Troilus and Cressida*. It was Shakspeare's protest against Homer's attempt to impose upon the world, and against Chapman in upholding him. Shakspeare, when he wrote this play, had ceased to believe in *Romeo and Juliet*, and in bullies like Petruchio and Faulconbridge; he had passed on to maturer work—to *All's Well* and *Much Ado*; he had written *Henry V.*, and achieved a great popular success, and had then asked himself, in weariness of spirit, was this the best he could do? Chapman's 'Homer' appeared, and he saw it was only his *Henry V.*; and it was to expose and avenge his mistake and failure in writing *Henry V.*, that he wrote *Troilus and Cressida*.

MR SHAW drew attention to Shakspeare's treatment of the class of professional swordsmen, so common in his time. These had hitherto been caricatured by Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and others; Shakspeare first saw the value of these paradoxes, and gave their several virtues in Ajax, Hector, &c. Hector was admirably just, wise, and magnanimous. Ulysses, eminently "respectable," imposed by his gravity on the rest, as he had imposed on his commentators, who had taken him to be "Shakspeare drawn by Shakspeare himself." Cressida, Mr Shaw thought most enchanting; Shakspeare was indulgent to women, and he thought Cressida to be Shakspeare's first real woman.

The question of the existence of an earlier drama on the same subject was to be considered. Was it some stock piece, founded on Chaucer, Lydgate, or Caxton, which was replaced by a new one on the same subject by Shakspeare, which would not infringe on any one's rights, and possibly preserved some of the original characters, such as Pandarus? Certain lines looked like survivals from the old play. In conclusion, Mr Shaw, summing up, placed *Troilus and Cressida* between *Henry V.* and *Hamlet*; its date was 1600; it was a historical play; it was Shakspeare's all but about twenty lines; and it was inspired by Chapman's 'Iliad.'

After the customary vote of thanks to both the writer and the reader of the paper—

The CHAIRMAN said that he could not agree with Mr Shaw as to the date of the play. It was an unsettled work of a transitional period, deserving careful attention. He held that it *was* a wise play, and a weighty one; and he placed it decidedly in the Third Period.

REV. W. A. HARRISON thought Mr Shaw right as to the date; 1598 to 1603 was the limit he would give.

MR T. TYLER, on the question of date, held that the play had a connection with Shakspeare's own history; for about 1601, for some reason which we shall probably never know, Shakspeare had got much out of humour with the world, as evidenced by certain of the *Sonnets*.

Other members spoke on the question of the date, and of the genuineness of certain parts of the play.

DR B. ZIOLECKI then read a paper on "Shakspeare in Poland and Sclavonic countries," which is printed separately.

S C R A P S.

THE 26 PLAYERS OF SHAKSPERE'S COMPANY.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Armin</i> , Robert, ? dead by | 1615. Collier 201. |
| 2. <i>Benfield</i> , Robert, last heard of, | 1647, p. 264. |
| 3. <i>Bryan</i> , George, " " | 1600, p. 130. |
| 4. <i>Burbadge</i> , Richard, bur ^d . 16 March, | 1619, p. 49. Will. |
| 5. <i>Condell</i> , Henry, bur. 29 Sept. | 1627. Will. |
| 6. <i>Cooke</i> , Alexander, bur. 25 Feb. | 1614. Will pr. May 4. |
| 7. <i>Cowly</i> , Richard, bur. 12 March, | 1619. |
| 8. <i>Crosse</i> , Samuel, ? alive | 1612. |
| 9. <i>Ecclestone</i> , William, alive 1622, | ? 1652. |
| 10. <i>Field</i> , Nathan, bur. 20 Feb. | 1633. |
| 11. <i>Gilburne</i> , Samuel, | after 1605. |
| 12. <i>Goughe</i> , Robert, bur. 19 Feb. | 1625. |
| 13. <i>Hemmings</i> , John, bur. 12 Oct., | 1630. Will pr. Oct. 11. |
| 14. <i>Kempe</i> , William, d. bef. | 1609. |
| 15. <i>Lowine</i> , John, bur. 18 March, | 1659. Admon. Oct. 8. |
| 16. <i>Ostler</i> , William, ? d. | 1622. |
| 17. <i>Phillips</i> , Augustine, May 4-12, | 1605. Will pr. May 13. |
| 18. <i>Poope</i> , Thomas, | 1603-4. Will pr. 13 Feb. 1604. |
| 19. <i>Rice</i> , John, | after 1622. |
| 20. <i>Robinson</i> , Richard, bur. 23 Mar. | 1647. |
| 21. <i>Shakespeare</i> , William, | 1616. |
| 22. <i>Shanche</i> , John, bur. 27 Jan. | 1635. |
| 23. <i>Slye</i> , William, bur. 16 Aug. | 1608. |
| 24. <i>Taylor</i> , Joseph, | ? 1653. |
| 25. <i>Tooley</i> , Nicholas, bur. 5 June, | 1623. |
| 26. <i>Underwood</i> , John, | 1624-5. Will pr. Feb. 1, 1625. |

'*Point of war*,' 2 *Henry IV*, IV. i. 52; '*Cargo, cargo, cargo!*' *All's Well*, IV. i. 71. '*The tucket sonance, and the note to mount*:' *Hen. V*, IV. ii. 35. '*Sennet*' or '*Senet*' (stage direction): end of *Hen. V*.

"The fift and laft Lesson belonging vnto the Horfe troope, is to teach the Souldier the Sounds and Commands of the Trumpet. . . . And of these Soundings (which we generally call **Poynts of Warre**) there are fixe, which are most necessary for the Souldiers knowledge. The first is—

1. *Butte Sella* :—or—

Clap on your Saddles . . .

5
of th
Trumpet

The first
poynt of
Warre

The second is,

2. *Mounte Cavallo*—or—

Mount on Horfebacke

The second

The third is—

3. *Al'a Standardo*,—or—

Goe to your Colours

The third

The fourth is,—

4. *Tucquet*,—or—

March

The fourth

The fift is,—

5. *Carga, Carga*,—or—

An Alarum, Charge, Charge

The fift

The fixt and laft is,—

6. *Auquet*,—or—

The Watch.

The fixt

"Which founded at night, Commands all that are out of dutie to their rest; and founded in the morning, Commands those to rest that haue done dutie, and those that haue rested, to awake and doe dutie. . . .

"Other Soundings there are; as *Tende Hoe*, for lifting, a *Call* for Summons, a *Senet* for State, and the like. But they haue reference to the greater Officers, and those haue no neede of my Instructions."

1625. G[ervase] M[arkham]. *The Souldiers Accidence*, p. 60-62.

and so they parted. *M. of Venice*, II. viii. so she parted, VIII. ; IV. 1.

Seb. And so we parted. Middleton's *Roaring Girl*, II. ii.

On this Dyce remarks—"a quotation probably,"—and from these three instances I think that it had become a popular or kind of proverbial phrase.—B. N.

New Shakspeare Society.

MONTHLY ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

(*Ninety-sixth Meeting, Friday, March 14, 1884.*)

DR PETER BAYNE in the Chair.

MR FURNIVALL stated that Signor Salvini had accepted the post of one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society; and that Mr P. Z. ROUND had been elected a member of the Society's Committee.

MR P. Z. ROUND read a paper by Professor CARO¹ (translated by Robert Boyle, Esq.), on the sources of the *Tempest* and *Winter's Tale*. These, Prof. Caro suggested, were to be looked for in the history of Poland and Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century. Prospero was Witold, the rightful Prince of Lithuania, who was kept out of his throne by his nephew Jagiello on the pretence that his devotion to religion and studies—he was accounted a magician—rendered him incapable of ruling, but really because Jagiello's brother Skirgiello had sworn fealty to Jagiello for the theretofore independent country of Lithuania, and he had therefore given Skirgiello, Witold's principedom. By the help of Henry of Bolingbroke, Thomas Percy, and other English knights—Chaucer's possibly among them—Witold recovered his land. Skirgiello at first plotted against Witold, but dared not harm him because the people loved him. Witold's daughter sailed to Riga, and married the Tsar of Russia. As to the *Winter's Tale*, when, in 1388, Jagiello, King of Poland, came back there from Lithuania, his Groom of the Chamber told him that his Queen had been unfaithful to him with her old lover, Duke William of Austria. She demanded a trial, which was held at Wislica, and she was declared pure and without reproach. Polish ballads tell the story of the Duchess of Massovia, daughter of the Duke of Silesia, and the mother of Jagiello's envoy, Henry of Plotzk: while she was on a visit with her husband, he was told that the child she was about to bear was not his, but that of his cup-bearer and favourite, Dobek. He sent orders to arrest Dobek, and at once set off home. On arrival he found Dobek gone; he had started on a pilgrimage with a friend. The Duchess was imprisoned and her ladies tortured, but no evidence against her could be got. She bore a son in prison, and was soon after strangled. The son was brought up, first by a poor woman, then by his own step-sister, and was acknowledged as legitimate by his father, after the slanderer of the Duchess had confessed his lie. These facts must have been known to the English knights of Henry IV.'s time, and to the Court of Anne of Bohemia, Richard II.'s

¹ The German original is in *Englische Studien* for 1878.

Queen. They were doubtless handed down by tradition to Shakspeare's time, and, either directly, or through some perished romance, formed the source both of Shakspeare's two romantic plays of his Fourth Period, and of Greene's *Dorastus and Furnia*, which had been too hastily assumed as the direct source of the *Winter's Tale*.

DR BAYNE had always felt strongly that both Shakspeare and Greene drew from some common source, and that Greene's story was not Shakspeare's original in at all the same sense that Brooke's poem was the original of *Romeo and Juliet*. He thought tradition might well keep alive the Polish and Lithuanian stories here, especially as the Polish ballads might have been englished, or retold in English.

MR FURNIVALL pointed out the missing link in Prof. Caro's chain, the absence of any evidence that his Polish facts or legends had reached Shakspeare or England in Elizabethan days. Still, Shakspeare had got hold, in 1611, of Magellan's Patagonian devil-god Setebos, of 1519, though no report of him was known in England till 1626 in Purchas. And no doubt any "Polack" of Shakspeare's day, or any English traveller among them, may have told the dramatist these stories. No one could limit the range of Shakspeare's wits.

M. ZIOLECKI argued strenuously for his country's share in Shakspeare's immortal plays; and the opinions of Miss Latham, Mr Shaw, and other speakers in the full meeting, were decidedly in favour of the probability of the Polish traditions surviving here.

(Ninety-seventh Meeting, Friday, May 9, 1884.)

THIS Meeting, being the Society's Annual Musical Entertainment, was held in the Botany Theatre of University College, members and their friends being admitted by ticket. Before the musical part of the proceedings was begun, Mr F. J. Furnivall put the following Resolution to the meeting:—

"That the New Shakspeare Society, at this its first Meeting after the lamented death of its Vice-President, H.R.H. the Duke of Albany, desires to express its deep sympathy with the Queen in the loss of her youngest son, whose love of Literature and Art, and whose zeal for the welfare of the poor, proved him to be the worthy son of his Illustrious Father, and whose sweet and gentle nature endeared him to all who were brought into contact with him. The New Shakspeare Society also desires to express its condolence with the widowed Duchess in her sad bereavement, and its earnest hope that she may be strengthened to bear the blow which has fallen on her, and that she may live to see her children become, like their much loved and highly gifted Father and Grandfather, an honour to her adopted country."

This Resolution having been carried unanimously, a selection of Shakspeare music was then performed under the direction of Mr J. Greenhill.

(*Ninety-eighth Meeting, Friday, May 30, 1884.*)

MR F. J. FURNIVALL in the Chair.

MR T. TYLER, M.A., read the first of two papers on "Shakspeare's Sonnets." In this paper Mr Tyler dealt principally with the Chronology of the Sonnets, and with the identification of the "Mr W. H." of Thorpe's dedication with William Herbert, who, in January 1601, became Earl of Pembroke. The division of the Sonnets into three series was accepted, 1 to 126, 127 to 152, and 153, 154. The author has made the following abridgment of his paper.

SOME CHRONOLOGICAL INDICATIONS.

(1) *The Passionate Pilgrim*.—This collection of poetical pieces published by Jaggard in 1599 with the name of Shakspeare has at the commencement two Sonnets agreeing in the main with 138 and 144. The second of these is especially important with regard to the chronology. This Sonnet records the formation of an intimacy between the poet's "two loves," a "woman colour'd ill," and a "man right fair." The "man right fair" is manifestly the youth whose beauty is celebrated in the first series of Sonnets. Therefore the friendship between this youth and Shakspeare already existed when in 1599 the *Passionate Pilgrim* made its appearance. There is, however, no necessity to suppose that the friendship was of old date. Jaggard seems to have been anxious to print new poems in his book; and Shakspeare's two Sonnets may have been placed first as being especially new. The formation of the intimacy between the youth and the lady is repeatedly alluded to in the first series of Sonnets. Naturally enough this intimacy had an effect on the youth's relations with Shakspeare. The sun, which had been shining, was now concealed by a cloud (33). But, when this occurred, the poet says of his youthful friend "he was but *one hour* mine." The friendship had, therefore, existed but a short time. Possibly it may not have been formed many months before the *Passionate Pilgrim* was published.

(2) *Palladis Tamia, Wit's Treasury*, by Francis Meres, was registered on September 7, 1598. It mentions several of Shakspeare's other works and also his "sugred sonnets among his private friends." Meres probably refers to a part of our existing collection. But there are strong grounds for the belief that Shakspeare wrote Sonnet 55 after he had seen Meres's book. This Sonnet, as was observed by Malone, resembles Horace's well-known ode (iii. 30), "*Exegi monumentum*," etc. Shakspeare may not have possessed much acquaintance

with Horace, but, after the publication of Meres's book, he may well have had his attention directed to this particular ode, since its language was employed in a prophecy of immortality for himself and other distinguished contemporaries. But Meres quoted not only from Horace, but from Ovid also, and added a Latin appendix of his own. Some things in the Sonnet find their analogies in these additions. Particular attention should be given to the seventh line of the Sonnet:—

“Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn.”

The source of this line is in all probability Meres's, “Non . . Mars, ferrum, flamma.” There is an incongruity in Shakspeare's line which is easily accounted for if the words “Mars,” “sword,” “fire,” or the ideas which they represent, were borrowed *together* from Meres. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how the sword of Mars could be said to *burn*. Then the expression “all oblivious enmity” finds its explanation in the numerous influences tending to produce oblivion mentioned by Meres, though the word “enmity” has probably in view Meres's supposition of a hostile conspiracy on the part of three deities, “Et quanquam ad pulcherrimum hoc opus evertendum tres illi Dii conspirabunt, Cronus, Vulcanus, et pater ipse gentis,” etc. The inference may be drawn that Sonnet 55 was written after the registration of Meres's book in September 1598. But how long after? In the next Sonnet (56), which probably was written about the same time, we find the words “two contracted *new*,” relating apparently to the poet and his friend. It must be concluded then that, when Sonnet 55 was written the friendship was still *new*. Taking into account what was said before as to the *Passionate Pilgrim* it may appear not unlikely that Sonnet 55 was written late in 1598 or possibly early in 1599.

(3) *Historical Allusions*.—Two Sonnets, 107 and 124, contain historical allusions of very great importance. In relation to 107, line 5,

“The mortal moon hath her eclipse endur'd,”

Mr Gerald Massey maintained that there is in the eclipse of “the mortal moon” an allusion to the death of Queen Elizabeth, and that consequently the date of the Sonnet is 1603. In all probability the “mortal moon” is a poetical designation of the Queen. She was, with the Elizabethan poets, *Cynthia*, goddess of the shining orb.¹ But an allusion to her death would be out of harmony with the drift of the Sonnet. Despite all fears and forebodings the poet's love for his friend shall not be “forfeit to a confin'd doom,” but shall ever

¹ Comp. also *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act IV. Sc. iii., “My love, her mistress, is a gracious moon,” where there was probably intended to be a compliment to the Queen on the performance of the play at Court,

endure. The emphasis is on the word "endur'd,"—"The mortal moon hath her eclipse *endur'd*." As Dowden observes, "The moon is imagined as having endured her eclipse, and come out none the less bright." There was, however, one event occurring in the last years of Elizabeth's reign which was actually spoken of at the time in a similar manner, and that event was the Rebellion of Essex. Within a week of the abortive attempt to call out the citizens, Secretary Cecil, according to a document in the Record Office, delivered himself to the following effect:—"As the declining of the sun bringes generall darkness so her Majesties hurt is our continuall night; and although the one by course of nature may be renewed, yet the other will hardly be matched in any future age; how odious then ought they to be in the eye of all good subjects that have sought the utter ruine of so blessed a sovereigne!"¹ "The sad augurs mock their own presage," would aptly represent the feelings of those who had predicted the success of Essex. In what is said of "incertainties crowning themselves assur'd" and "peace proclaiming olives of endless age," there is probably an allusion to the embassy sent by the Scotch King, James, to congratulate the Queen on the failure of the Rebellion. There was now peace; and terms of amity between Elizabeth and James had been resolved on. If Essex had succeeded the line of action which the Scotch King would have pursued was uncertain.

In Sonnet 124 there are other allusions entirely in accordance with those just noticed. The poet declares in the first line that his love for his friend is not the "child of state," an expression quite suitable if he was thinking of Essex and the dignities he had attained. And in the seventh and eighth lines there is mention of

"thrall'd discontent,
Whereto the inviting time our fashion calls."

The poet is obviously alluding to contemporary circumstances, and the expression "thrall'd discontent" suits perfectly the state of things when the rebellious spirit remained, though overt rebellion had been "thrall'd" and brought into subjection. But the most important allusions are contained in lines 13 and 14:

"To this I witness call the fools of Time,
Which die for goodness, who have liv'd for crime."

The "fools of Time" are those with whom Time does what he pleases, now raising them to the highest dignities, and now bringing them down to the scaffold. The "living for crime" refers pretty

¹ And Bacon wrote to the Queen, prior, however, to the Rebellion, of "the devices of some that would put out all your Majesty's lights, and fall on reckoning how many years you have reigned; which I beseech our blessed Saviour may be doubled, and that I may never live to see any eclipse of your glory."

evidently to the conspiracy and rebellion, and the "dying for goodness" to the popular estimation of Essex after his execution, as the "good earl." The "heat" and "showers," spoken of in the twelfth line, are in accordance with the supposition that the Sonnet was written in the spring or early summer. Similarly 107 speaks of "the drops of this most balmy time."

(4) *The Three Years' Space*.—There are various indications tending to show that Sonnets 100 to 126 were written about the same time, which, in accordance with the evidence already reviewed, would be the spring or early summer of 1601. Probably these Sonnets form but one poem. At the time when this poem was composed it appears from 104 that three years had elapsed since Shakspeare first made the acquaintance of his young friend :—

"Three winters cold
Have from the forests shook three summers' pride,
Three beauteous springs to yellow autumn turn'd
In process of the seasons have I seen,
Three April perfumes in three hot Junes burn'd
Since first I saw you fresh which yet are green."

Reckoning from the spring of 1601 we come to the spring of 1598. And special prominence is given to the spring season in the last quotation. "Three beauteous springs" had been changed to "yellow autumn," and "three April perfumes" burned in "three hot Junes." These indications accord with the conclusion that the acquaintance commenced in the early spring of 1598. Such a date would allow a sufficient time to intervene before the publication of the *Passionate Pilgrim* in 1599, and would not be inconsistent with the friendship being still spoken of as new when Sonnets 55 and 56 were composed, if we place them late in 1598 or early in 1599. These conclusions are independent of the identification of Mr W. H. with any particular person known to history.

WILLIAM HERBERT.

The identification of "Mr W. H." with William Herbert, while suitable in various other respects, and especially with regard to the Dedication of the First Folio, will be found in remarkable agreement with those chronological results at which we have just arrived. We have placed the commencement of the acquaintance between Shakspeare and his friend in the spring of 1598; and it was precisely at this time, according to Rowland Whyte (*Sidney Papers*) that William Herbert was to commence residing permanently in London.¹ In the

¹ According to correspondence preserved in the Record Office which had escaped my notice, but which the Rev. W. A. Harrison fortunately met with, other arrangements were subsequently made; but there is no clear evidence that they were carried out, or that William Herbert did commence his residence

spring of 1598 he would be 18, an age entirely suitable to various expressions in the Sonnets. It is not unimportant, also, that he would live at Baynard's Castle, which was very near indeed to the Blackfriars Theatre, and probably was in view of the house or houses on the Bankside. The attractions of the theatre might thus lead to an acquaintance with Shakspeare. But probably some other influence had come into play, perhaps that of William Herbert's mother, the Countess of Pembroke, who may have been anxious that her son should marry, and so may have suggested to Shakspeare the writing of the first seventeen Sonnets. What is said in the third Sonnet, "Thou art thy mother's glass," &c., agrees with this view. It has been said, however, that, since William Herbert's father was alive, the words of 13, "You had a father," would have been unsuitable. But the words must be taken in accordance with the general drift of these Sonnets. The person addressed is exhorted to do as his father did, namely, beget a son. And the Rev. W. A. Harrison has very appropriately compared *Merry Wives*, Act III. Sc. iv., where Shallow urges Slender to woo Anne Page in manly fashion with, "She's coming: to her, coz. O boy, *thou hadst a father.*" Slender, however, misunderstands the meaning, and makes himself ridiculous; but at the same time he gives the words precisely the meaning which it is contended they should have in the Sonnet. There are no letters of Rowland Whyte's to tell us what Herbert was doing in 1598. But it was probably during this year that he was concerned in the affair to which 144 and other Sonnets relate. Whyte's letters in 1599 give several notices of Herbert, but these do not throw much light on the Sonnets. It is probably during this year, however, that the Sonnets concerned with the rival poet were written, and also 90 to 96 a little later. In 95 and 96 Shakspeare speaks out pretty clearly concerning rumours which were in circulation unfavourable to his friend's moral character. These rumours are in agreement with what Clarendon records as to Herbert's great licentiousness, and also with Whyte's statement that "he greatly wants advise."

On November 29, 1599, Herbert left London for the country, and did not return for between three and four months, during much of which time he was ill. This absence from London and illness would necessarily cause an interruption in Herbert's intercourse with Shakspeare. It seems probable that the intercourse was not renewed before the spring of 1601. In Sonnets 100 to 126 Shakspeare takes upon himself all the blame of the estrangement and separation; but it would be reasonable to hesitate before taking quite literally such

in London before the time originally intended, the spring of 1598. This correspondence, also, removes the difficulty presented by Shakspeare's urging his friend to marry and beget offspring, at the very commencement of the acquaintance, since it appears that, the year before, Herbert's parents had been engaged in negotiations for his marriage to Bridget, granddaughter of Lord Burleigh. Probably Herbert had backed out of it, in accordance with 40, l. 8.

self-inculpation, especially when we recollect the expressions employed in 90 and 92, "Then hate me when thou wilt; if ever now;" "But do thy worst to steal thyself away." Moreover, such plain-speaking as that of 95 was likely enough to be unpalatable.

During 1600 Herbert appears to have been very much his own master. His father seems to have been for a long time seriously out of health; and both he and Lady Pembroke had arranged to stop all the summer at Wilton. On June 16 in this year there was a remarkable festivity at Blackfriars on the occasion of the marriage of Lord Herbert (son of the Earl of Worcester) with Mrs Anne Russell. William Herbert himself was present, and also a lady whose name will appear again in the sequel. The Queen herself was there, and passed the night at Lord Cobham's. After supper there was a masque in which eight ladies splendidly arrayed were to perform. Their names are given by Whyte as "My Lady Doritye, Mrs Fitton, Mrs Carey, Mrs Onslow, Mrs Southwell, Mrs Bes Russell, Mrs Darcy, and my Lady Blanche Somerset." The leader in the performance was Mrs Fitton or Fytton, the lady above alluded to. On January 19 of the following year, 1601, William Herbert became, through the death of his father, Earl of Pembroke. There is in the Record Office a letter from Tobie Matthew to Dudley Carleton, written two months later (March 25), and containing a statement which probably has an important relation to our present subject:—"The Earle of Pembroke is committed to the Fleet: his cause is delivered of a boy who is dead." The words "his cause" must mean the woman who had been the cause of Lord Pembroke's getting into trouble; and they would almost seem to lay the blame upon her. Further explanation is given by another document in the Record Office, which may be dated approximately October 1602. This document states:—"One Mrs Martin, who dwelt at the Chopinge Knife near Ludgate, tould me yt she hath seene preists mary gentlewomen at the Courte in the tyme when that Mrs Fytton was in great favour, and one of her Majesties maids of honor, and during the tyme yt the Earle of Pembroke favord her she would put off her head tire, and tucke upp her clothes, and take a large white cloake, and marche as though she had bene a man to meete the said Earle out of the Courte." But whether Lord Pembroke was the more or the less culpable, his imprisonment under such a monarch as Elizabeth can scarcely excite surprise, especially as Mrs Fytton would seem to have been not only a maid of honour, but also on specially intimate terms with the Queen. Lord Pembroke, however, did not remain long in prison. There is in the British Museum (Lansd. MS. 88) a letter from him to Mr Michael Hicks, dated May 8, 1601, asking that the payment of a loan may be deferred, and the securities renewed:—

"Sr, if you will renue the bonds for that mony, that will be shortly due unto you from me, for six months longer, you shall have

yo^r interest truly payd at the day, & the same security w^{ch} you have allready, & besides you shall doe me a very extraordinarie kindnes, w^{ch} I will strive to deserve by ever being

y^r most affectionate
frend

Whitehall this 8th
of May.

Pembroke."

The year 1601 is endorsed on the letter; and the date is important. The letter must have been written just about the same time as Sonnets 100 to 126, and when the reconciliation between Shakspeare and his friend took place. The imprisonment would not unnaturally cause such a disturbance in the current of Pembroke's life as might well make his thoughts revert to Shakspeare, and on the other hand, Shakspeare's sympathy may very well have been awakened.¹ From the letter to Hicks we see that Pembroke was again at Whitehall. Possibly he may have thought that the past would be fully forgiven, if not forgotten. But this, it would seem, was not to be. Lord Salisbury has in his possession letters of Pembroke's to Sir R. Cecil written at this time (1601), in which he speaks of the Queen's "anger" and "wonted displeasure," and of England as a country now become hateful to himself above all others.

In estimating the probability of Herbert being Shakspeare's friend of the Sonnets, it is not unimportant to observe that Herbert himself was a poet, and though Hallam has said (*Lit. of Europe*, Part III. chap. v. 56) that none of Herbert's poems, as published in a small volume in 1660, furnishes any illustration of the Sonnets, this can scarcely be admitted with regard to one at least, in which the reader may discover several analogies with the Sonnets (comp. 22, 27, 43, 62, *al.*). The poem in question may be given as it is found in a MS. (Lansd. MS. 777) in the Brit. Museum, which is probably a more correct form than that in the volume.

"Soules ioye,² when I am gone,
And you alone,
Which cannot be,
Since I must leave my selfe with thee,
And carry thee with me;

"Yet when unto our Eyes .
Absence denyes
Each others sight
And makes to us a constant night,
When others change to light;

¹ Possibly also there may have been a special reason for the reconciliation in relation to the particular lady, Mrs. Fytton, as may appear hereafter.

² The expression "soules ioye" occurs also in Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, 48.

"O give no waye to grieffe,
But let believe
Of mutuall loue
This wonder to the vulgar proue,
Our bodies, not we, moue.

"Let not thy wit beweepe
Wounds but sense deepe,
For while we misse,
By distance, our lipp-ioyning blisse,
Even then our soules shall kisse.

"Foolles have no meanes to meete
But by their feet
Why should our Playe
Over our Spiritts so much swaye,
To tye us to that waye."

We must maintain, then, that the identification of Shakspeare's friend with William Herbert agrees with the indications of time which the Sonnets present. There is agreement also with respect to Herbert's wealth and rank (36, 37), and also with regard to his amiability and licentiousness as attested by Clarendon. His designation (in 1609) as "Mr W. H.," though then Earl of Pembroke, presents no important difficulty. The expression "You had a father" has been sufficiently explained. Of William Herbert's personal beauty we are scarcely able to judge in the absence of a portrait representing him in the bloom of youth.

A vote of thanks to Mr Tyler having been put from the Chair, and unanimously passed, the CHAIRMAN described the paper as the most important contribution that had yet been made to the difficult subject of the *Sonnets*.

The REV. W. A. HARRISON noticed, in Sonnet 27, an idea—that of the "jewel hung in ghastly night"—which he thought had been used and improved upon in *Romeo and Juliet*.

With regard to Mr Tyler's remark that we were scarcely able to judge of William Herbert's personal beauty in the absence of a youthful portrait, MR G. B. SHAW maintained that the engraving in the British Museum, from the portrait said to be by Mytens, represented a remarkably handsome man.

(*Ninety-ninth Meeting, Friday, June 13, 1884.*)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The HON. SECRETARY announced that he had received gracious acknowledgments from H.M. the Queen and H.R.H. the Duchess of Albany, in reply to the Resolutions of sympathy and condolence

passed by the Society at a General Meeting held on May 9th, on the death of its Vice-President, H.R.H. Prince Leopold.

The REV. W. A. HARRISON read a short paper, the result of a suggestion made from the Chair at the last meeting, that search should be made at the Record Office and elsewhere for evidence of early marriages at the time of the writing of the Sonnets, in support of the theory that the first seventeen Sonnets might have been addressed to a youth of eighteen (William Herbert). Mr Harrison had been so successful as to find at the Record Office a correspondence relative to the marriage of William Herbert himself, at about that very age, two years earlier than the proposed "Nottingham" alliance; the correspondence consisted of letters from the Earl and Countess of Pembroke and from the Earl of Oxford to Lord Burghley, on the question of the marriage of William Herbert to Bridget De Vere, Lord Oxford's daughter and Lord Burghley's granddaughter, the girl being then thirteen years old.

Mr Harrison added that he believed that Meres, writing in the late spring or summer of 1598, alluded to the first 26, or perhaps 32 Sonnets, and that the mother of the person to whom they were addressed either directly or indirectly influenced Shakspeare to persuade her son to marry. He found no evidence whatever in the Sidney Papers to support the theory of the "Nottingham" alliance; this he believed to be a chimæra of Rowland Whyte's own brain; and he proceeded to show that Whyte had his own personal reasons for projecting such an alliance, and that it was never entertained for a moment either by Herbert himself or any member of his family. He had felt, as he listened to Mr Tyler's first paper, that there must have been some other marriage in contemplation for William Herbert, which had the support of his family, and of his mother especially, and which had been discussed long enough before the date of Meres' book to allow of Shakspeare having written the first series of Sonnets and circulated them among his friends; but he had hardly hoped to meet with such a speedy confirmation of his view.

MR T. TYLER then read his second paper on "Shakspeare's Sonnets." Before proceeding with it, he adverted to a recent article in "Blackwood's Magazine," in which an extravagant theory of the rival poet of 86 and other Sonnets was propounded. He said that, in his view, the question had been settled by Prof. Minto, whose argument he considered conclusive. The rival poet was George Chapman. He expressed also the opinion that, at the time of the Rebellion of Essex, Shakspeare had already broken with Southampton.¹ The first question discussed in the paper was that relating to the dark lady of Sonnets 127 to 152.

¹ It seems probable that Shakspeare alludes to the breach which had occurred, and to his former relations with Southampton in Sonnet 125, where, using metaphorical language, he says he "bore the canopy, with his extern the outward honouring," implying that he was never admitted to a close

THE DARK LADY.

This lady was a brunette of strongly marked type, destitute of those features of beauty which were most valued in Elizabethan times. There is, however, repeated mention of her raven-black, quick-glancing eyes, with their power to wound (127, 139). Shakspeare loved those eyes. Then he evidently loved music, and she was skilled in touching the virginal; so that he was spell-bound as he listened to "the wiry concord," and saw the jacks dance and leap, swayed by her gentle fingers (128). She was a woman of quick wit, displaying "warrantise of skill" (150); and knowing well not only how to ensnare the other sex, but also how to secure and retain her prize. The facts are in accordance with the supposition that she was also of superior social rank. But if this is the case the question may suggest itself whether possibly the dark lady may be identified with Mrs Mary Fytton, alluded to in the previous paper. If William Herbert is the "Mr W. H." of the dedication he must have had amatory relations with both the one and the other. This fact gives an *à priori* credibility to the identification. An inference which may be drawn from the closing lines of Sonnet 144 is also favourable. Shakspeare says:—

"But being both from me, both to each friend,

I guess one angel *in another's hell*.

Yet this shall I ne'er know, but live in doubt

Till my bad angel fire my good one out." (Cf. also 134.)

The dark lady would thus seem not to have resided with Shakspeare. And we may feel quite sure that it would have been impossible for Mrs Fytton, one of the Queen's maids of honour, to live at Shakspeare's house or lodgings. Then there is a remarkable correspondence between the characteristics of Mrs Fytton and those of the dark lady. Identifying Shakspeare's friend of the Sonnets with William Herbert, it was he who was wooed by the dark lady (41, 143, 144); and when he had been committed to the Fleet, Mrs Fytton was "his cause." The dark lady was also Shakspeare's "cause" of error, for he tells her in Sonnet 151 that she had better say nothing about his "amiss," lest he should be incited to show that her "sweet self" was guilty of his fault. Both Mrs Fytton and the dark lady had strong passions and an imperious, masterful will. The dark lady has been compared with Cleopatra. And the queenly character of Mrs Fytton is not to be mistaken. She removes her head-dress, and, "as though she had been a man," marches out to meet Herbert. She takes the lead in the masque and dance at Blackfriars. She prevails on Elizabeth to dance, and tells the Queen that her name is "Affection," to which the Queen replies, "Affection is false." Whether these

intimacy. The "laying great bases for eternity" may be taken as alluding to the *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and especially to the "love without end" proffered in the dedication to the latter poem.

words are to be taken seriously or not, they may easily remind us of the "false-speaking tongue" of the dark lady (138), in whom all the poet's "honest faith is lost," and of her being "twice forsworn" (152). Moreover, there is in Sonnet 151 what would very well suit an allusion to Mrs Fytton's rank, and even to her "name," which, in Elizabethan English, might be taken as equivalent to "fit one." Shakspeare speaks of himself, too, as "proud of this pride," and of her being his "triumphant prize," expressions very well suited to one of the Queen's maids of honour. Then as to the probability of a play on her name, implying that she was the *fit one*, there is a monument at Gawsworth in Cheshire, erected by the Lady Anne Fytton, Mrs Mary Fytton's sister-in-law, which concludes with the following lines :—

"Their soules and body's beeuties sentence them
FYTTONS, to wear the heavenly diadem."

(Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. iii. p. 295.)

It thus becomes probable that the play on Fytton, as equivalent to "fit one," was a common pun of the time. The greatest difficulty in the way of identifying Mrs Fytton with the dark lady results from the words of 152, "In act thy bed-vow broke," which may be fairly taken as implying that the dark lady was a married woman who had been unfaithful to her husband. But if we accept Mrs Martin's testimony that priests married gentlewomen at Court, and this, as it would seem, in a clandestine manner, and under the patronage of Mrs Fytton, it would be difficult to maintain that Mrs Fytton was unmarried. Moreover, in the pedigree of the Fyttons of Gawsworth, given by Ormerod in his *History of Cheshire*, vol. iii. p. 293, Mrs Mary Fytton has two husbands, first, Captain Lougher, and, secondly, Captain Polwhele.¹ The difficulty might be removed if we could find out the date of the marriage with Lougher. The Rev. W. A. Harrison has ascertained that certain Loughers were closely associated with the Barrets of Tenby in Pembrokeshire, a family into which Mrs Fytton's elder brother, Edward, married, incurring thereby his father's extreme displeasure, as is shown by a letter of Lady Alice Fytton, his mother, to Lord Burleigh, in the British Museum (Lansd. MS. 71). If there had been already a marriage of Mary Fytton with some one in close association with the Barrets, we may see a possible reason for Sir Edward's very hot displeasure, as being caused by a second marriage into what, for some reason or other, was considered an undesirable connection. Then it is worthy of notice that, in connection with Lord Pembroke's amour and imprisonment, there appears to have been no suggestion that he should marry Mrs Fytton. And thus the thought may suggest itself that possibly there was an obstacle in the way in the shape of a living husband. If so she must

¹ We now know that the approximate date of the marriage with Captain or Mr Polwhele was 1607.

have re-assumed her maiden name of Fytton. And there need scarcely be any great difficulty about this if we recollect what Shakspeare says of her "warrantise of skill," even in "the very refuse of her deeds." As to Shakspeare's forming an acquaintance with a lady in the position of Mrs Fytton, this may be accounted for, if Shakspeare's company performed at Court. Such a lady as Mrs Fytton was not likely to find any great difficulty in introducing herself to Shakspeare, if she was so minded.¹ Other objections which might be raised need not detain us. On the whole the identification cannot be regarded as other than probable; and it is not unlikely that materials will be found hereafter which will make the proof still more complete than is now possible.

It is not possible to determine precisely the date of the Series of Sonnets 127 to 152. 1598, and a little before and after, is perhaps not unlikely.

FURTHER PARTICULARS IN SHAKSPERE'S BIOGRAPHY.

(1) Shakspeare, in the Sonnets, speaks of himself as already in declining age, though, according to our chronology, he must have been at the time only about thirty-four or thirty-five. Thus in Sonnet 73 he is already arrived at the time of year when there hang upon the boughs at most only a few yellow leaves. The fire of his youth has burned down to ashes, and must soon pass away in darkness. With this Sonnet may be compared the two following stanzas from Lord Byron's poem, written on completing his 36th year :

"My days are in the yellow leaf,
The flowers and fruits of love are gone,
The worm, the canker, and the grief,
Are mine alone.

"The fire that on my bosom preys
Is lone as some volcanic isle;
No torch is kindled at its blaze—
A funeral pile."

By a comparison of the imagery the objection that Shakspeare could not at thirty-five have written certain of the sonnets may well seem without weight.

(2) In Sonnets 43 to 52 there are several interesting glimpses of Shakspeare preparing for, and travelling on, a journey. All his valuables must be locked up and secured from depredators (48). There is as yet not even a stage coach. The Lord Chamberlain's

¹ The Rev. W. A. Harrison has called attention to the fact that Kemp, a clown in Shakspeare's company, dedicated his *Nine daies wonder* to Mrs Fytton, whom he addresses in a familiar manner. The fact is interesting and important with regard to the probability of Shakspeare's connection with this lady.

company do not travel perhaps "each actor on his ass," as Hamlet gives it, but each possibly on a steed hired for the occasion. Shakspeare cannot leave London and his valuable young friend, Mr W. H., without some misgivings. The sorry hack he has hired knows nothing of swiftness. He seems to share his rider's unwillingness to leave London. Even the spur cannot "provoke him on." When Shakspeare puts up for the night he finds solace in "the painted banquet" (47) furnished by Mr W. H.'s "picture in little," and the poet's thoughts "present-absent" (45) move swiftly to his friend (47).

(3) That Shakspeare did express a dislike for the dramatic profession the Sonnets leave no room to doubt. Fortune, that provided for his life only "public means," is the goddess "guilty of his harmful deeds." Thence it is that his "name receives a brand," and his nature becomes almost so changed as to be coloured "like the dyer's hand," assimilated "to what it works in" (111). This feeling might well be deepened by intimacy with a young nobleman of so high rank as William Herbert. The feelings thus produced are pathetically expressed in Sonnet 36.

(4) But when Sonnets 100 to 126 were written, that is, about May 1601, there appears to have been some special scandal in circulation with regard to Shakspeare, a scandal not to be confounded with the generally low social esteem of players, though it was in some manner connected with his theatrical engagements. Sonnet 111, already alluded to, and the first two lines of 110, in which the poet speaks of his having "gone here and there," and "made himself a motley to the view," might be explained with reference merely to such engagements. The case is otherwise with the remarkable language of 121, in which Shakspeare speaks of his "frailties," his "sportive blood," and of others' "rank thoughts" and "adulterate eyes." These expressions can scarcely leave any doubt as to the general nature of the scandal. It cannot have proceeded merely from the low esteem in which those connected with the stage were held. Shakspeare does not altogether deny that there was some foundation for this scandal, which he felt so deeply that it was as though he had been branded on the forehead (112); and a deep and powerful influence on his literary productions seems to have been the result. Perhaps it might be supposed that he speaks a little more strongly out of sympathy for Herbert, whose imprisonment and intrigue with Mrs Fytton were doubtless matter of common talk. But whether this was so or not, I see no reason to doubt that he alludes to real events in his own history. Was the scandal concerned with the dark lady, or Mrs Fytton? Possibly so in part; but it would seem that there must have been other accusations which are now unknown, and which will probably never be discovered.

SHAKSPERE'S BELIEF IN THE IMMORTALITY OF HIS WORKS.

The Sonnets contain predictions of posthumous fame expressed in terms of the strongest confidence. It is not likely that in the whole range of Elizabethan literature there can be found predictions of immortality equally numerous and expressed in terms of similarly strong confidence. The remark is, however, a just one that the poet's verse is treated as the means through which his friend is to be held in remembrance. And it is worth considering whether this so frequent prediction of immortality may not have had some connection with Shakspeare's social rank, being so far inferior to that of his friend. He felt this inferiority very deeply, and as a reaction there may have arisen in Shakspeare's mind a consciousness of his innate dignity. Though his friend dare not in public acknowledge the acquaintance, it was his to confer unique and surpassing honour. He held a patent of the highest nobility.

THE RELIGION OF SHAKSPERE.

On account of the peculiar character of the Sonnets, the question as to Shakspeare's religious convictions assumes in relation to them a special interest. The evidence, however, as to Shakspeare's religious faith is at best but doubtful. There are two or three allusions to common theological tenets; but these allusions can scarcely be regarded as more than conventional. Such are "next my heaven, the best" (110), and "till the judgment that yourself arise" (55). When he speaks of "precious friends hid in death's dateless night" (30) there is no accompanying hope that they will be restored to him in a future life. He will leave "this vile world" to dwell with "vilest worms," and to be "perhaps compounded with clay" (71). And when his body, "the prey of worms," not worthy to be remembered, has been consigned to earth, the better part of him will still live on, not however in Heaven or Hades, but in the verses which he has composed. His spirit will thus remain with his friend (74). The immortality to which Shakspeare looked forward was a literary immortality. It has been asserted, however, that there is at least one Sonnet, and no more, in which he expresses "strong faith in the immortality of the soul," and that Sonnet is 146.¹ If, however, this Sonnet stands alone there is obviously some ground for questioning whether the interpretation in question is the right one. When Shakspeare says, "And let that pine to aggravate thy store," &c., could he have meant that he contemplated gaining eternal felicity in heaven by fasting and bodily mortification? What, however, is of greater importance is, that, though in no other sonnet is language used precisely parallel, yet the conquest over Death is elsewhere

¹ Armitage Brown, *Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems*, pp. 221, 222.

spoken of, and *with reference to the immortality of the poet's verse*. Thus in 55 the poet's friend is assured that, through the "powerful rhyme," more enduring than marble, he will still come forth to the gaze of men, "Gainst Death and all oblivious enmity." Or again in 107 Shakspeare speaks of Death as "subscribing" to him, and as submissive to his power. But this submission is brought about by the vital force of his literary compositions,—

"Since spite of him I'll live in this poor rhyme,
While he insults o'er dull and speechless tribes."

Such being the case it is reasonable to explain 146 in a similar manner. Immortal works must be composed, even though the strain on his bodily powers be such as to shorten life. Victory over death will thus be achieved : Death itself will be slain :—

"And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."

And when one thinks of the succession of immortal works which followed one another so rapidly in the first years of the seventeenth century, it may seem not quite unlikely that a serious purpose was expressed in this remarkable Sonnet.

I have proposed as a solution of the critical crux in the second line the reading "Why feed'st" :—

"["Why feed'st"] these rebel powers that thee array?"

This reading seems to me in accord with the scope of the Sonnet. "Feed'st," moreover, occurs in Sonnet 1. The question is one, however, which will perhaps never be very firmly decided.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SONNETS.

Though the question as to the theological or philosophical tenets which Shakspeare really held requires to be approached with some caution, yet there are grounds for thinking that he accepted, with more or less definiteness, three doctrines, forming together a system of some completeness :—(1) The Doctrine of the *Anima Mundi*, or Soul of the World ; (2) The Doctrine of Necessity ; (3) The Doctrine of the Cycles. So far as the Sonnets are concerned there are clear indications of (1) and (3). And the third implies the second. These doctrines are not Christian tenets ; but as Dean Plumptre has observed, Shakspeare's philosophy "is not a Christian view of life and death. The ethics of Shakspeare are no more Christian, in any real sense of the word, than those of Sophocles or Goethe."

The first of the doctrines just mentioned is obviously contained in Sonnet 107, which speaks of "the prophetic soul of the wide world dreaming on things to come." With this should be compared what is said in *Richard III.*, Act II. Sc. iii., of men's minds, guided by

"a divine instinct," "mistrusting ensuing danger," just as "the water swells before a boisterous storm."¹ Of the sources which have been suggested for Shakspeare's conception neither gives precisely his idea of "the wide world's prophetic soul." In the same connection should be remembered the various instances in Shakspeare of forebodings, as well as of dreams and apparitions which come as precursors of ensuing evils and calamities.

Though the doctrine of necessity is not clearly expressed in the Sonnets, it comes out in a remarkable manner in 2 *Henry IV.*, Act III. Sc. i., in the passage commencing, "O God! that one might read the book of fate," etc., and ending,—

"Are these things then necessities?
Then let us meet them like necessities."²

It is difficult to explain this passage consistently unless the poet regarded man and his affairs as governed by the same laws as those which control the sea, and mould the form of the land; as being subject alike to a universal necessity.

The passage just cited from 2 *Henry IV.* gives also to a certain extent the doctrine of the cycles:—"There is a history in all men's lives," etc. But this doctrine comes out with greater clearness, though expressed hypothetically, in Sonnet 59, where the idea is not merely that the lives of men "figure the nature of the times deceased"; but the absence of everything really new is supposed, so that the brain of the author "labouring for invention" can but repeat what it had previously brought forth. In Sonnet 123 the doctrine of the cycles, of a never-ceasing reproduction and repetition, is expressed without hypothesis. The wonders which Time brings forth are to the poet "nothing novel, nothing strange," but merely dressings up again of a former sight.

As to the sources of the doctrines of the soul of the world and of the cycles, there is not much difficulty with regard to the former, since this was the most prominent of the doctrines of Shakspeare's contemporary Giordano Bruno, who, when in England, had come into contact with Sir Philip Sidney, William Herbert's uncle. Another contemporary, Campanella, held a similar doctrine. As to the cycles there is greater difficulty, though Ecclesiastes (chaps. i. and iii.) is at least a possible source. Here it is expressly stated, "There is no new thing under the sun." "Is there anything whereof it may

¹ Brierre de Boismont says in his work *Des Hallucinations*, ed. 1862, p. 43,—*"Il existe dans les masses populaires un instinct politique qui leur fait pressentir les catastrophes des sociétés, comme un instinct naturel annonce d'avance aux animaux l'approche des bouleversements physiques."*

² The Second Part of *Henry IV.* may have been if not composed, at least revised, about the time that Sonnet 59 was written. The first quarto edition of the play bears date 1600.

be said, See this is new? It hath been already of old time which was before us."¹

A vote of thanks to Mr Tyler having been put and unanimously passed, the CHAIRMAN expressed his own belief that Miss Mary Fytton could only be the dark lady of the *Sonnets* if she could be proved to have been married when she was one of Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour; and this he feared was an impossibility. Shakspeare's Dark Lady was one who had broken her 'bed-vow.' Referring to the punning inscription on the Fytton monument, he drew attention to line 7 of Sonnet 119, "Out of their spheres been *fitted*," the word being seemingly dragged in with a purpose. He was unable to agree with Mr Tyler's interpretation of Sonnet 146. That, he held to be an expression of Shakspeare's belief in the immortality of the soul.

On the chronological question, the Rev. W. A. HARRISON said that Herbert was extremely favoured by the Queen in 1599—1600. In 1601 came the crash; Herbert comes no more to Court, and Mrs Fytton disappears about the same time.

SCRAPS.

this noble bevy [of ladies]: Henry VIII. I. iv. 4. This word occurs nowhere else in the plays or poems. In the treatise on Hunting in The Boke of Saint Albans, printed 1486, we have "the Compaynys of beestys and fowlys," and under this title . . . "a Nye of ffesaunttys—a **Beuy** of Ladies—a **Beuy** of Roos—a **Beuy** of Quaylies—a Sege of heronnys," &c.—B. N.

drift, sb. design: *Two Gent. of Verona*, II. vi. 43. . . .: "but he that resisteth the proud, and giueth his grace to the humble, would not permit the vngratious deuises of the naughtie and lewd lozzell [Wat Tiler] to take place, but suddenlie disappointed his mischeefous **drift**." 1587. *Holinshed*, ed. 2, p. 432, col. 1, ll. 44-48.—W. G. S.

uncase, vb. undress, strip. *L. L. Lost*, V. ii. 707; *Shrew*, I. i. 212. "*Goussepillier* . . . to vnshale, or take pulse out of the swads: and hence, to strip, or **uncase**." 1611. Cotgrave. "*Goussepillé* . . ; vnhusked; shaled, **uncased**, stripped." *ib.*—F.

canopy, sb. Sonnet 125, line 1. "*Baldachin*: m. The **Canopie** thats caried ouer a prince; or, a cloath of estate." 1611. Cotgrave. "*Ombrella*, a **canopie**, a Testerne, a cloth of state for Princes." 1611. Florio.—F.

¹ I may add that I hope before long to publish an edition of the Sonnets with a Commentary, and with a somewhat full Introduction, discussing various matters which it was impossible to include in these papers.—T. T.

(Hundredth Meeting, Friday, October 24, 1884.)

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., *Director*, in the Chair.

The following new members were announced to have joined the Society since its last meeting:—Dr B. Ziolecki, La Faculté des Lettres de Paris, Mr W. B. Slater, The Melbourne Shakspeare Society, Montgomery Female College Shakspeare Society, Christiansburg, Va., U.S.A.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings of the first meeting of the twelfth session, passed in review the Shakspeare work accomplished during the past year. He thought that the Society had reason to congratulate itself in reaching its hundredth meeting, and outliving the age of the Old Shakspeare Society, with good work in hand and still to be done. In the latest successful production of *Hamlet* on the stage might be seen the influence of Mr Rose's paper, read before the Society in 1877, on *The Division into Acts of Hamlet*. He noticed, as examples of good critical work done, that of Mr S. L. LEE, on *Love's Labour's Lost* and other subjects, and that of the Rev. W. A. HARRISON on the text of *Richard II.* The second Musical Evening of the Society had taken place with complete success; the Society being still alone in this attempt to give a concert of old English music in chronological order. On the subject of the "Old Spelling" edition, the Chairman said that he alone was to blame for the delay in its appearance, the text of the *Comedies* having been ready for some time, and that of the *Histories* being well forward. The Introductions, which he had taken upon himself, alone remained to be done; he could only ask the kind forbearance of the Society for a while. The editors, in their desire to make the Edition as complete as possible, contemplated including a list of "once-used words," on the plan adopted by Mr F. A. Marshall; and they were also considering the adoption of Mr Marshall's plan of adding small maps of the locality of the action of each play (with due acknowledgment in each case to Mr Marshall).

The following Resolution was then put from the Chair:

"Resolved: That the New Shakspeare Society desires to express its condolence with the widow and family of the late Signor Carcano, of Milan, formerly one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society; and also declares its deep regret at the death of that illustrious translator of the great Author whose memory and works the Society is founded to honour."

This Resolution having been carried unanimously, Miss LEIGH-NOEL

proceeded to read a paper on "Shakspeare's Garden of Girls :"—I. Hot-house Flowers: Juliet, Imogen, Ophelia. The system of classification adopted by Miss Leigh-Noel she admitted at the outset to be a fanciful one, suggested by Tennyson's "Queen-rose of the rose-bud garden of girls," and she was not prepared to push it so far as to bring all Shakspeare's girls under one or other heading; but it served for the general grouping of characters that might be studied together. Miss Leigh-Noel then proceeded to study the characters of Juliet, brought up in the heated air of Verona, where the mad blood was stirring, and of Imogen and Ophelia, in the artificial surroundings of the Courts they are educated in. A vote of thanks was passed to Miss Leigh-Noel, and her estimate of each character was criticised and fully discussed.

Mr EWALD FLÜGEL read a short paper on some early references to Shakspeare in Germany, by Mr Flügel's great-grandfather, Burkhard Mencke (1674—1732), Lord Rector of Leipzig University, and a distinguished scholar. Mencke had visited England, had become acquainted with many Englishmen of distinction, and had made a special study of English literature. He edited the *Acta Eruditorum*, the first critical monthly in Germany, and in this he was accustomed to review English books. The first allusion occurs in the *Acta* of 1700 (p. 321), where, speaking of Dryden's excellence as a poet, and especially as a writer of tragedies, he says: "Certe inter Anglos hactenus præcipue emanuit, seu cetera spectes poematorum genera, seu quod difficillimum est, Tragædiam, in quâ neque Gallorum Cornelio cessit, neque Anglorum Shakspeario, atque hoc tanto præstantior fuit, quanto magis litteris calluit."

The next allusion is in 1702 (p. 35), in a Review of Dryden's works (Lond. 1701), where, after speaking of Dryden's essay on Dramatic Poetry, and briefly mentioning Ben Jonson and Fletcher, he continues: "Tantis enim laudibus eum (Jonson) effert, ut si non ingenio certe arte superatum ab eo putet ipsum Shakspearium, qui ut eruditus minus fuit, ita ingenio modernos omnes Poetas et tantum non veteres quoque superasse fertur, ut Halesius nihil usquam apud poetas pulcrum exstare judicaverit, quod non multo elegantius aliquo in dramate expresserit Shakspearius. Ne vero solus sapere videatur Jonson cuncta Beaumontii censuræ subjecit, qui ut post Shakspearium inclaruit, ita dotes insitas magis studio percoluit."

The last mention of Shakspeare is in the *Acta* of 1725 (p. 122), in a review of "The Survey of Cornwall, by Richard Carew; Lond. 1723," where the reviewer quotes the list of English literary worthies given in Camden's *Remaines (Centurie of Prayse*, p. 20).

Mencke's *Dictionary of Scholars*, under the head of *William Shakspeare*, thus describes him: "An English dramatist, was born at Stratford in 1564, was badly educated, and did not understand Latin; nevertheless, he became a great poet." The rest of Mencke's notice is taken from Jeremy Collier's *Hist. Dict.*, 1701, "His genius was

jocular," &c. He concludes: "His comedies and tragedies, and many did he write, have been printed together in 6 parts, in 1709, at London (the edition in Mencke's own library), and are very much appreciated."

This was certainly better than the biographical notice given by Louis Moreri in his *Grand Dictionnaire* (Amsterdam, 1740), which ran thus: "Shakespeare (Guillaume), Poete Anglois, tragique et comique, mort in 1576, a passé en son tems pour le Corneille des Anglois. Il avoit un bon génie, mais il n'avoit aucune connaissance des règles, et d'ailleurs on trouve dans ses Tragédies plusieurs scenes qui sentent plus la farce que la Tragédie. Malgré cela, il est regardé, encore à present, avec une espèce de vénération en Angleterre!"

A vote of thanks to Mr Flügel concluded the proceedings.

NOTE.—Signor Giulio Carcano, whose lamented death forms the subject of the above Resolution, was born at Milan in 1812, and came of an ancient and noble family, which so far back as the 9th century, gave an archbishop to Milan. He published his first work, *Ida della Torre*, a small poem, while studying law at Pavia; was "laureato" in 1835, and published his novel *Angiola Maria* in 1839. In 1848 he took an active part in the political affairs of his country, and acted as Secretary of the Provisional Government of Lombardy. Owing to his share in the revolution of Lombardy, he was compelled to leave Italy for Switzerland, where he spent two years. On his return from exile he published at various times some twelve or fifteen tales, a novel *Damiano*, two volumes of poems, and some tragedies. But his most important work was his translation of Shakspeare. Begun in 1843, it was revised and corrected by him during a period of nearly thirty years, being published at last in its entirety in 1882 (12 vols., Hoepli, Milan). Italy had hitherto only possessed two translations, one incomplete, and the other in prose. Carcano followed the prose and verse of the original faithfully in his use of both; in his verse, he frequently contrived to confine himself to the same number of lines as in the original, without loss of elegance of diction. His labours were justly appreciated by his country, and he occupied the posts of Councillor of the City of Milan and of the Ministry of Public Instruction, of Secretary and afterwards President of the Royal Institution of Science and Letters, and finally that of Senator of the Realm. He died at Lesa, on the Lago Maggiore, on the 30th August, 1884.

(Hundred and First Meeting, Friday, November 14, 1884.)

THE REV. W. A. HARRISON in the chair.

The HON. SECRETARY read a letter from the widow of the late Signor Carcano, in reply to the Resolution of sympathy passed at the last meeting, thanking the Society for its kind expressions.

MISS LEIGH-NOEL then proceeded to read the second division of her paper on "Shakspeare's Garden of Girls:"—II. Hardy Blossoms. The difference that she wished to point out between the girls in the first division of her paper—the "Hothouse Flowers," and the "Hardy Blossoms,"—was, that the former were, as it were, reared under a glass, protected from the open air, exotics; and when plunged into trials and adversity, were unable to survive, to fight their way and emerge; the power to do which was the distinct characteristic of the Hardy Blossoms. In dealing with the character of Beatrice, Miss Leigh-Noel held that Shakspeare meant their meeting to be a rekindling of old fires—that they should be unconsciously love-making in their jars. This was perceived by Don Pedro, and it was a kindly interest in their welfare as much as love of a joke, that made him push on the affair to its happy conclusion. Miss Leigh-Noel also noticed what had been remarked upon at meetings of the Society before—the absence, with Shakspeare's girls, of maternal relations.

MR F. J. FURNIVALL read some notes by Mr W. G. Stone, one of the editors of the *Old-Spelling Shakspeare*, on certain difficulties in the text of *As You Like It*, the notes being furnished by him at the request of the Hon. Secretary, in order that the meeting might include some critical discussion.

The first difficulty occurred in the opening words of the play, where Mr Stone found himself unwillingly compelled to violate one of the principal rules of the editors of the *Old-Spelling Shakspeare*,—the avoidance of emendations or additions, could a tolerable sense be obtained from the original text. The original runs: "As I remember, Adam" (says Orlando), "it was upon this fashion bequeathed me by will, but poore a thousand crownes, and as thou saist, charged my brother on his blessing to breed me well," &c. The editors read (adopting Heath's conjecture), "It was upon this fashion: *My father* bequeathed me," &c. The sense of the meeting on this emendation was somewhat against any insertion, excepted perhaps "a' bequeathed me," &c.

I. ii. 284. "The *taller* is his daughter," says Le Beau, when asked which of the two princesses is Duke Frederick's daughter. Yet further on Rosalind speaks of herself as "more than common tall;" Celia is described as "low." Obvious slips like this the editors have as a rule retained, contenting themselves with noting them. It was impossible to say what word Shakspeare would have written; and a reminder was sufficient to prevent readers from being puzzled.

I. iii. 104. "And doe not seeke to take this *change* upon you." Fz reads "charge"; a very enticing emendation, but of course rejected by the editors, who accepted Malone's explanation that *change* is Rosalind's reverse of fortune.

II. vi. 50—58. In dealing with this difficult passage, the editors agreed with Dr Ingleby that the text should be left as it

stood, with its short sixth line, "Seeme senselesse of the bob; if not," rejecting the emendations "*not to seeme*" and "*But to seeme*."

II. ii. 73. "Till that the *wearie* verie meanes do ebbe." Here the editors adopted Singer's emendation, "the *wearer's* very meanes," which involved the change of only two letters, and gave an excellent sense; it was evident, too, that the special phase of pride censured was the wearing of costly apparel.

III. ii. 104. "It is the right Butterwoman's *ranke* to market." The editors retained "*ranke*," taking it to mean *file*.

III. ii. 163. "O most gentle *Jupiter*." Here it was hard to put aside Spedding's conjecture, "O most gentle *pulpiter*," seeing that Rosalind goes on, "what tedious homilie of Loue haue you wearied your parishioners withall, and neuer cri'de, 'Haue patience, good people!'" But we knew that Rosalind invoked Jupiter when, weary and dispirited, she reached the forest of Arden, so perhaps she adopted the appeal to his divinity as being suitable to her assumed character.

V. ii. In the Hunting-Song, the whole of the words "Then sing him home; the rest shall beare this burthen," were included by the editors in their Stage Direction. Stage Directions expressed imperatively, as though they were spoken to the actors, were often met with: for example, in this play, after Celia's most unfair wish that she "were invisible, to catch the strong fellow by the legge," comes the Stage Direction *Wrastle*; and, when Charles is thrown, *Shout*.

The various points raised were discussed by the meeting, and a vote of thanks accorded to Mr Stone.

(Hundred and Second Meeting, Friday, December 12, 1884.)

THE REV. W. A. HARRISON in the Chair.

The third and last division of Miss LEIGH-NOEL's Paper on "Shakespeare's Garden of Girls:"—III. Wild Flowers: Miranda, Perdita, etc.—was, in the absence of the writer, read by Mr S. L. Lee. Of these "wild flowers" that we found blooming in hedgerows and meadows, some, Miss Leigh-Noel noticed, seem to have strayed from gardens, and were only wild by association. Of these the chief was Miranda, who was a favourite rather with men than with women. Among the conditions which influenced her character, we noticed the so common absence of a mother, and indeed of any woman friend, or man friend except her father. Men reason, but women perceive; and the strength of Miranda's intuitive perception of good and evil was especially noticeable. Like Romeo and Juliet, Ferdinand and Miranda loved at first sight; but Miranda's declaration of her love

had not even the slight coqueties of Juliet's. The two passages would well bear comparison.

"*Juliet.* Fain would I dwell on form, fain, fain deny
What I have spoke : but farewell compliment !
Dost thou love me ? I know thou wilt say ' Ay,'
And I will take thy word : "

And again :

" My bounty is as boundless as the sea,
My love as deep ; the more I give to thee,
The more I have, for both are infinite.

* * * * *

If that thy bent of love be honourable,
Thy purpose marriage, send me word to-morrow
By one that I'll procure to come to thee,
Where and what time thou wilt perform the rite,
And all my fortunes at thy foot I'll lay,
And follow thee my lord throughout the world."

Miranda said much the same, but in fewer words.

" Wherefore weep you ? " asks Ferdinand, and she replies :

" At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
What I desire to give, and much less take
What I shall die to want. But this is trifling,
And all the more it seeks to hide itself
The bigger bulk it shows. Hence, bashful cunning,
And prompt me, plain and holy innocence !
I am your wife, if you will marry me,
If not, I'll die your maid ; to be your fellow
You may deny me ; but I'll be your servant
Whether you will or no."

Juliet, with all her depth of devotion, would not have said this, her love was not so ethereal, nor so unsophisticated.

Perdita was another wild flower, wild only by association. A comparison with the true wild flowers of her neighbourhood was sufficient to show this. At the " shearing," we found her with her laughter stilled, and with little heart for revelry, from the consciousness of her growing love and Florizel's. We should notice a touch peculiar to a womanly temperament that, not caring for Polixenes' reason, she assented to it in a half-hearted way, knowing that to combat it would be to give it force and persistency. There is nothing like agreeing with your adversary quickly if you would have done with him. We might notice, too, her womanly assertion of the correctness of her forebodings. " I told you what would come of this." Perdita came between Miranda and Viola. She had scarcely

the romance of the latter nor the ethereal grace of the former, but she had both qualities beautifully blended in sweet and natural grace.

Another class of "wild flowers" contained those blossoms which were in the garden, but not of it, which owed more to nature than to art. First among these, and wildest flower of them all, was Katharine in the *Taming of the Shrew*. Again we had to notice the absence of a mother's influence. She was a girl who must either scold or sulk; of restless energetic nature, with no liberty or scope for it, while her sister possessed that fatal amiability of temper that refuses even to admit of an argument. To sum up her good points, she was young, beautiful, and healthy, full of life and motion, in mind energetic and witty, never at a loss for a word, and that word always a wise one; tender to her husband in spite of his treatment of her, and considerate to her servants. In fact, it was the writer's opinion that, instead of Petruchio taming the Shrew, it was the Shrew who tamed him, by the wise policy of stooping to conquer.

A third class of wild flowers, Maria in *Twelfth Night*, Nerissa, Lucetta, etc. Miss Leigh-Noel dealt with shortly; in Maria's case, expressing her surprise that she could ever have brought herself to marry Sir Toby Belch. Jessica should be placed in a class by herself. If she showed her a general want of sentiment and delicate feeling, whose fault was it? If she was a thief, she was the true child of her father. She had a sympathetic nature that answered truly when rightly touched, for it was from her lips that we had the expression so significant of a finely attuned spirit, "I am never merry when I hear sweet music."

A last bunch of rough, honest, hardy flowers Miss Leigh-Noel passed in short review. Phœbe, with her wretched spirit of coquetry, almost to be pardoned, however, with such a youth as Ganymede before her; Audrey, delightful in her rough honesty, the photograph, we might say, of many a Warwickshire lass that the lad Shakspeare knew; Jacquenetta, a more sprightly character, with her quick wit and ready tongue; and lastly Mopsa, selfish, and like the daughters of the horse-leech continually crying "Give, give."

A vote of thanks to the writer and the reader of the paper was then put and passed. A discussion followed, the CHAIRMAN greatly commending the parallel between Juliet and Miranda. MR FURNIVALL was glad to see the classification of Shakspeare's girls attempted more fully than in the previous papers. MISS LATHAM, MR POEL, and other members spoke.

MR F. J. FURNIVALL read some Notes by Mr W. G. Stone on the Textual difficulties in *Measure for Measure*, as dealt with by the editors of the *Old-Spelling Shakspeare*.

The play opened with a passage over which editors and conjecturers had beaten their brains for nearly two centuries. The Cambridge editors decided that there was a lacuna in the text.

The lines in question—spoken by the Duke to Escalus—run thus:

Act I. i. "Of Government, the properties to vnfold,
 Would seem in me t'affect speech & discourse ; 4
 Since I am put to know, that you owne Science
 Exceedes (in that) the lists of all aduice
 My strength can give you : Then no more remains
 But that to your sufficiency, (as your worth is able,) 8
 And let them worke."

The only published explanation of the unaltered text was, Mr Stone believed, that given by Mr Daniel in his *Notes and Conjectural Emendations*, 1870. Mr Daniel took "them" in the last line to refer to "the properties of government," and explained:—"Then no more remains (for me to say with regard to the properties of government), but that, to your sufficiency (*i.e.* betake yourself to your sufficiency), as your worth is able, and let *them* (the properties of government, the laws) work or take their course."

The editors followed Mr Daniel's noble example in refraining from emending, but thought that their interpretation of these troublesome lines was the better one. They held, that the words "my strength" included (1) the Duke's science, his knowledge of the properties of government; (2) his ducal authority, which is his sole prerogative. "Your owne science," he says to Escalus, "exceedes in that" (in that province of my strength which embraces my administrative skill) all that my "aduice" (counsel) can give you. "Then," he continues, "no more remains (is needful) but *that* (my strength *per se*, which is mine alone) to your sufficiency" (legal science),—your "worth" (character and rank) making you fit for the post,—and you may henceforth let "them" (your prior sufficiency and my now deputed power) work together.

I. iii. 26. Here a slight emendation was needed. The Duke, speaking to Friar Thomas of the strict laws of Vienna, which had been allowed to fall into desuetude, says :

"Now (as fond Fathers,
 Hauing bound up the threatening twigs of birch, 24
 Onely to sticke it in their childrens sight,
 For terror, not to vse) in time the *rod's*
 More mock'd than fear'd ; so our decrees,
 Dead to infliction, to themselves are dead," &c. 28

At l. 26, instead of the *F. rod*, we read *rod's* (*rod is*), the emendation of Mr Collier's MS. corrector; but we reject the useless padding *most just*, rammed in by him between the words *so our* and *decrees*. This is a lesser change than that adopted by the Cambridge editors, who read, with Pope,

"the rod
Becomes more mock'd than fear'd ;" &c.

From amongst the numerous emendations of l. 43, the editors had

selected Hanmer's. The Duke tells Friar Thomas that Angelo is made Deputy,

Act I. iii. "Who may, in th' ambush of my name, strike home,
And yet, my nature neuer in the fight,
To do *it* [i. e. my nature] slander."

The F. reads "To do *in* slander." Mr Stone could not extort any sense from the F. reading, and as each of the two lines preceding l. 43 contained an *in*, the mistake was probably caused by the compositor's eye catching one or both of these words. The *Globe Shakspeare* had an obelus against l. 43. The editors rejected Hanmer's emendation *sight* for *fight* (l. 42), because they understood *fight* to mean *open warfare*, as opposed to *ambush*.

In Act II. i. there was a serious crux. Escalus moralizes thus upon the inflexible justice which Angelo has meted out to Claudio.

Act II. i. "Well, heauen forgiue him! and forgiue us all!
Some rise by sinne, and some by vertue fall; 38
Some run from *brakes* of Ice, and answere none;
And some condemn'd for a fault alone!" 40

The editors retained the F. *Ice* against the "*vice*" of many emendators, considering Shakspeare to have been mixing his metaphors, for the thought uppermost in Escalus's mind is the capicious manner in which punishment is inflicted. He compares this, apparently, to the luck which enables some to clear dangerous places in the ice, but his metaphor is abruptly abandoned with the words, "and answere none;" &c. The form *brakes* occurs in the epilogue of Marston and Webster's *Malcontent*, 1604, where *brakes* evidently means *breaks*, *flaws*, not, as Steevens supposed, *brake-fern*, which grows on uncultivated ground.

In the prison-scene between Isabella and Claudio, the former says of Angelo:

Act III. sc. i. "This outward sainted Deputie
(Whose settled visage, and deliberate word, 88
Nips youth i'th head, and follies doth *emmew*
As Falcon doth the Fowle) is yet a divell;" &c.

For *emmew* Prof. Bayne proposed to read *enew* (Fr. *eneauer*); applying it here to the plunging of a fowl under water, in order to avoid the pounce of a falcon. The ordinary gloss of *emmew*—the F. reading being retained—was *mew up*, *enclose*, but if one might be allowed—as Malvolio has it—"to crush this a little," the further sense *clutch*, *grip*, could be educed.

"The *Prenzie*, Angelo?" cries Claudio, astounded by the bitter denunciation just quoted; and Isabel replies:

Act III. sc. i. "Oh, 'tis the cunning Liuerie of hell,
The damnest bodie to inuest and couer
In *prenzie* gardes!"

Such are the readings of Fr. Many emendations—beginning with the 2nd F.'s *princely*—have been proposed or adopted in lieu of *prenzie*. The editors have accepted Dr Nicholson's suggestion, that *prenzie* represents the old Ital. *Prenze*, a variant of *Principe* or *Principe*. The only changes made were: (1) the substitution of a capital for the lower case F. *p.* in l. 92; and (2) the addition of an *s* to *prenzie* in l. 95. By *prenzies gardes* they understood the *lace* on a prince's robes to be meant.

An aside spoken by the Duke, after Elbow has told him of Angelo's abhorrence of vicious persons, is rather obscurely worded:

Act III. sc. ii. "That we were all, as some would seeme to bee,
From our faults, as faults from seeming, free!" 37 (41)

The editors paraphrased it thus: "Would that we were as free from faults, as our faults are from seeming (hypocrisy)!"

At the close of the scene, the Duke soliloquizes:

Act III. sc. ii. "He, who the sword of Heauen will beare,
Should be as holy, as seucare; 242 (276)
Patterne in himselfe to know,
Grace to stand, and Vertue, go;" &c. 244

The last lines had, of course, been emended. The editors thought that *to* must be mentally supplied before *go*; and the sense would then be: he should have grace to *withstand* temptation, and virtue to *go* (walk) uprightly. To *go* sometimes meant to *walk*. For example, Launce says to Speed: "Thou must run to him [Valentine]; for thou hast staid so long, that *going* will scarce serve the turne." (*T. G. V.*, III. i. 387-389, *Globe Sh.*)

A few lines further on there stood a terrible crux.

"How may likenesse made in crimes,
Making practise on the Times,
To draw with ydle Spiders strings
Most ponderous and substantiall things!"

Emendation was vain; and it was with much diffidence that Mr Stone offered the following paraphrase:

"How may likenesse made in crimes" (How may a real affinity of guilt, like that which attaches to Angelo, who meditates the same crime for which he has condemned Claudio), "Making practise on the Times" (practising upon the world), "To draw with ydle Spiders strings" (draw with such gossamer threads as hypocritical pretences) "Most ponderous and substantiall things" (the solid advantages of honour, power, &c.)! It only remained to observe that the addition of the infinitival particle in l. 255,¹ though contrary to modern usage, was idiomatic in Shakspeare's time. Cp. for example, *Errors*, V. i. 25: "Who heard me *to* denie it, or forswear it?" exclaims Antipholus

¹ l. 289 (*Globe Sh.*).

of Syracuse, when charged with denying the possession of the chain made for Antipholus of Ephesus.

Act IV. sc. ii. "That spirit's possest with hast
That wounds th' *unsisting* Posterne with these strokes."

Did *unsisting* (often emended) mean *unresting*, *shaking*; being formed from *sisto*, which is sometimes intransitive?

Act IV. sc. iii. "By cold gradation, and *weale-ballanc'd* forme,
We shal proceed with Angelo." 96 (105)

The Duke here speaks of the course he intends to pursue after his public entry. The editors kept *weale-ballanc'd* (Mod. edd. *well-ballanc'd*), as Schmidt advised; and adopted his explanation, that it meant "form dispassionately adhered-to for the public weal."

"And why meet him [the Duke] at the gates, and *reliuer* our authorities there?" asks Angelo of Escalus. (IV. iv. 5-7, *Globe Sh.*) Schmidt indexed *reliuer*, but modern editors read *redeliver*. Cotgrave, however, had "*Relivrer*, to redeliver"; and *Reliverer*, to redeliver, appeared in Kelham's Old Fr. Dictionary. Ducange gave *Reliberare*, which he showed, by a quotation from a charter in *Rymer* (anno. 1502), to mean "*Iterum liberare*, seu tradere." The uncompounded Low Latin verbs *Liberare*, *Librare*, and *Livrare*, were all used in the sense of the Fr. *Livrer*.

Mr Stone closed his notes with some remarks on another restoration (as the editors conjectured) of a Shaksperian coinage. After pronouncing Angelo's sentence, the Duke thus addresses Mariana:

Act V. sc. i. "For his Possessions,
(Although by *confutation* they are ours,)
We doe en-state, and widow you with all, 419 (429)
To buy you a better husband."

Confiscation, the reading of F₂, was repeated in the subsequent Ff., and has been accepted by all the editors. Yet although the sb. *confutatio*, conviction, was unknown, there were examples of the post-classical use of the vb. *confutare*, to convict. In *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. xxvi. cap. 3, and the *Theodosian Code*, lib. xi. tit. viii., respectively, the past participles *confutatos* and *confutatus* occur, the context showing that in both cases they bear the meaning of *convicted*.

Moreover, as Angelo's crime was murder, not treason, conviction would be the proper English legal term for expressing the antecedent cause of his forfeiture. "Lands are forfeited upon *attainder*, and not before; goods and chattels are forfeited by *conviction*."—Blackstone's *Commentaries*, iv. 387, ed. 1783.

There was another possible meaning for *confutation*. The *Catholicon Anglicum*, p. 263, has: "to Ouer come; confundere, fundere, *confutare*, debellare," &c. Now apply this definition metaphorically to Angelo's circumstances, and it might be said that he had been

vanquished in single combat with his accuser Isabel. We, having no trial by battle, by duel of accuser and accused, which was so frequent in early days, forget that *overcoming* your adversary was in fact *convicting* him of the crime of which you accused him, or he you. The addition of the meaning "convict" to *confuturer*, overcome, would follow as a matter of course.

A vote of thanks to Mr Stone was put from the chair and passed, and the difficulties were then taken in their order and discussed.

Mr FURNIVALL, before the close of the meeting, brought forward the question of verses found in passages printed as prose, and asked the opinion of the meeting as to the propriety of printing such passages as verse. The matter, which was felt to be of importance, was discussed, and will be brought forward again.

SCRAPS.

let him put me to my purgation. As *Y. L. It*, V. iv. That this was probably a quasi-legal phrase, seems shown by Middleton's *Family of Love*, V. iii.

"*Club* (as crier) Rebecca Purge, wife to Peter Purge 'pothecary, appear upon thy purgation upon pain of excommunication."—B. N.

the glass of fashion: *Ham.* III. 1; *mirror up to nature*, III. 2, &c. &c. These figures were of the commonest in books of that time. One need only quote the title-page of *Mamillia* given above under "lazar kite," &c., or "Mirrour of grace," Spenser's *F. Queene*. *Introd.* st. IV.—B. N.

swaggerer, sb. 2 *Henry IV.* II. iv. 104-5. "*Balafreux*. A cutter, **swaggerer**, swashbuckler." 1611. Cotgrave. "*Roffiáno*, a bawde, a pander, a ring-carrier. Also, a Ruffin, a **swagrer**, a swashbuckler." 1611. Florio.—F.

hull, v. i. *Henry VIII.* II. iv. 199. "*Trínca*, as *Ponér la véla a la trínca*, to put a ship that the edges of the sailes may be to the wind, to *hull* with the ship. *Tríncár*, to **hull** vp and doune with a ship." 1623. Minsheu. *Spanish Dict.*

abourn, adj.: *Two Gent.* IV. iv. 194. "Touching *Rolando*, or *Rotolando*, or *Orlando*, for Histories afford him all these names, I am of opinion, and affirm that he was of a mean stature, broad shouldred, somewhat bowlegged, **abourn** Bearded [*barbitaheño*¹]," &c. 1612—20.—Shelton's *Don Quixote*, 1672, Pt. II., chap. i. p. 140.—W. G. STONE. [See Florio 1611 (not in ed. 1598) quoted in Schmidt's Lexicon.]

¹ *Barbitaheño*, bronze or yellow-bearded, *ahenobarbus*.

(*Hundred and Third Meeting, Friday, January 16, 1885.*)

DR RICHARD GARNETT in the Chair.

A paper by Robert Boyle, Esq., of St Petersburg, entitled "*Henry VIII.* ; an Investigation into the Origin and Authorship of the Play,"¹ was read by F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq. A vote of thanks to the writer and reader of the paper having been put from the Chair, and passed,

The CHAIRMAN paid a tribute to the ability and ingenuity of Mr Boyle's paper, and remarked that the ascription of the non-Fletcherian portions of *Henry VIII.* to Shakspeare was certainly liable to objection on grounds of internal evidence. It would not be safe, however, to allow decisive weight to these difficulties, until we knew with more accuracy the circumstances attending the composition of the play. It might have been a hasty work, produced in a hurry to meet some special occasion, and many difficulties might be explained by the distance between the writers and their probable want of concert. The external evidence for Shakspeare's authorship was very strong, and he could not but think that Mr Boyle's subjective prepossessions had led him to underrate the authority of the First Folio. If the play were indeed spurious, it was a unique example. No other drama was published in the Folio which did not contain at least traces of Shakspeare's hand ; and admitting that such an absolute fraud could pass unchallenged in print, it seemed extraordinary that no tradition should have survived of a fact which must have been known to numbers of persons. The hypothesis that the piece was written to replace a lost play of Shakspeare's, destroyed in the conflagration of the Globe Theatre, was quite untenable. Such a play might have been produced, but it could not have been palmed off as Shakspeare's upon an audience who had seen the original. The evidence for the date 1617 appeared of little weight, except the allusion to O'Toole, which would be much to the purpose if it could be shown that the Irish chieftain did not come to London before that year ; certainly not otherwise, and even then it might have been foisted in by the players. The evidence for Massinger's authorship seemed weak. It was curious that the passages quoted as Massinger's in support of this theory, mostly came from two plays only alleged, but by no means demonstrated to be partly his—in the recently-discovered *Barnavelt*, and the *Honest Man's Fortune*—of

¹ Printed separately, in full, p. 443.

Massinger's share in which latter the meeting, like the Chairman himself, probably then heard for the first time. Mr Boyle, however, used these plays as freely as if there could be no question about the matter. It would be necessary to produce many more instances from Massinger's undoubted plays; and even this would prove little unless it could be shown that the parallel passages were confined to *Henry VIII.* To settle the question satisfactorily, much more attention must be given to this point, especially with a view to confirm or disprove Gifford's theory, rejected by Hartley Coleridge, that Massinger was a Roman Catholic, in which case it was unlikely that he would have had any share in *Henry VIII.* On the whole, the Chairman's belief in the accepted opinion as to the authorship of this play remained unshaken, while he fully admitted that the matter was not exempt from difficulties, and gave Mr Boyle great credit for his able discussion of the question.

At a later stage in the discussion, the CHAIRMAN observed that the production of *Henry VIII.* in 1613 might be established, and the evident marks of haste in its composition explained, if it could be admitted that it was probably brought out in compliment to Prince Charles on his becoming Prince of Wales by the death of his brother Henry near the close of 1612. The same advancement had happened to Henry VIII., and to him only. The death of Prince Henry would be followed by a period of national mourning, during which the theatres would be closed, and it did not seem unlikely that they would re-open with a compliment to his successor, which must be very hastily prepared. In this case the allusions in Cranmer's prophecy to the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James would have a double meaning, easily apprehended by the audience.

MR F. J. FURNIVALL then read a letter that he had received from the President of the Society, in which Mr Browning said :

"As you desired, I have read once again *Henry the Eighth*; my opinion about the scanty portion of Shakspeare's authorship in it was formed about fifty years ago, while ignorant of any evidence external to the text itself. I have little doubt now that Mr Boyle's judgment is right altogether; that the original play—presumably Shakspeare's—was burnt along with the Globe Theatre; that the present work is a substitution for it, probably with certain reminiscences of *All is True*. In spite of such huff-and-bullying as Charles Knight's for example, I see little that transcends the power of Massinger and Fletcher to execute. It is very well to talk of the 'tediousness' of the Chronicles which have furnished pretty well whatever is admirable in the characters of Wolsey and Katharine; as wisely should we deprecate the bone which holds the marrow we enjoy on a toast.

"The versification is nowhere Shakspeare's. But I have said my little say for what it is worth."

MR FURNIVALL said that he had welcomed Mr Boyle's paper as a relief, having always found *Henry VIII.* so much *in the way* in dealing with Shakspere's work, so entirely failing to fit in with the other work of the same period. On the point of the external evidence, he could easily believe that the editors of the First Folio were capable of including *Henry VIII.* while they knew that it was not Shakspere's, if they also knew that Shakspere had written a play on the same subject. But he could not think himself that Shakspere would have taken such a subject, nor that, even if he had taken it, he would have treated it in such a manner, unless we are to suppose a breaking down of his mental powers. The play contained the same faults as *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and he thought it was written by the same men; this latter play, which he had formerly accepted, he had since rejected for much the same reasons as were now moving him to reject *Henry VIII.* That the question had not arisen during the Society's former work on the same play might be due to the fact that Mr Spedding's interesting division of the Shakspere and Fletcher parts, and his masterly allotment of Fletcher's portion to him, rather blinded workers to the question of Shakspere's authorship. On the question, however, of Mr Boyle's division of the play between Fletcher and Massinger, Mr F. quoted scores of lines in the portions given by Mr Boyle to Massinger, which were full of the double-endings and extra monosyllables that were Fletcher's especial characteristic. Mr Boyle hardly accounted satisfactorily for this by his bold theory that Fletcher had touched up his collaborator's work wherever these numerous instances occurred.

THE REV. W. A. HARRISON said that he could not feel convinced, by Mr Boyle's arguments, that there were sufficient grounds for rejecting the accepted belief as to Shakspere's part-authorship of this play. It seemed to him that the case for the Massinger theory must rest upon considerations of metre only, and this was, surely, an insecure foundation. The external evidence produced was, he thought, especially weak. Mr Boyle (p. 443) argued strongly against the probability of Shakspere's "returning to the practice of his youth"—that of joint-authorship—so late in his career and after his reputation was established. But (at p. 449) he answers his own argument. For he admits that so late as 1606 Shakspere figures as part-author of *Timon*; and that he wrote only part of *Troilus and Cressida*, or of *Pericles*. Shakspere had left London and severed his connection with the stage before the date usually assigned for the production of *Henry VIII.* But he was still a shareholder in the theatre, and he was, unquestionably, a keen man of business. All that we know of his latest years would warrant the inference that his care for his art would then be a secondary consideration with him. He may very well have consented to out-line a play, and to write some of the scenes; leaving it to be finished by another dramatist. On the question of the untrustworthiness of the Folio Editors, why did not these men,

if they were so unscrupulous, include the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, which, as Mr Boyle says, was not Shakspeare's, but which was credited to him as part-author, and which was a most popular play? As regards the parallelisms of thought and expression which are found to exist between passages in this play and in the undoubted writings of Massinger—might not these be very well attributed to Massinger's habit of copying Shakspeare? He thought that the conclusion drawn from the inferior characterization in *Henry VIII.*, when compared with the purely romantic plays of Shakspeare's Fourth Period, a very unfair one. In the latter case, Shakspeare is sole creator, and his genius unfettered, and there is consequently room for that "greater idealization" on which Mr Boyle rightly insists; but not so in *Henry VIII.* The characters are not his own, nor yet, in a great measure, are the words even. A play is wanted in a hurry, it is to be a show-piece,—a matter of pageants and processions,—and Shakspeare sets to work to turn the pages of Hall and Holinshed,—and notably of Cavendish,—into blank verse, after the manner of his earlier historical plays. Incident is the all-important thing required; development of character is a secondary consideration. If this be accepted, as the most probable hypothesis respecting the origin of *Henry VIII.*, it would seem to be a sufficient solution of the undoubted difficulties which exist in accepting it as a work of his latest and matured period of authorship. That it is very poor *Shakspeare* we must all of us feel; but with the amount of evidence before us at present, it would seem to be a bold conclusion to decide against its genuineness.

MR F. D. MATTHEW said:—With regard to external evidence of authenticity, I cannot treat so lightly as Mr Furnivall the presence of *Henry VIII.* in the Folio. It is true that the Folio contains several plays that are not entirely Shakspeare's; but, if we except *Titus Andronicus*, this is the first of the Folio plays that has been asserted to have no touch of Shakspeare's hand. *III. Henry VI.* is one of a series which is inseparably connected with Shakspeare, and if he had not touched the 3rd Part, its relation to the other historical plays might have excused its insertion among his works. Yet, even this has at least one scene which Mr Furnivall attributes to Shakspeare. Shakspeare's connexion with *Titus Andronicus* is accepted, if at all, chiefly on the authority of Heming and Condell; but its Shaksperian authorship is not disproved, and I see no improbability in his having worked on it in his youth. Even if the case as to these early plays were stronger, it would not go far in support of Mr Boyle's contention. The editors of the Folio might easily be puzzled in determining what to select among the works on which Shakspeare had helped in his obscure beginnings. It would be quite another thing for them to make a mistake as to a play that had been produced quite recently, and with which he could (ex hypothesi) have had nothing to do.

Mr Boyle asks whether Shakspeare can be supposed to have

returned to joint authorship after writing independent dramas for twenty years. He says: "It would be the only known example of such a degradation of art in those days." I can't say whether other men kept Shakspeare in countenance, but I do not believe that he is responsible for the whole of *Troilus*, of *Timon*, and of *Pericles*, none of which is twenty years earlier than *Henry VIII*.

As to internal evidence, Mr Boyle tries to show that the authors of this drama worked together. This is important, because it cuts out the theory (hitherto regarded as most probable) that Fletcher altered and completed work which Shakspeare had left half done. In order to establish it, Mr Boyle tries to show Massinger's hand in the scenes hitherto assigned wholly to Fletcher. This leads him to give Massinger such lines as—

"They are a sweet society of fair ones."—I. iv. 14.

"Earl Surrey was sent thither, and in haste too."—II. i. 43.

The result of careful examination will be, I think, to strengthen the older division which Mr Boyle impugns.

If we reject the proof of combined workmanship, all that remains for decision is whether the part that is not Fletcher's can be Shakspeare's. If it can, the evidence of the Folio is, I take it, enough to warrant its attribution to Shakspeare. Now, on this point, as no metrical test has yet been devised fine enough to help us, we must trust simply to our individual judgment; and mine, on the whole, says 'Shakspeare'; not Shakspeare at his best, but not inferior to what we find Shakspeare when he has a subject that has not interested and possessed him. The work in *Timon* and other plays is not better than here, while with all the defects of the play I do not know who besides Shakspeare could have written the scenes I. i. and II. iv. I do not think Massinger capable of it, and hold as the most probable theory to account for this play, that Shakspeare began it but tired of it, and that Fletcher took up his fragments and worked them into the whole, which we now possess.

MISS GRACE LATHAM said that she would be sorry to pronounce as to whether the play was Shakspeare's or not; but it reminded her forcibly of his English Historical Plays, in which the events seemed more important to him than the characters; unlike his later plays—as for example, *Coriolanus*—in which the characters and their development are the chief thing, even when, like the English plays, they are chiefly taken from histories and chronicles of events. This, however, may possibly be accounted for not by a failure of power, but by his having collaborated with Fletcher; events, when two persons are writing one work, being easier to handle than characters, especially when the collaborators live at a distance from each other; for characterization, dealt with in Shakspeare's manner, required a close and subtle reasoning out, and any flaw in it, occasioned by the other dramatist's want of comprehension, would be fatal to its completeness as a whole.

MR WILKINS expressed his opinion that if Shakspeare was at Stratford when this play was written, as was probably the case, then collaboration on his part, considering the conditions of the time, was utterly impossible.

MR T. TYLER noticed the essential defect in the play—the absence of any sustained flight; and as accounting for this, the theory that his powers were failing during the last years of his life, which receives support from the state of his will, deserved notice.

MR STANLEY COOPER supported Shakspeare's claim to the authorship, and held that the defects in the play were well accounted for by the probable circumstances that it was written and produced in a hurry, under pressure of an order from the king, and that Shakspeare's health and powers had given way.

MR W. POEL questioned the value of Mr Boyle's argument that it was un-Shaksperian for the King to kiss Ann Bullen after the dance. Lord Lytton states that this was the custom in Shakspeare's time: Romeo also kisses Juliet after the dance. On the general question, Mr Poel thought the play of *Henry VIII.* in its present form an undramatic one; he could not believe that Shakspeare was responsible for its construction, or had ever sanctioned its production. The play smelt too much of the stage and too little of nature; it had too much stage-trickery about it, and too little Dramatic Art. It suggested the idea of some play or plays having been handed over to some one with theatrical experience, for the purpose of concocting another play, the chief interest of which was to be the processions. Of these there were no less than three; in fact, Act V. seemed to have been written for no other purpose than to introduce the christening procession. The action of the piece was made subservient to the spectacle throughout. From the special stage-directions of the play, Mr Poel gathered that it had been printed in the Folio from a *prompter's copy*, and not, as is the case with most of the other plays in the Folio, from the dramatist's copy. Such directions as, "The King is discovered sitting and reading pensively;" "Exit the King, frowning on Cardinal Wolsey;" "Enter Cromwell amazedly;" were unnecessary to the reader, especially as the text in each case describes how the character should look. To the actor, however, who studied from cues, and who neither knew nor cared for what was being said on the stage when he was off it, such instructions were necessary, and it was the business of the stage-manager to note them down in the prompter's copy. Supposing Shakspeare's play *All is True* to have been destroyed with the Globe Theatre, might not the present play have been built up out of a recollection of the previous play (with the aid, perhaps, of some of the MS. actor's parts), and with a new Fifth Act added? The adapter might have taken from Shakspeare's five-act play the most telling scenes, and crowded them into the first four Acts. A dramatic incident, then a procession; another dramatic incident, and then another procession; this seemed to be

the kind of theatrical effect aimed at. As to the versification, the text, in many of the scenes, suggested an imitation of Shakspeare's style, and the scene between Ann Bullen and the old lady (II. iii.), and the King and Wolsey (III. ii.), seemed to him, in the matter of verse, quite equal to Shakspeare.

MR W. G. STONE, who was unable to be present, has since written: "I do not think that Mr Boyle has shown that the share of *Henry VIII.* attributed to Shakspeare contains references to events which happened after Shakspeare's death.

"I consider that adhesion to the historical sources might account for the inferiority of the characters in *Henry VIII.* to those in Shakspeare's latest works. Yet, on reading the play again, by the light of Mr Boyle's criticisms, I cannot say that either in manner or matter does *Henry VIII.* seem like or worthy of Shakspeare in his latest period.

"Moreover, I must admit that there are two serious errors of structure in the play: (1) the episodic introduction of Ann Bullen, who ought, if she appeared at all, to have borne an important part; (2) the continuation of the story after its interest had ended with the deaths of the chief characters, Katharine and Wolsey."

A vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by MR FURNIVALL, closed the proceedings.

On the foregoing Discussion, Mr Boyle sends the following remarks by way of answer, taking his critics severally in order:—

(In answer to the CHAIRMAN's remarks.) The evidence on which I adjudge part of *Barnaveit* and the *Honest Man's Fortune*, Act III., to Massinger, I have already published in the *Englische Studien*, edited by Dr Kölbing, and published by Henninger Brothers of Heilbronn. Similarity of verse and characterization, along with 1000 parallel passages taken from all the plays in which Massinger was engaged, enable me to speak with some degree of decision on the subject. Many of my results had been previously established by Mr Fleay and other scholars. I should have been most happy to lay the results of my work, which some of my German friends think of some value, before a circle of English scholars, had I had any opportunity of so doing. I may remark besides that I have produced parallel passages from other undoubted Massinger plays, such as the *Bondsman*, the *Unnatural Combat*, and the *Emperor of the East*. Whether Massinger was a Roman Catholic or not seems very immaterial to the question; but I believe there are few people now who hold Gifford's views on the subject.

If *Henry VIII.* was written in compliment to Prince Charles, on his becoming Prince of Wales, it would not be difficult to find some official notice of the fact. Is it known that any Entertainment was given on the occasion?

(To MR BROWNING's letter.) The opinion of one great poet about

the work of another has always a great value. But when that opinion is expressed with reference to a technical point, its value is much increased. Such an expression as "the versification is *nowhere* Shakspeare's," coming from Mr Browning, is of decisive weight.

(To MR FURNIVALL.) The alterations I propose in the arrangement formerly arrived at by the Society, are certainly bold. I have advanced them with diffidence; but I beg to call attention to the two following passages, in a scene, all of which was formerly attributed to Fletcher:—

II. i. 118. "I had my trial,
And must needs say, a noble one; which makes me
A little happier than any wretched father:
Yet thus far we are one in fortunes; both
Fell by our servants; by those men we loved most."

II. i. 153. "But that slander, sir,
Is found a truth now; for it grows again
Fresher than e'er it was: and held for certain
The king will venture at it. Either the cardinal,
Or some about him near, have, out of malice
To the good queen, possessed him with a scruple
That will undo her."

The versification of the latter passage sounds to me not at all like Fletcher's. It must be remembered that Massinger seldom has fewer than forty per cent. double endings, so that his verse is not to be distinguished from Fletcher's by that test, but by the swing produced by the pauses distributed all over the line. The subject is too intricate to be treated here, but I believe the reader, who will balance against each other the lines which I ascribe to Massinger and Fletcher, will find that though in the former's work there occur here and there lines characteristic of the latter, yet on the whole the passages have a non-Fletcherian swing. The point is important, as Mr F. D. Matthew said; for if I can establish my position, then I establish the fact that the two authors wrote contemporaneously. As to *Troilus*, *Timon*, and *Pericles*, I believe with Mr Matthew that they were not all written by Shakspeare; but it does not follow that he wrote them in partnership with Wilkins and Rowley, and Tourneur, or whoever else wrote the non-Shaksperian parts. The Society's work has made it very probable that they all belonged to the years 1606 and 1607, and there is a significant break in Shakspeare's literary activity, and a still more significant change of style from *Pericles* on. My own belief is, that Shakspeare retired from London about 1607, and that these plays were given by his company to other authors to complete. I cannot believe in Shakspeare's literary partnership with any other author, except, perhaps, at the very beginning of his career.

(To the REV. W. A. HARRISON.) The Folio editors not only did

not think of taking *Two Noble Kinsmen* into their volume, they even rejected *Pericles*. If the characterization in *Henry VIII.* was affected by Shakspeare being hard at work turning *Holinshed*, &c. into verse, we should have but a sad parting glimpse at the creator of Prospero and Miranda. What a stupendous fall!

(To MISS G. LATHAM.) A poet may begin by making the events he treats more important than the characters; but when he has once reached this, the only possible point of view for the true artist, he *could* not retrace his footsteps, and take himself up again, so to speak, at a point of development which he had left behind him years ago. Besides, have the authors of *Henry VIII.* any clear notions as to the bearings of the events they describe?

It would be interesting to test the correctness of Mr Wilkins's opinion as to Shakspeare's being at Stratford at the time in question. If it were so, it would settle the matter.

I should like to hear something more of the evidence Mr Tyler has to produce in favour of his view that Shakspeare's powers were failing in his last years. As yet, I know nothing of any circumstance pointing in that direction.

About the "Society-kiss" I have to remark that the only instance in Shakspeare occurs in an early play (*Romeo and Juliet*). The instance in *Coriolanus* is not in point. Kissing is quite common in the works of all the other Stuart dramatists. They tell us at every turn of the comfits the ladies consume to mend their kissing. *Henry VIII.* is of the general taste in this respect. What instance is there in Shakspeare of the Society-kiss (which was as common then as shaking hands is now), except, perhaps, in his earliest period?

On the whole, my impression, from the discussion, is the following:—either Shakspeare fell off rapidly in mental power after the *Tempest*, or he had nothing to do with *Henry VIII.* I don't think that even a striking decay of mental power would clear up the difficulties of the play.

SCRAPS.

Point-of-War, sb. sound of trumpet (2 *Henry IV*, IV. i. 52); *Tucket* (*Henry V*, IV. ii. 35); *Senet* (stage-directions). Gervase Markham, when treating of "the Sounds and Commands of the Trumpet," in his *Souldiers Accidence*, in 1625, p. 60-2, says "of these Soundings (which we generally call *Poynts of Warre*) there are sixe . . . The fourth is,—4. *Tucquet*, or, March.—Which being heard simplie of it selfe without addition, Commands nothing but a Marching after the Leader . . . Other Soundings there are; as, *Tende Hoe*, for listning, a *Call* for Summons, a *Senet* for State, and the like."

(*Hundred and Fourth Meeting, Friday, February 13, 1885.*)

DR F. J. FURNIVALL in the Chair.

Mr J. Kinton Bond and M. Henry Cochin were announced as new members.

MISS GRACE LATHAM then read a paper, of which the following is a shortened form :—

THE DRAMATIC MEANING OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF
SHAKSPERE'S VERSE,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE USE OF THE RUN-ON LINE, AND
OF THE EXTRA SYLLABLE.

"Le poète a pour matière les mots."—*C. Coquelin.*

ROUGHLY speaking, we may divide Shaksperian students into two classes, one which honours him as our greatest literary light, and by patient research gathers together all kinds of archæological details to explain obscure passages, counts each irregular line to decide on the probable chronology of his plays, and rejoices at leisure over the wonderful characterization, the deep philosophy, and the exquisite poetry contained in them; the other devotes its energies to learn how to speak these plays, so that the audience, from the most ignorant to the most cultivated man in it, may apprehend in a moment, through their sense of hearing, those very beauties which the man of letters can observe at his leisure. This is no easy task; the player must study as deeply as the literary man, though with a different object, and must then give the result of his labours to the public by means of his voice, and if he fail there and then to convey his ideas, there can be no return upon a difficult passage, as in the case of a solitary student; the ears of the audience are engaged with the next scene, and his opportunity is gone for ever. However, Shakspeare and his contemporaries have written with such a thorough knowledge of the means of dramatic effect, that, having once penetrated their meaning, its expression is comparatively easy.

Perhaps it is only actors and reciters who realize the enormous difference which there is in the construction of writings intended to be spoken, and those meant, as the children put it, to be read to oneself. This latter class addresses itself to the mind through the eye only, and its initial merit is perfect clearness in the arrangement of its words and sentences, so that, grasping at once the succession of

facts, the mind can proceed to the leisurely consideration of the ideas conveyed to it. The former class uses the ear as its passage to the brain, and the human voice as its agent, and on this fact the play or poem to be spoken is built.

The same symbols of letters, words, and stops, are used for both, but their choice, number, and arrangement all differ when they are to be addressed, not to the eye, but to the ear. The stops cease to be mere divisions of sentences; they often occur in defiance of grammar, and become pauses and vehicles of expression, as do the very sounds of the words themselves. Coleridge recognizes this when he says that the speech of Hamlet:—

“Thrift, thrift, Horatio! the funeral baked meats
Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables”

—shows by its hissing sound the scorn of which his mind is full; and when we study Shakspeare to represent him, we shall find that the words we have to speak are chosen so that the necessary intonation can be easily given, to carry distinctly over a large space. Thus in scorn the voice becomes sharper and clearer, and when Shakspeare intends us to employ it, he selects words with sharp-sounding consonants, and clear, short vowels. Again, in tenderness or pathos the tone we use is round, soft, and full, and for such passages Shakspeare provides us with soft, round vowels, like *o* and *ou*, and the broader forms of *a*; while the consonants are rich and heavy.

Then, again, we often succeed in conveying much to an audience by speaking a few words more quickly or more slowly, so as to draw attention to them, and we shall find that Shakspeare's lines vary considerably in length, especially to the ear, though nominally alike. This is managed, not only by the actual addition of syllables at the end or in the body of the line, but by the choice of words which take a long or a short time to pronounce. Thus *bun*, *burn*, and *burnt* are all words of one syllable, and would each be counted as half a foot; but they are not spoken in the same space of time, and we see at once that a line with several syllables in it as short as *bun*, would be ended far more quickly, and would sound to the listeners far shorter than one which chiefly contained such as *burnt*, though the absolute number of syllables might be the same in each. All this was evidently studied from the speech of daily life, for ordinary conversation conveys its meaning through little pauses, little quickenings and slackenings of speech, and the tone and method of the articulation of the important words; but they are not chosen as being best fitted to convey a special intonation over a large space, or as possessing force and dramatic power. This selection is the work of the dramatist, when, taking some passion or incident of real life, he prepares for its representation on the stage.

The metre which the Elizabethans preferred is the pentameter line

composed of ten syllables divided into five feet of two syllables each, the accent falling on the second of every pair of syllables, while a pause marks the end of the line. Taking this as their standard, they introduced numberless variations into it for the purpose of expressing the thoughts and feelings of their characters, as well as to avoid the excessive monotony which such regularly accented lines would give. Sometimes the line has no stop at its end, and it is then called by students the *run-on line*, as the pause may often then be omitted, and the next line commenced at once, giving an effect of hurry. But more often the pause is kept, though it breaks the sentence right across; and, if we examine the context, we shall see that it is intended either to draw attention to some word immediately after or before it, or to give the actor the opportunity of conveying to the audience some idea for the expression of which a break in the sentence is necessary. Thus it is much used when a tale is told, an order given, an argument propounded, or a statement made, whenever, in short, a fact or a series of facts have to be set clearly forth; and it is in such cases usually so placed as to give a superior emphasis immediately after or before the chief facts of the phrase. In this manner it is often used in metaphor.

Again, we often find it when the current of feeling necessitates a voluntary or involuntary pause; in the latter case we meet with it in the most unexpected parts of the sentence, and it is often combined with extreme irregularity of metre. Thus it accompanies tears, great anger, terror, grief, love, adoration, supernatural awe, which will all stop the breath to a greater or less extent, necessitating a momentary pause for its recovery, and when violent will throw such trouble into the mind as to unbalance it, causing the speaker to pause for thought, or, perhaps, to lose the thread of his argument altogether, thus making his speech faltering and confused. Shame and conscious or discovered deceit are often expressed in this way. Depression, too, will produce a pause in the midst of a sentence, caused by the physical feeling of languor which accompanies it, especially when it follows great mental excitement. Then, again, we find the *run-on line* marking the pauses which express deference to superiors, submission, or courtesy; and in these cases the metre is usually smooth and regular.

Another very important vehicle of expression is found in the extra syllables which are so constantly added to the line; we often find one at the end, occupying part of the pause, and then the slight variation in the rhythm attracts the ear, and the word is thereby accentuated without being brought prominently forward, often a most desirable thing in a level passage. When this extra syllable has a soft, weak sound, it can be used so as to give the effect of indecision or doubt, for at such moments we often let our voices rest on the ends of our words with uncertain weak intonation, from which a listener may learn much as to our state of mind. A line

with an extra syllable has often in it some such unimportant words as, "I have," "I will," which we in real life habitually contract into one, making: "I've," "I'll," and by saying these very rapidly, though we may not abbreviate them, lest they should lose their power of carrying over a large space, time is gained for the extra syllable to be included in the line, and to be pronounced with great deliberation and emphasis. This is especially characteristic of Shakspeare's later style, where the presence of the extra syllables often marks the words to be accentuated. Again, the last half of the last foot of a line is often divided between two syllables, the additional one being usually very sharp in sound, and intended to be said very rapidly, that it may be got into the quarter of the foot, producing a sharp snapping sound, often most characteristic of the person employing it, or of his state of mind.

All this not only gives great variety to Shakspeare's verse, but enables the actor to use the constant changes of tone, time, and articulation, which are his chief means of shadowing forth the thoughts and emotions of the characters he represents, and without which the stately roll of blank verse soon becomes so monotonous to the ear that its full meaning is often lost. For in studying Shakspeare we should never lose sight of the fact that he wrote in the first instance to be heard, not to be read, and that he relied on the sound as well as the sense of his verse, for conveying his meaning to an audience.

As we have said, most of these means of expressing ideas are used by other Elizabethan writers besides Shakspeare; Peele's Plays are full of them. In his most perfect work, *The Arraignment of Paris*, he also frequently employs change of metre for the same purpose. The Pastoral opens with a Prologue from Atè, Goddess of Discord; a grave *andante* in blank verse. Advantage is taken of everything which can increase its depth of shade. The first lines run very slowly, the vowels are long and heavy, the consonants are muffled; "condemned" has the full benefit of its *ed*; there are no sharp, clear sounds; the pause given by the unstopped line after "date" is used to express supernatural terror.

"Condemned soul, Atè from lowest hell,
And deadly rivers of th' infernal Jove,
Where bloodless ghosts in pains of endless date
Fill ruthless ears with never-ceasing cries.
Behold I come in place, and bring beside
The bane of Troy: behold, the fatal fruit
Raught from the golden tree of Proserpine."

With the change to narrative in the last three lines the verse wakes up; the vowels are still round, but they are shorter, the consonants quicker, and, as in ordinary narrative, we pause at unexpected points in order to impress our hearers with the chief facts in

our tale. Thus we have the unstopt line ending in "beside" to call attention to "the bane of Troy," which is farther accentuated by the comma pause after "behold," placed there in defiance of grammar, and intended to be filled up with a gesture, and also by the alliteration—

"Behold I come in place, and bring beside
The bane of Troy : behold the fatal fruit."

This was a not uncommon device with poets when they wished to mark a word or fact; we meet with it in Shakspeare and in Milton. The reason for its being introduced here is that the "bane of Troy," the golden apple, is the thing upon which the whole plot of the pastoral turns, and it is most necessary that the audience should take notice of it.

The grave character of the Prologue prepares us, by contrast, for the jollity of the demigods Pan, Faunus, and Silvanus, who now enter. The metre does not alter, but they speak in rhymed couplets, and the syllables, vowels, and consonants, have the length and form, if we may so call it, of ordinary conversation,—

"Silvanus, either Flora doth us wrong,
Or Faunus made us tarry all too long,
For by this morning's mirth it doth appear
The muses or the goddesses be near."

They compare the offerings they have brought their expected guests, and Silvanus, thinking his is scorned, cries with some heat—

"Sirs, you may boast your flocks and herds that bin both fresh and fair,

Yet hath Silvanus walks I wis that stand in wholesome air,
And lo! the honour of the woods the gallant oaken bough,
Do I bestow laden with acorns and with mast enough!"

Throughout *The Arraignment of Paris* this metre is used when anger, jealousy, or even eagerness causes the discourse to grow in any degree fast and furious.

The arrival of the bustling Pomona brings no decrease in the *tempo*, but at the entrance of the fair and dignified Flora the talk becomes calmer, and we again meet with the rhyming couplets and the shorter line. Notice the little effect of pedantry given by the unstopt end of the line after "know." Flora's office as queen of flowers gives her a position among the demigods, and she is well aware of it.

"Believe me, Pan, not all thy lambs and ewes,
Nor, Faunus, all thy lusty bucks and does,
But that I am instructed well to know
What service to the hills and dales I owe,
Could have enfore'd me to so strange a toil,
Thus to enrich this gaudy gallant soil."

Again, in the following lovely description of the fields :—

“ Under the hawthorn and the poplar tree,
Where sacred Phœbe may delight to be,
The primrose, and the purple hyacinth,
The dainty violet, and the wholesome minth,
The double daisy, and the cowslip, queen
Of summer flowers, do overpeer the green :
And round about the valley as ye pass,
Ye may ne see for peeping flowers the grass.”

Let us notice the dignity which is added to the cowslip by the long emphatic syllable “queen,” and also by the pause which the unstopped end of the line places in the midst of the epithet, “Queen—of summer flowers.” “Queen of summer flowers” would be far less telling, and any effect that the line is over-long is avoided by an extra but slurred syllable being introduced into those on each side of it, in “violet” and “overpeer,” pronounced o’erpeer. This leading up to an irregularity, or a change of metre, is not at all uncommon among the Elizabethan dramatists, when they did not desire it to strike very forcibly upon the ear; for in acting, many effects, though they must on no account be omitted, have to be kept studiously in the shade, that they may not interfere with those which are really important, just as in a picture some one group or figure is brought prominently forward so as to strike the spectator, while the rest, though they have been as carefully studied, are thrown into comparative obscurity. The *rallentando* effect for the concluding line and climax of the speech is given by the five monosyllables with which it begins, which run more slowly than several syllables formed into one word would do, and, with the extra syllable in “flowers,” lengthen and retard the line.

When we come to the works of Shakspeare himself, it is most remarkable how he gradually, as time went on, dropped the purely conventional means of dramatic expression, employing in preference those which can be used so as to reproduce our ordinary speech dramatically. In *Love’s Labour’s Lost* we can almost imagine we are reading a play of Greene’s; it begins with the long set speech with which he often opens a play, and the extra syllable and the run-on line, though freely used, indicate trivial accents and intonations, and have not the forcible effect, and strong dramatic intention, which they possess in Shakspeare’s later writings. The metre changes constantly, as it does in *The Arraignment of Paris*, and with an artificial effect.

Two years and a half passed over Shakspeare’s head, during which he gained great experience as a dramatist by seeing and acting in many plays, wrote several others, and was engaged on the remodelling of *Henry VI.*, being thus brought into closer connection with the authors of whom we have just spoken. By this time he already

writes his blank verse with a full knowledge of the effects he wishes to produce, and their dramatic meaning, though he has not yet attained to the ease and freedom which characterizes his matured style.

In the opening scene of *Midsummer Night's Dream* Theseus is talking with his betrothed.

“Now, fair Hippolyta, our nuptial hour
 Draws on apace: four happy days bring in
 Another moon; but, oh, methinks, how slow
 This old moon wanes! she lingers my desires,
 Like to a step-dame, or a dowager,
 Long withering out a young man's revenue.”

The three run-on lines with which it begins have each a different intonation and meaning. The first after “hour” indicates a quick taking off of the voice, which has almost the sound of an exclamation, but cannot on account of the sense be marked by a note of admiration. This species of pause is constantly used in ordinary conversation to give a sharp emphasis to a single word, whether of anger, determination, joy, etc. Here tempered by the soft sound of “hour,” almost a dis-syllable, it expresses the delight with which Theseus contemplates the approach of his wedding. The next run-on line after *in* is simply the pause of narrative, which tone should be used for the five words preceding it, shaded by the prevailing sentiment of tenderness. The short syllables of the word “another,” which begins the third line, repeats in a less degree the earlier exclamative effect, and the whole line, broken up as it is by three commas, and ending without a stop in the midst of a sentence, shows us the restless longing of the Athenian Prince, while the length of the last syllable “slow,” combined with the pause after it, makes the sound and sense echo and interpret each other. The speech ends with a line containing four long syllables and one extra one, the *er* in “withering;” the decrease of speed thus gained both expressing the poor old lady's gradual decay, and making a period to the speech, like the *rallentando* which often concludes a musical phrase, to mark the entire change of feeling which meets us in the next. Hippolyta is not nearly so much in love as Theseus; she is not looking forward towards her wedding day, and we almost feel that with her the marriage was a political one, and that she is still thinking of the “injuries” Theseus has done her; to which he alludes in the next speech; for throughout the play she is courteous and pleasant, but no more, and her words sound as though spoken by a charming woman bent on being agreeable to an indifferent acquaintance. Therefore her lines are much lighter, and the two which are un-stopped are rather narrative pauses, such as we use when telling a story, or making a statement, than vehicles of feeling.

"Four days will quickly steep themselves in nights;
 Four nights will quickly dream away the time;
 And then the moon, like to a silver bow
 New bent in heaven, shall behold the night
 Of our solemnities."

Her indifferent tone has stopped Theseus' outpouring of affection, as perhaps she desired, and in bright regular lines all end-stopped, and with but one extra syllable, he speaks first to his master of the revels and then again to her.

"Go, Philostrate,
 Stir up the Athenian youth to merriments;
 Awake the pert and nimble spirit of mirth:
 Turn melancholy forth to funerals,
 The pale companion is not for our pomp—
 Hippolyta, I woo'd thee with my sword,
 And won thy love doing thee injuries;
 But I will wed thee in another key,
 With pomp, with triumph, and with revelling."

Again, the last line of the speech is drawn out by long-sounding syllables to express his exultation, and to form the period.

He is interrupted by the entrance of an old Athenian gentleman, Egeus, his daughter Hermia, and two young men. The movement of the lines now entirely changes; we leave the soft, round syllables artfully combined into a sweet music, and pass to more ordinary but weightier ones; we leave the love-making to go to the administration of justice, the business of Theseus' daily life. Egeus speaks first, his opening line is a run-on one.

"Full of vexation come I, with complaint
 Against my child, my daughter Hernia."

This is intended to emphasize the word very strongly, it is a serious charge, that against a daughter by a father, and it is also intended to attract the attention of the audience to the plot of the human portion of the play, which this long speech contains. The dashes in the following lines give Egeus time to turn from one person to another.

"Stand forth, Demetrius—My noble lord,
 This man hath my consent to marry her—
 Stand forth, Lysander;—and, my gracious Duke,
 This hath bewitch'd the bosom of my child."

Notice how the very comma after the sonorous "and," before "gracious duke," indicates the rage of the old man, who hesitates and stammers from anger, as does the scornful "*This* hath bewitch'd." The contraction of sentences by omission is greatly used by Shakspeare, for he knew well that in real life our sentences are rarely complete; our eagerness to get through them making us drop out many of our words; our manner of doing so being often most

characteristic. When Theseus speaks he is no longer the lover, but the judge; notice the effect of the two unstopped lines in his exhortation to Hermia.

"What say you, Hermia? Be advis'd, fair maid.
To you your father should be as a God;
One that compos'd your beauties; yea, and one
To whom you are but as a form in wax,
By him imprinted, and within his power
To leave the figure or disfigure it."

The sonorous "yea, and one" with its long semicolon before, its comma in the midst, and its pause after it, seems as though it would compel the girl's serious attention. So does the pause after "power," which falls on our ears with a warning emphasis, its extra syllables drawing special attention to it, by its deviation from the regular time of the metre. In *Midsummer Night's Dream* Shakspeare has made the greatest use of the rhyming-couplet in contrast to blank verse, evidently feeling it a less artificial means of expression than the absolute change of metre, which he used so freely in *Love's Labour's Lost*. When Hermia has received her sentence of death, a convent, or the husband she detests, she and her lover bemoan their fate in blank verse; but the moment she perceives a gleam of hope her spirits rise, and she promises to meet her Lysander in the wood, and takes her leave of him in soft, playful verse, and it is also used to express the passioning of Helena, as it is not suffered to attain to any great intensity. The dainty, fairy talk with which the Second Act opens is given in rhyming-couplets, and for a short space in lines of four accents; but the quarrel of Oberon and Titania is to them very serious, and is conducted in the graver blank verse; except when Oberon inquires with conventional courtesy,

"How long within this wood intend you stay?"

and she replies in the same tone,

"Perchance, till after Theseus' wedding day."

The less natural form being used to express their formal politeness to each other. Again, in the Fifth Act, where Theseus is speaking of those who "are of imagination all compact," with whom his strong practical nature has but little in common, we find an approach to a rhyming-couplet, embodying one of those trite sentiments which people use when they talk about things they do not understand, and for which they have accepted a ready-made, cut and dried explanation.

"Lovers, and madmen, have such seething brains,
Such shaping phantasies, that apprehend
More than cool reason ever comprehends."

Again, when two bright emphatic lines are needed, as for an exit speech, they are given the form of a rhyming-couplet, that the sudden transition from the blank verse may call attention to them, as in the speech of Helena to Demetrius.

“We cannot fight for love, as men may do ;
We should be woo'd, and were not made to woo.
I'll follow thee, and make a heaven of hell,
To die upon the hand I love so well.”

But as a general rule throughout the play we find that when the speeches are graver and more deeply in earnest, and when the scene is to be taken seriously by the audience, blank verse is used ; when it is softer, sweeter, tenderer, or more vehement, but with less real feeling, then we have rhyme. Thus the wooing of the lovers after their eyes have been charmed is in rhyme, but the quarrel scene is in blank verse, as is also the lovely appeal of Hermia to Helena, that on the ground of their old friendship she will not join with men in scorning her poor friend.

In *Richard III.* we find ourselves in all the hurry and bustle of real life ; the characterization is intricate and forcible, and the lines themselves approach far more nearly to the speech of daily life ; and though they lose in sweetness, they gain enormously in their power of expressing emotion and character. In the scene of quarrel between Gloster and the Queen, Act I. Scene iii., we may notice the energy given to his rapid first line, by the quick “I will,” and the sharp *t* of the extra syllable *it*. Notice also how time is gained by the interjection, “By holy Paul,” which can be given out quickly, as exclamations usually are, for a strong, sharp emphasis to be placed on “lightly ;” so that the fifth line, in which the sounds of the vowels are mostly long and round, requiring more time to speak them in, gains weight and power by contrasting with the preceding ones.

“They do me wrong, and I will not endure it.—
Who are they, that complain unto the king,
That I, forsooth, am stern, and love them not ?
By holy Paul, they love his grace but lightly,
That fill his ears with such dissentious rumours.”

We can imagine Gloster, glaring defiantly round on the Queen, her friends, and followers.

“Cannot a plain man live, and think no harm,
But thus his simple truth must be abus'd
With silken, sly, insinuating Jacks ?”

Gloster is posing as an honest, plain-speaking creature, and the unstopped line is evidently meant to leave time for a gesture of protestation. We often find these pauses for gesture in Shakspeare at the end of a speech ; a whole foot or more being dropped out

between it and the beginning of the next, and on the stage they are most effective, when not allowed to become mechanical.

There is a remarkable example of this a little further on ; Gloster says to the Queen :

“ You may deny, that you were not the means
Of my lord Hastings' late imprisonment.

Rivers. She may, my lord ; for——”

Gloster stops him by look or gesture, and having looked him down, and not till then, condescends to reply, for two feet and a half are wanting.

“ She may, Lord Rivers—why, who knows not so ?
She may do more, sir, than denying that :
She may help you to many fair preferments ;
And then deny her aiding hand therein,
And lay those honours on your high desert.
What may she not ? She may,—ay, marry, may she.”

“ *Rivers.* What, marry, may she ? ”

Again, Gloster looks down his adversary before replying.

“ What, marry, may she ? Marry with a king,
A batchelor, a handsome stripling too.”

The fashion in which “preferments” is, as it were, thrown at Lord Rivers by its strongly pronounced extra syllable is remarkable and telling.

Taunted beyond endurance, the poor Queen bursts out into threats, thus giving colour, as Gloster wished, to his accusations against her.

“ By heaven, I will acquaint his majesty,
Of those gross taunts that oft I have endur'd.
I had rather be a country serving maid,
Than a great queen, with this condition—
To be thus taunted, scorned, and baited at :
Small joy have I in being England's Queen.”

The extra syllable and contraction in the third line in “I had” is probably to give the effect of hurry, and to bring out by force of contrast, the more slowly-spoken “country serving maid,” which forming the antithesis to “great Queen” in the next line must be well marked. The long drawn out “condition” is remarkable. At the end of the 16th century the pronunciation of many words does not seem to have been quite settled ; sometimes they were said as they are now, at others very differently. The syllable “tion” was often divided into two, “ti,” “on,” and Shakspeare has turned this to account in many ways. Here it seems from the dash after it that the poor lady, driven to extremity, faltered in her speech and burst into tears ; and this is supported by the fact that though Gloster continues to upbraid her, neither she nor her adherents make him

any reply; the pauses, during which he waits for the answers that do not come, being filled up by the asides of the exiled Queen, Margaret of Anjou, who is watching the scene from the background. At last her anger and indignation getting the better of her, she cries:

"A little joy enjoys the Queen thereof;
For I am she, and altogether joyless."

Notice how the *rallentando* effect of the five monosyllables with which the second line begins, and the broad vowel sounds of "altogether" swing the verse up to the level of high tragedy. And now we pass from the familiar intonations of common life to the large and striking one required for deep and exceptional feeling, and for which the level march of blank verse is especially appropriate. Those among us who have seen others a prey to violent mental pain, may have noticed that at such times the voice of the sufferer recedes into a noble music, often falling to a deeper note than usual, and the speech becomes stately and almost rhythmical. This it is which has in all likelihood suggested verse as appropriate to tragedy, as well as the musical tones in which it is so often rendered. But that they may bring home their meaning to the hearts of the spectators, they must be used sparingly, for they quickly become monotonous. Thus Shakspeare has very wisely kept them for moments of great emotion or intense passion, where they will sound appropriate, and will express their meaning, employing, as we have seen, in the other parts of his plays, the varied but less striking intonations of daily life, selecting and arranging them so that they may express his meaning dramatically, without losing the naturalness which gives them their charm and their power. In the present instance the scene of petty family quarrel prepares us, by contrast, for the grandeur of Queen Margaret's speeches. Observe the power which can be thrown into the broad vowels of her next line, and especially into the prolonged "patient," so different from Queen Elizabeth's "condition." In the succeeding dash, she is meant to advance to the front of the stage.

"I can no longer hold me patient——
Hear me, you wrangling pirates, that fall out
In sharing that which you have pilled from me!"

The pause after the unstopped line is one of rebuke. We have only to remember how we find fault with a child or a servant to see this: "Let me never—see you do it again."

Gloster. "Wert thou not banished, on pain of death?"

Margaret. "I was; but I do find more pain in banishment,
Than death can yield me here by my abode."

The construction of the second of these lines is very curious; as it echoes Gloster's speech, "pain" must be an accentuated word. First she answers abruptly, "I was," and then, as though the agony of

that exile had come back to her remembrance, the long syllable of "pain" sounds like a moan, and the two extra syllables in "banishment" allows so strong and slow an emphasis to be placed on it, as to fill up the pause, and almost to turn it into a run-on line. Then with great stateliness and self-control, contrasting forcibly with the more impulsive manner of the last lines, Margaret continues :

"A husband and a son, thou ow'st to me—
And thou, a kingdom ;—all of you, allegiance :
This sorrow that I have, by right is yours,
And all the pleasures you usurp are mine."

Observe how the strong consonants and broad vowels are kept for the important words, and how these are farther accentuated by the pauses, so liberally used. But now listen to Gloster's reply, and you will see that, though its matter is serious and its words are strong, it does not tell in the same way ; for the power of the letters are pretty equally distributed, and there are no very important pauses ; for Shakspeare wished us to infer that Gloster is thinking far more of replying effectively than of "pretty Rutland," whom he would have murdered without a pang, had the boy stood in his way, and the lines have not the intensity of expression which deep feeling alone can give.

"The curse my noble father laid on thee,
When thou didst crown his warlike brows with paper,
And with thy scorns drew'st rivers from his eyes ;
And then, to dry them, gav'st the Duke a clout
Steep'd in the faultless blood of pretty Rutland,—
His curses, then from bitterness of soul
Denounc'd against thee, are all fallen upon thee ;
And God, not we, hath plagued thy bloody deed."

Elizabeth cares nothing about the matter, and can only bring forward a moral reflection ; then the nobles chime in.

Rivers. "Tyrants themselves wept when it was reported
Dorset. No man but prophesied revenge for it.
Buckingham. Northumberland, then present, wept to see it."

They each conclude with a little, short, sharp syllable, emphasizing nothing in particular, just as if they all had spoken in chorus, having no real interest in the matter, but feeling that, as Yorkists, it was necessary to say something. In real life we see groups of this kind, who think it only polite to compliment or condole, but whose absolute indifference is heard in their thin, monotonous utterances.

Turning now to *Coriolanus*, one of Shakspeare's later plays, written in the full maturity of his genius, we still find the extra syllable and the run-on line used to give force and expression to the lines, but so boldly and freely that the verse has quite a different ring, poetry sounding almost like prose, and though in the grander passages it

keeps the majesty of verse, it has none of its monotony, and is capable of an infinite variety of intonation and expression. On the other hand, the rhyming couplet has almost disappeared, and so has any violent change of metre which would jar on the ear; but the Alexandrine is frequently employed, when either the line is required to *sound* a little longer, or when some necessity of dramatic expression obliges the accents to be slightly moved out of their usual places. Here it is the accent which causes the change:

“Must I go show them my unbarbed sconce?
Must I with my base tongue give to my noble heart
A lie, that it must bear? Well, I will do’t:”

Observe how carefully the lines on each side of the Alexandrine are made to sound nearly as long as it does, through pauses, and long syllables, that the change of metre may, as far as possible, be hidden from the ear.

As the principles which govern Shakspeare's use of the extra syllable and the run-on line are the same in this play as elsewhere, many quotations from it would be superfluous. The system of contracting two or three unimportant words to make room for extra syllables in the line is now carried so far as to produce a constant change of the rate of speed with which the actor articulates, to obviate the jerky sound, often given when extra syllables are not brought within the time of the five feet, and making the effect doubly powerful when they are not. Thus when Coriolanus fatally incenses the plebeians by his plain speaking, his words are alternately given with the slowness and the emphatic pauses of one addressing a multitude, and the hurry of an angry, indignant man; the quicker parts of the speech being marked by contractions in the body of the line, and an extra syllable at the end in the emphatic word.

He begins quietly, the half-line which is wanting being filled up with a gesture of deprecation; but the very thought of the “rank-scented many” makes his anger grow, and his speech become quicker; both “thee” and “them” are extra syllables, and his contempt of the plebs could not be more clearly expressed than by this last contraction, for so must it be said, while the hurry of this third line gives, by contrast, extra power to the emphatic defiance of the fourth, which is both regular in the number of its syllables, and has a most expressive pause at the end. Then, again, he speaks quickly, till the eighth line is reached, when he adopts a tone of grave warning.

1. “Now, as I live, I will.—My nobler friends,
2. I crave their pardons:—
3. For *the* mutable, rank-scented many, let *them*
4. Regard me as I do not flatter, and
5. Therein behold themselves. I say *again*,
6. In soothing *them* we nourish 'gainst our senate
7. The cockle *of* rebellion, insolence, sedition,

8. Which we ourselves have plough'd for, sow'd, and scatter'd,
9. By mingling *them* with us, the honour'd number."

When an extra syllable shows hurry but not emphasis, it is now often placed in one of those common contractions in the body of the line, that, being familiar to the ear, it may be less noticed than it would be were it in a word not usually abbreviated. Thus in the riot which follows Coriolanus' speech, Menenius cries :

"What is about to be?—*I am* out of breath ;
 Confusion's near : I cannot speak.—You tribunes
 To *the* people,—Coriolanus, patience :—
 Speak, good Sicinius."

Here "tribunes," being an accentuated word, has its extra syllable at the end of the line ; the other two are meant to be pronounced like contractions, as they only indicate hurry.

It is rare in this play to find several regular, smooth, stopped off lines in succession ; Coriolanus uses them in his greeting to Valeria in the 5th Act, and they at once give the passage a conventional, unreal sound.

"The noble sister of Publicola,
 The moon of Rome ; chaste as the icicle,
 That's curded by the frost from purest snow,
 And hangs on Dian's temple : dear Valeria."

Thus Shakspere wrote, not in the first instance for the solitary student, but for the dramatic necessities of the actor, who had to convey the great master's thought to a listening public ; and looked at from this point of view his works gain a fresh and a striking significance.

He differed from his predecessors, not in the means of expression which he employed, but in his method of using them. He drew closer and closer to nature the longer he lived, learning not only the secrets of the human heart, but that natural mode of expressing or betraying them which gives our every day talk a point and a vividness rarely met with on the stage, and, like a true artist, finding in them the means of dramatic expression, instead of subordinating them to its necessities. Thus, like a great actor, he holds us enchained by the truth of his representation, and we cry like Garrick's unlearned critic, Partridge—

"He does just as I would have done."

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman thought that Miss Latham had here and there rather strained a point. The extra syllable, speaking generally, would be used to give an effect of ease, and was the first means of relief from monotony that a writer of blank verse would turn to. Of these agents for effect, the *pause* was the most important. He would have liked the subject treated with a

view to chronological study—especially in the matter of the run-on line.

MR W. POEL believed much in the importance that Shakspeare attached to the *sound* of words. His language was more suited for declamation, and more popular with the actor than that of any other dramatist. Shakspeare knew not only how to fit words to the mouth, but also how to adapt the sound of words to the action of the scene. Judging from the quality and quantity of Shakspeare's verse, the Elizabethan actors must have excelled in their elocution, even if some were capable of "tearing a passion to tatters." Much was said of Shakspeare's naturalness, but he thought that if Shakspeare's dialogue was carefully examined it would be found that the characters spoke *theatrically*, that is, with an exaggerated naturalness. Take, as an instance, the hurried lines between Othello and Desdemona, where he asks her for the handkerchief (Act III. sc. iv.). The questioning is unnaturally prolonged, but for the purpose of giving the actor time to reach a climax of passion on the delivery of the word "*away!*"

The REV. W. A. HARRISON, Mr TYLER, and other members spoke; and Miss LATHAM replied on the points criticized.

(Hundred and Fifth Meeting, Friday, March 13, 1885.)

DR C. KNIGHT WATSON in the Chair.

The following new members were announced :—Mr J. J. Britton, and the Bradford Public Free Libraries.

The HON. SECRETARY laid before the meeting the statement of receipts and expenditure for the year 1884; and a vote of thanks to the Hon. Auditors, Mr F. D. Matthew and Mr E. G. Bell, for their kind services, was put from the Chair and passed.

MR S. L. LEE (Hon. Treasurer to the Society) read a paper entitled, "An Elizabethan Learned Society." After protesting against the popular view—unduly emphasized by Mr J. R. Green and Mr J. A. Symonds—of the age of Elizabeth as an age of tumultuous ill-directed passion, Mr Lee described the foundation in 1572 of a powerfully supported and intelligently organized Society for the study of English history and antiquities, whose members devoted themselves with self-denying industry to the painful pursuit of knowledge. The dissolution of the monasteries, and the careless dispersion of their historical documents, delayed the progress of English historical study; but the labours of Leland, Bale, and Archbishop Parker gradually set it on a proper footing, and the Society of 1572 finally placed it among the most popular pursuits of the age, giving it too, what it had hitherto most needed,—secular development. The

association consisted chiefly of laymen drawn from all classes of society. Peers and commoners, diplomatists and exchequer officials, heralds and city tradesmen, country gentlemen and town schoolmasters, lawyers and clergymen, all met together week by week between 1572 and 1604, to discuss the archaeological and constitutional problems of English history. Among the members were Archbishop Parker, William Cecil, Nicholas Bacon,—three men having at least as good a right to be considered representative men of their age, as Marlowe, Greene, &c.,—Camden, Cotton, Thynne, and William Herbert (afterwards Earl of Pembroke). One hundred and sixty-three different papers by the members have been printed by Hearne and others, and prove the earnestness of the students, and the value they attached to good critical method. The antiquaries employed the English language in their disquisitions, and frequently discussed and praised its capacities; they looked forward, with Sir Henry Savile, to the production of a complete and authentic history of England. Many of the students were well acquainted with, and fully appreciated, the poets of the age; Sir John Davies and Arthur Golding were members of the Society. Ben Jonson and Michael Drayton were intimate with Selden, Stowe, Camden, and Sir Henry Savile: in the *Histriomastix* of 1610, and in Jonson's rules for his Tavern-Academy, there appear to be good-humoured references to the learned Elizabethan Academy; and it is noticeable that the dramatists never travestied or ridiculed them. The decline of the Society might be dated from 1604; private meetings of men came to be looked on as connected with conspiracy, and the Society fell under the suspicion of the Government, and had to give up its meetings. Between 1615 and 1625 attempts were made to reform the Society, with the aid of Government, on a very elaborate scale; in 1638 and in 1659 there are traces of the meetings of the old Society, which was finally and effectually restored by the foundation of the existing Society of Antiquaries about 1717. Mr Lee concluded by asserting that the age of Elizabeth was one of learned culture—of culture which had its foundation in knowledge, and the desire of knowledge; and that it was as unjust to the poets, who, like all artists, fully recognized the value of restraint, as to the scholars, to identify the spirit of the age with its exceptional exhibitions of dishonourable license among the dramatists.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the customary vote of thanks to the writer of the paper, expressed the pleasure he felt, as Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, in listening to Mr Lee's account of the parent Society.

DR F. J. FURNIVALL noticed the ignorance among describers of Elizabethan life of the fact that behind the dramatists lay this immense mass of scholarship. Stow the tailor, Harrison the country parson, Reginald Wolfe, the Queen's printer, with his scheme for a "universall cosmographie of the whole world"—these were men to

admire. And one found these scholars throwing the same amount of earnestness and vigour into their work as Shakspeare and his fellow-dramatists into theirs. This was all a part of Shakspeare's *England*. It was from such men, and because he was living among them, that Shakspeare got the noble men he drew; not from the worse side of the age, better known.

(*Hundred and Sixth Meeting, Friday, April 10, 1885.*)

DR F. J. FURNIVALL, *Director*, in the Chair.

An old portrait, belonging to Mr Mills, of Bond Street, and said to be Shakspeare's, was exhibited, but its authenticity was rejected by the meeting.

MR J. GREENSTREET's paper on "Documents relating to the Players at the Red Bull, Clerkenwell, and the Cockpit in Drury Lane, in the time of James I.,"¹ was taken as read, proofs being laid on the table.

MR F. A. MARSHALL read a paper on an anonymous play in the Egerton MS. 1994, on *Richard II.*, of which Mr Halliwell-Phillipps printed eleven copies in 1870. Mr Marshall said that it was evident that this play was not the *Richard II.* seen by Dr Simon Forman, nor the one played by "command" of the partizans of the Earl of Essex on the day before his rebellion. As the play ends with the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, who is throughout styled Thomas of Woodstock, the events treated of were all before the period of Shakspeare's play. Mr Marshall read an analysis of the plot, some extracts from the play, beginning with the opening scene, to show the dramatic force, stir, and bustle with which the play opens, and a list of some words and phrases common to Shakspeare's *Richard II.* and this play. He also gave a list of the remarkable and peculiar words and phrases, and a metrical analysis, which yielded the following results:—Unstopped lines, an average of 1 in 9; double-endings, 1 in 6; rhymed lines, 1 in 7. Mr Marshall said that the construction of the piece was of more than average merit, and the language, though deficient in poetic beauty, was vigorous, dramatic, and to the purpose. The play read as if it had been much "cut" for acting, and that by the actors themselves, and he held the author to have been either an actor or one practically acquainted with the stage, and most probably a dramatist of some experience. He drew attention to the elaboration of the satire directed throughout the play against the fiscal oppressions of Richard II., and suggested that the author might be looked for among those who were least favourably inclined to Elizabeth's government.

¹ Page 489.

In the discussion, the Chairman showed the absurdity of Mr Halliwell-Phillipps's assertion, that the play was "anterior to Shakspeare's *Richard II.*, and printed from a contemporary MS." The MS. was rightly declared by the Museum authorities to be after Shakspeare's death, say 1625—45, as the range of its fifteen different plays; and to suppose that a play, in whose first few lines noblemen called for their "coaches" (instead of their horses) was written before 1595, was too absurd. The writer had plainly modelled one scene on that between Osric and Hamlet, and had read at least *Richard II.* and the *Henry VI.* called Shakspeare's. The archaism of his language was designed.

The REV. W. A. HARRISON agreed with the Chairman as to date. He gave a detailed list of the contents of the Egerton MS., and pointed out that, as regards seven of the fifteen plays of which it is composed, there were either dates upon the MS. itself, or there were indications by which the date might be inferred with approximate correctness. This, of course, would not certainly fix the dates of the remaining eight plays, of which this *Richard II.* formed one. But the fact of their being then bound up together was favourable and not antagonistic to the theory of their being of the same age. Add to this the circumstance that the authorities in the MSS. department of the Museum have appended a note to the entry in the Catalogue, to the effect that the paper on which the whole series is written is "of the first half of the seventeenth century." He had a strong belief that the play was written about 1625; or at all events subsequently to the appearance of *Fr.* In proof of this opinion, he went through the play, scene by scene, pointing out, in addition to those already given by Mr Marshall, many parallelisms, sometimes of thought, sometimes of expression, between this play and the *Richard II.* of Shakspeare. The very words of Shakspeare were several times to be found in the Egerton play. Mr Harrison's conclusion was, that the writer must have had Shakspeare's *Richard II.*, the two parts of *Henry IV.*, and *Richard III.* either in his hands, or at least very strongly retained in his memory. It was not likely that Shakspeare would copy from this play into *three* of his own; but not at all unlikely that the anonymous writer, who was evidently well read in Shakspeare's plays generally, should reproduce Shaksperian phrases in a single play of *his* own. Such a knowledge of Shakspeare the writer might have got from the Folio of 1623.

MR MARSHALL said he had been content at first not to express any opinion on the date of the play; but his own conviction was that its writer had borrowed from Shakspeare, and not Shakspeare from him.

(*Hundred and Seventh Meeting, Friday, May 8, 1885.*)

THIS being the Society's Third Annual Musical Evening, a Selection of Shakspeare Madrigals, Glees, and Songs was performed, under the direction, as before, of Mr J. Greenhill. The programme will be found in the Appendix.

SCRAPS.

squadron, sb. a corporal's guard, 25 men. *Othello*, I. i. 22. (See *Trans.* 1877-9, p. 102.) "This done, you shall deuide one hundred men into foure Corporallshipps or **Squadrons** . . . The Corporall of euery **Squadron** . shall be the leader of the chiefest file of the **Squadron** . . ." 1625. Gervase Markham. *Souldiers Accidence*, p. 7. "*Quadrille*; f. A **Squadron** containing 25 (or fewer) Souldiers." 1611. Cotgrave.

deceivable, a. deceitful, fraudulent. *Rich.* II, II. iii. 84; *Tw. N.*, IV. iii. 21. "therfore, fayre nephue, I haue great fere that ye shulde begyle me." "Syr," quod Florence, "god forbede that I shulde be so **dysceyuable** of my promyse, to promyse you any thyng and fulfyll it not, what so euer shulde fall therof." ab. 1532. Lord BERNERS. *Huon of Bordeaux*, p. 147, ed. 1885.

let the world slide! *Shrew*, Induction, I. 6. "*Laisser passer les plus chargez*. To take no thought, passe the time merrily, **let the world slide**; (whilest others pine away through care;) or, suffering others the whilest, to busie, charge, and torment themselues with cares." 1611. Cotgrave.—F.

baby, sb. doll. *Macbeth*, III. iv. 106. "*Muguet* . . . a curiously-dressed **babie** of clowts." 1611. Cotgrave.—F.

or, prep. before. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 183, &c. 1528. T. PAYNELL, *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanæ*, Q. i. bk. "drynke at soupper **or** thou begynne to eate."

quiddities, n. 1 *Hen.* IV., I. ii. 51; *Hamlet*, V. i. 107. "*Plein d'ergots* (as if it were, *Ergo*), full of conclusions; **quiddities**, cauling."—1611. Cotgrave.

riggish, a. wanton. *Ant. and Cl.* II. ii. 245. "*Galluta*, a cockish wanton or **riggish** wench, a cockring wench, a ramp." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*. ("*Galloria*, cockishness, iollity, mirth, taken from the crowing of the cocke."—*ib.*)

venie, sb. *M. Wives*, I. i. 296. "*Colpo*, a blow, a stroke, a hit, a **venie**." 1598. Florio.

(Hundred and Eighth Meeting, Friday, June 12, 1885.)

DR F. J. FURNIVALL in the Chair.

MR FRANK CARR read a paper on "Such Harmony is in Immortal Soules" (*Merchant of Venice*, V. i. 63). After claiming the *Merchant of Venice* as Shakspeare's transition play, the last Act as the transition Act, and this passage as the transition passage, Mr Carr went on to consider: 1. The poetic qualities in the passage; 2. The character who utters it; 3. The scene in which it occurs; and 4. The reference to Spherical Harmony, and that within the soul, all separately and conjointly revealing to us something of the poet's mind. In the first two lines beginning, "Look how the floor of heaven," Fancy prevailed; in the third, fourth and fifth, Imagination rose; in the concluding lines Imagination and Philosophy met and embraced. As to the character uttering it, we here found the value of what comes from the lips of a so-called subordinate character brought to as particular a test in Lorenzo as in any other instance. That the character who uttered this passage should have this honour had been a perplexity to many students of Shakspeare. But if the quality of a character, the value of its utterances, depended upon its obtrusiveness on the stage, then the King in *Hamlet* was superior to Cordelia, and Launce to Ophelia. Surely the character's importance was determined by its own spirit, by its necessity to the action of the play. So in his plays Shakspeare's minor characters were as essential as the most prominent. Mr Carr proceeded to show that Lorenzo's character had been under-estimated, and that it was of first importance to the play. Lorenzo was a model lover; all the passionate, soaring heart of the lover was in that super-excellent line

"Never dare misfortune cross her foot."

He might indeed be the genius of the Sonnets. Sonnet 105, "Fair, kind, and true, is all my argument," seemed written for him; and Sonnet 8 gives us precisely Jessica's sentiment, "Music to hear, why hear'st thou music sadly?" When Lorenzo spoke, in Act V., "The moon shines bright," then, and there, rose the moon of Shakspeare, never to set in time. He now exhibited in full the constant, passionate lover, the being of Coleridge's verse:

"All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
Are all but ministers of love,
And feed his sacred flame."

His closing words were full of a lover's courteous fancy :

"Fair ladies, you drop manna in the way of starved people."

Had we been glancing at a slight unmeritable man, fit only to be sent on Cupid's errands? He was a living, moral portion of the play; and in character, as Cowden Clarke justly remarked, "the specimen of an elegant-minded, happy young bridegroom; and that is one of the most enviable beings under God's heaven."

To those who consider the last Act superfluous, the words of Dr Ulrici were sufficient answer: "This Act, in form and substance, is in fact absolutely necessary for the external and internal rounding off of the whole. It not only entirely effaces any tragic impressions that may have been left by the Fourth Act, but all dissonances, all harsh discords, are resolved into purest harmony."

As to the passage itself: it had been generally read as if confined to sphere-music—"souls" in one instance being changed into "sounds,"—and the favourite reference was to the passage in Milton's *Arcades*, beginning,

"Such sweet compulsion doth in music lie,"

and concluding,

"The heavenly tune, which none can hear
Of human mould, with gross impurged ear."

But Milton spoke of the harmony of the spheres alone; and there was a great difference between sphere-harmony acting like a supernatural force, and "such harmony is in *immortal souls*." There were three principal theories regarding sphere-music: 1. The General Theory, that stars were living beings,—Gods, Angels,—or the mansions of such. 2. The Particular Theory, as to Nine Spheres and their vocal adoration. 3. The General Harmony of Spheres in relation to the soul.

With regard to these theories, Mr Carr gave a summary of the opinions of the principal philosophers, with which, however, it was difficult to believe Shakspeare acquainted; nor, indeed, did any of them supply the idea of celestial harmony in the immortal soul. The view Shakspeare must have held regarding the soul of man was well exemplified in a passage from Spenser's "Hymn in honor of Beauty," with which he must have been acquainted. Spenser says:

"Thereof it comes that *these fair souls*, which have
The most resemblance of that heavenly light
Frame to themselves most beautiful and brave
Their fleshly bower, most fit for their delight,
And the *gross matter* by a sovereign might
Temper so trim," &c.

"And then

So every spirit, as it is most pure,
And hath in it the more of heavenly light,

So it the fairer body doth procure
 To habit in, and it more fairly dight
 With cheerful grace and amiable sight;
For of the soul the body form doth take;
For soul is form, and doth the body make."

So that Shakspeare would regard the soul, not as a vague and fiery particle, but as an organic form, as perfect as any flower, as any starry system, as man himself; being indeed the very man himself.

As to the heavenly Harmony which is in immortal souls, Shakspeare would be certain to have read Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, (pub. 1597), in the fifth book of which we found this passage: "Touching musical Harmony, such notwithstanding is the force thereof and so pleasing effect it hath in that very part of man which is most divine, that some have thereby been induced to think that the Soul itself by Nature is, *or hath in it, Harmony*," though of course the play might have come under Hooker's eye before publication. Simplicius and Plutarch both had instances of the same idea; but the writer that most probably influenced Shakspeare as regards music was Batman, in his augmented edition of Glanville's *Natural Philosophy* (1582).

In the succession of the poetic belief in spherul and psychical harmony, Shakspeare had been the moving power, the verse in Job, "When the morning stars sang together," &c., and the verses in the *Te Deum*, not having markedly influenced the poetic mind. Mr Carr then traced the idea in various writers to the present day.

SCRAPS.

ke, vb. *Hamlet*, 1603, sc. ii. l. 109 (I. ii. 191). "Ha, ha, the King my father, *ke* you?" This *ke* = *qu'*, for *quoth*. Cp. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 221: "'Did they,' *quoth* you?" It is just the sound of the *qu'* = *quoth*, so common in the North of Ireland as a provincialism: "*que* (or *ke*) *he*," they nearly always say, for "said *he*."—W. J. Craig.

coted, v. t. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 330.

"Then Neptunes imp [Hippomenes] hir swiftnesse too disbarre,
 Trolld downe a toneside of the way an Apple of the thrée.
 Amazde therat, and couetous of the goodly Apple, shée
 Did step asyde and snatched vp the rolling frute of gold.
 With that, Hippomenes *coted* hir [*Praeterit Hippomenes*]."

1567, Golding's *Ovid*, bk. x., sign. S. i. verso.—W. G. S.

chopine, sb. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 447. "*Patecchi*, *chopinos* or high shooes for women." 1598. Florio.

(Hundred and Ninth Meeting, Friday, October 23, 1885.)

DR F. J. FURNIVALL in the Chair.

The following new members were announced :—Mr J. J. Britton, The Bradford Public Free Libraries, The Romanisch-Englisches Seminar, Marburg, Sir Philip Perring, and Mr R. G. Moulton.

The CHAIRMAN, in congratulating the Meeting upon the opening of another session—the thirteenth—noticed with pleasure the appearance of several fresh names in the list of contributors of papers. He announced the election of Mr R. G. Moulton as a member of the Committee. He regretted greatly the continued delay in the appearance of the “Old-Spelling” edition, which was owing to the desire of the editors that it should include the results of the latest Shaksperian study, a desire which had led them into the investigation of much new matter.

A paper on “The Play of *Hamlet* from a Theosophic point of view,” was read by G. B. Finch, Esq., M.A. Mr Finch interpreted the play as a Morality; the King (Hamlet’s father) representing Intuition, and the Queen Emotion and Desire, the child born of these two being Spiritual Aspiration. Claudius was Worldly Reason and its aims; Horatio, Mistrust and Doubt: doubt which, attending at the grave of Intuition, we should see at death of Spiritual Aspiration. Laertes was Vanity and Self-consciousness; Polonius, Worldly Wisdom. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern represented the different attempts made to fathom the mystery of spiritual longing; Ophelia was Experience. We saw in the tragedy an illustration of the words of Christ, “No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.”

A vote of thanks to Mr Finch having been unanimously passed,

The CHAIRMAN strongly reprehended, as a degradation of Shakspeare’s great humanity of conception, any turning of his plays to the uses of moralizing.

The REV. J. KIRKMAN welcomed the introduction of spiritual sympathy among the usual verbal criticism as a sort of ozone. The view to be taken was, not whether Mr Finch had given exactly the right names to Polonius, Rosencrantz, &c., but that a perfect work of art was true when viewed not only in one aspect, but in any other; even as Abt Vogler says of his music, “Had I painted the whole, . . . had I written the same, made verse, . . . it is all

triumphant art." *Hamlet* was equally true when transposed from the stage into the world of thought and sympathy; all true works of art being transferable.

MR SHAW doubted whether it was "degrading" *Hamlet* to treat it as Mr Finch had done; but if Mr Finch said that Shakspeare deliberately wrote *Hamlet* from this point of view, after the manner of Bunyan and his "Holy War," he had to differ from him.

MR S. L. LEE, in rejecting Mr Finch's interpretation of the play, said that it was not the critic's function to transfer arts, as Mr Kirkman would have him do; his duty was a much more literal one. He regarded the paper as a good intellectual exercise for a subtle mind.

MR T. TYLER thought the "Morality" element in the play might be accounted for by Shakspeare's obvious melancholy about the date when the play was written.

MR FINCH, in replying, pointed out that he had said in his paper that Shakspeare had not this particular view in his mind when he wrote the play. Taking the planetary system as an analogy, it was not considered a "degradation" of the observations of all mankind that Newton had put it in forms which few could understand. Mr Finch replied in detail to his critics, and defended his interpretation of the characters.

(Hundred and Tenth Meeting, Friday, November 13, 1885.)

DR F. J. FURNIVALL in the Chair.

THE REV. STOPFORD A. BROOKE read a paper upon "The Play of *Richard III.*" (printed in full, No. xxiii., p. 509).

A vote of thanks to Mr Brooke having been passed in the usual form,

THE CHAIRMAN, in commending Mr Brooke's powerful paper, felt that he had done rightly in dwelling with especial force upon the grand figure of Margaret. Had Shakspeare taken up this subject at a late instead of an early period, he would have done his best work in this quadrilogy. Richard's justification of his villainy was curious and worth noticing. He began by saying that as he could never hope for success as a lover, he was determined to prove a villain; then almost immediately we found him the hero of the most successful love-scene that Shakspeare ever wrote. The vengeance that waits on evil was here, as throughout Shakspeare, the leading motive. He thought that no other of Shakspeare's villains went in for villainy with the riotous enjoyment of Richard,—he chuckled over it, he simply revelled in it.

MR F. A. MARSHALL noticed that Richard possessed the *dramatic temperament* very strongly. When Richard *acted* to Anne, he was evidently enjoying it,—acting in earnest.

MR T. TYLER, on the comparison of Shakspeare's villains, remarked that, while we could not sympathize with Iago, we could to some extent with Richard, as Mr Brooke had noticed.

MISS EMMA PHIPSON thought that Richard's strong sense of humour, so well brought out by Mr Irving, was some cause of our sympathy with him.

PROFESSOR H. A. FRINK, of Amherst Coll., U.S.A., expressed the pleasure he had received from hearing the paper, and being present at a meeting of the Society.

MR BROOKE replied on the points raised during the discussion.

(*Hundred and Eleventh Meeting, Friday, December 11, 1885.*)

DR F. J. FURNIVALL in the Chair.

MR HENRY SHARPE read a paper entitled "The Prose in Shakspeare's Plays, the Rules for its use, and the Assistance that it gives in understanding the Plays" (printed in full, No. xxiv., p. 523).

After the customary vote of thanks to Mr Sharpe,

The CHAIRMAN read some notes on the subject by Mr R. G. Moulton, who was unable to be present. Mr Moulton wrote—

"(1) I have read with pleasure Mr Sharpe's paper on this subject, which is one I have often wished to study systematically, but have not so far found an opportunity. I think Mr Sharpe's results useful, though I venture to differ from him as to the principle on which the poet's practice depends. Mr Sharpe appears to have looked mainly at the *personages* who use prose or verse. I have considered the alternation between the two as a means of marking variations of dramatic *tone* and *movement*. But as of course differences of tone often fit in with differences of character and class in society, my results would often agree with Mr Sharpe's.

"(2) The phenomenon in question is not one that stands by itself: it has its parallel in other divisions of the universal drama. A leading dramatic feature of ancient classical dramas is the subtle play of emotions they express by changes from iambs—which may be considered blank verse—to lyric measures. (I am not alluding to the purely lyric odes sung by the Chorus between the scenes, but to the alternations between iambs and lyric measures in the episodes on the stage.) So in the late Romantic Drama, such as Goethe's *Faust*, every possible variation of measure, including prose as non-measure, is made use of to fit in with variations of feeling to be expressed.

"(3) The point to emphasize is that *change* in tone is expressed by variation as between prose, and blank verse, and lyric measures. Of course it will usually happen that the more elevated tone or more agitated passion will have verse rather than prose for its medium.

But this is not universally the case; in the finale of Goethe's *Faust* the awakening from the dissipation of the Walpurgis Night to the full agony of Faust's knowledge of Margaret's fate is marked by a sudden drop to prose; and no device could better convey the shock of awakening.

"(4) Coming to Shakspeare, there are signs in his earlier plays of an attempt to use the variation from blank verse to rhyme as the means of conveying changes in tone (*e.g.* in *Midsummer Night's Dream*). But this was abandoned as he followed his original genius more and more; and the more striking variation between prose and verse took more and more hold on him.

"(5) A very late play, the *Tempest*, illustrates the delicate changes or varieties he is able to convey by this means. Act II. Sc. i. is a conversation between the whole party of courtiers; Gonzalo essaying to console the bereaved King keeps up the main thread of conversation in verse, while Sebastian and Antonio, chaffing Gonzalo in an undertone, use prose. But when (19) Gonzalo can no longer ignore their interruptions he turns on them in prose, and the conversation becomes general, prose being spoken until the King elevates the tone, when he breaks silence, and pours out his sorrows in verse (106). The talk has now to be addressed to the King; and even Sebastian and Antonio use verse. Gonzalo, to divert the King from painful subjects, puts (in verse) his project for a golden age, and Sebastian and Antonio resume in prose their comments in an undertone. But at last (170) the King is irritated by Gonzalo's well-meant but tiresome loquaciousness, and expresses his irritation in prose: this checks altogether the elevated tone of the conversation, and Gonzalo turns to exchange prose sarcasms with his tormentors, till the main bulk of the party fall asleep under the charm of Ariel. The startling suddenness of this drives the King into verse, and, when he too has joined the sleepers, the hideous suggestiveness of the situation to the traitors keeps them at the white heat of verse all through their conspiracy to the end of the scene.

"(6) In the case of Caliban, fine dramatic effects are got out of the variations between prose and verse. In his first appearance (I. ii.) the scene is an exchange of fierce passion between himself and his master, and is in verse throughout. He next enters in II. ii., pouring out the passion of the previous scene in curses (blank verse). Then Trinculo and Stephano enter, and the total change of tone is marked by change to prose; until Stephano pours liquor from his bottle down Caliban's throat. The effect of liquor on Caliban is to make him worship the drunken butler as a god; and this effect is finely opened by Caliban's first words rising into verse (121):

'These be fine things, an if they be not sprites.
That's a brave god, and bears celestial liquor.'

So to the end of the scene (except a little bit of musical prose, 130-1)

Caliban addresses his god in verse—the tone sharply contrasting with the speeches of Trinculo and Stephano in prose. When the party reappear in III. ii. the general situation is continued: but here a very subtle transition is to be noted. Caliban, his eyes 'set in his head' with drunken worship of Stephano, can hardly be induced to speak at all; when ordered to, he addressed his god in a line of musical verse:

'How does thy honour? Let me lick thy shoe;'

but in the very next line drops to prose to express his attitude to Trinculo, whom he does not worship:

'I'll not serve him; he's not valiant.'

A quarrel ensues, and breaks the serene tone of worship, prose continuing to the beginning of Caliban's tale; when (51) the interruption, *Thou liest*, drives Caliban to passion and to blank verse—which he maintains through his prayer and his joy at its acceptance to the end of the scene, Stephano and Trinculo, of course, continuing to talk in prose. When we next see the party (IV. i. 194) the relations of the three are maintained; and the contrast of tone between Caliban, intent on his treason now all but consummated, and his companions too drunk to be kept quiet though a sound may ruin all, is admirably conveyed by the alternations between the verse of Caliban and the prose of the other two. In the Finale Caliban is confronted by his master, and the sight of a new civilization, and speaks his repentance in verse.

"(7) These illustrate changes of tone marked by alternations between verse and prose. The device is also used to emphasize a change of dramatic *movement*. One example is in *Measure for Measure*. A great note of Shakspeare's action is his contrivance of a central turning-point to the movement—somewhere in the middle Act, and often at its exact centre. In *Measure for Measure* the passion of the *complication* reaches its height in the terrible scene between Claudio and his sister (III. i.). Where the agony is at its highest enters the (disguised) Duke (152), whom the audience recognize (being in the secret of his disguise from I. iii.) as representing the *resolving force* of the plot: and the Duke at once draws Isabella aside, and commences with her the intrigue which proves the resolution of the whole play. Now this central turning-point, or passage from the complication to the resolution, is emphasized by a change from verse to prose: and every one must feel how the shock of this change gives additional effect to the turn in the movement.

"A precisely parallel case is *Winter's Tale*. In no play is the passage from complication to resolution so clearly marked as here. In the very middle of Act III. Sc. iii., Antigonus deposits the infant, and exit, pursued by a bear—the complication which is connected with Sicilia is played out. Then the Shepherd and Clown

enter and discover the child—the resolution of the plot and the Bohemian side of the story begin. This change from complication to resolution is marked by a change from verse to prose.”

The subject was then discussed, Miss G. LATHAM considering that we must take Mr Sharpe's rules with many exceptions, never forgetting that Shakspeare's mind was outside of all rules. In this the REV. W. A. HARRISON concurred: but he thought that Mr Sharpe had given us a good bit of strictly inductive criticism; and he pointed out that the paper in several places suggested Mr Moulton's theory, with which indeed it went on all-fours.

Mr W. POEL thanked Mr Sharpe for his paper, which he thought was a valuable contribution to Shaksperian literature. Mr Sharpe had given us statistics of the amount of prose and metre contained in each of Shakspeare's plays, and his paper afforded us new study in the method of Shakspeare's art. Mr Poel, however, thought that in endeavouring to establish certain rules that might have guided Shakspeare in the use of prose or metre, Mr Sharpe had not been altogether successful. He had considered the subject more from the literary than from the dramatic point of view. Shakspeare's knowledge of dramatic composition was derived from practical experience in a theatre, and would include a knowledge of the requirements of audiences: and in writing a play he would have in his mind's ear the elocutionary sound of his words, and the effect of those sounds upon an audience. The rhythm of blank verse required a smooth and to a certain extent a measured delivery, the voice rising or falling in gradations to a high or low note, to a *crescendo* or a *piano* passage; whereas by the use of prose the actor was allowed the greatest possible variety of delivery, from the slow pompous style used by Malvolio, to the passionately impulsive utterance of Shylock. The difficulty of classifying rules for the use of prose or metre in Shakspeare's plays was, that the conditions which prompted Shakspeare to write any particular passage in one form or the other were always varying. The change from prose to metre might be due (1) to the character of the persons speaking; (2) to the suitableness of the subject-matter for any special style of elocution; (3) to the dramatist's desire to draw the attention of his audience to some “necessary question of the play.” It was, perhaps, because Mr Sharpe ignored these varying conditions that he found himself not always able to fit passages to his rules. In the cases of Pistol and Caliban, metre was no doubt used chiefly to illustrate character. Mr Sharpe proposes, as a general rule, “that comic parts are in prose, and sentimental parts in metre,” and then seeks for some reason (p. 527) to explain why Claudio, a sentimental part, speaks to Benedick in prose (*M. Ado*, I. i.). Shakspeare in most cases uses prose when the *subject-matter* is commonplace, familiar, or jocular, and metre when it is poetical or sentimental, although the exceptions to this practice are of a kind that seem to show that Shakspeare himself

hardly looked upon it as binding. *Much Ado* being a comedy of which the leading theme is the forswearing of love on the part of Benedick and Beatrice, prose would seem to be best fitted for the subject. But the comedy also contains a serious episode in the love troubles of Claudio and Hero, and metre is used chiefly in those parts of the play that deal with this episode. Shakspeare, however, was here sparing in the use of metre, and evidently anxious that the comedy portions should not be overweighted by the serious portion. All the plotting, for the tragic climax, carried on by Don John, was probably written in prose for this reason. Claudio speaks to Benedick in prose in Act I. Sc. i., because Shakspeare is still concerned with the comedy portions of the play; but, later on, when Claudio is left alone with Don Pedro, and the theme of the forswearing of love gives place to that of the avowal of love, Shakspeare's language breaks into verse; the verse, however, being speedily dropped again, and not resumed till Claudio's love-trouble first begins by his doubting the constancy of Hero. Hero and Ursula speak a comedy scene in metre (III. i.), possibly because it is Hero's first reappearance after the audience has become aware (II. ii.) of the fate awaiting her, so that she there assumes a tragic interest in the eyes of her audience. It is to be noted that Leonato, Hero's father, does not speak in metre till he becomes entangled in the tragic episode by the incident in the church.

In the play of *Hamlet*, Mr Poel thought that Mr Sharpe had again been led astray in his reasoning by too keen a desire to make a given rule applicable throughout the play. The opening scene of the play is in metre, because the solemnity of the scene requires it. It is the first scene in which the ghost appears. In Scene ii. we have the King and Queen holding public court, and the dignity of the situation again exacts metre, although Hamlet in the first line spoken by him expresses *mistrust* of the King. The opening portions of II. i. are in metre for the same reason, the King and Queen holding court. After Hamlet's entrance the scene is continued in prose, probably because with Hamlet's antics with Polonius the dramatic movement halts; it is not resumed again till Hamlet's soliloquy, "O, what a rogue," &c. Hamlet's irrelevant talk to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern would be most tedious for an audience to listen to if written in metre. In the Hamlet and Ophelia scene, prose may be used as best suiting the abrupt style of delivery that would show the over-wrought state of Hamlet's feelings and his want of self-control. In Mr Poel's opinion Hamlet's invective, which arose from *mistrust* of those around him, seemed to vary from metre to prose, according as the dramatic necessities of the moment required the use of one or the other.

In the *Merchant of Venice* we have a comedy containing serious episodes, in the misfortunes of the Merchant and the uncertain matrimonial fate of Portia. The amount of poetry and sentiment in the play would alone justify the frequent use of metre; but apart

from this the bodeful destinies of Antonio and Portia seem to exact from the lighter characters an effort of seriousness which takes the form of metre. Gratiano, a pure comedy character, speaks throughout in metre. Shakspeare might have written the second scene of the play in prose, (1) because the subject-matter was better suited to it; (2) to heighten the contrast between it and the more dramatic scene in metre that followed; (3) to accentuate the difference between Antonio's and Portia's sadness. Both characters make their bow to the audience with very nearly the same words on their lips. Shylock speaks metre to Gobbo (II. v.), not "to exercise his authority over him" (p. 539), but that the dramatic movement begun in the third scene of the Act may not be interfered with. In Scene iii. Jessica tells the audience that she intends to leave her father's house that night; in Scene iv. Lorenzo tells the audience that he is about to elope with Jessica; whereby Scene v. rises to tragic interest, from the fact that the audience are aware that Shylock is seeing Jessica for the last time. These three scenes, being all in harmony with each other, must be all written either in prose or in metre; the subject-matter seems to require metre.

The sleep-walking scene in *Macbeth* gains in impressiveness by the mere change from metre to prose in a play that contains scarcely any prose. In Act II. Sc. iii. of *Antony and Cleopatra* we have another illustration of the change from metre to prose, for the sake of adding to the impressiveness of the dramatic situation. In this instance it is the entrance of the Soothsayer and Antony's anxiety to hear his prophecy, that Shakspeare wishes to impress upon the minds of his audience. In Act III. Sc. v. of the same play the change from prose to metre seems to take place where the dramatic movement is taken up again by reference to Antony's doings. In *Othello*, again (II. iii.), Brabantio changes from metre to prose exactly where the dramatic movement of the play halts. In *Twelfth Night* Viola makes her bow to the audience speaking metre; Sebastian makes his first entrance speaking prose. In Shakspeare's time both these parts would be played by boys, whose voices as well as costumes would resemble each other; but Shakspeare wished his audience never to be in doubt as to which character was speaking. The reverse is the case in the *Comedy of Errors*, where the more the audience gets confused between the twins the more is the fun increased. The Antonio of *Twelfth Night* is made to speak metre, probably in order to emphasize the heroic soul hid under the rough exterior of the pirate. The line of metre spoken by him on his entrance in III. iv., answers most effectively the purpose of bringing the comic business of the fight to an abrupt termination. In *King Lear* Mr Poel hardly thought that the opening lines of the play were written in prose, because of "the impropriety of the subject," but rather in order that Lear's entrance and first words, with which the dramatic movement of the play begins, might be more accentuated by the

sudden change from prose to metre. In III. vi. of this play we seem to have an instance of how the instincts of genius almost defy analysis by rules. The wild shrieking of the madman, the plaintive cries of the fool, Lear's tones of judicial dignity interspersed with exclamations of passion and grief, produce, in their rendering, a chaos of sound suggestive of the overthrow of Lear's reason.

From the foregoing considerations, Mr Poel gathered that the use of prose and metre by Shakspeare in his plays was more dependent on the subject matter and on the dramatic necessities of the moment than upon the character who was speaking. In many cases the action or dramatic movement of the play, if it was a comedy, was expressed in prose; if a tragedy, in metre; but he would hardly venture to call this a general rule.

(*Hundred and Twelfth Meeting, Friday, January 15, 1886.*)

DR F. J. FURNIVALL in the Chair.

The following new members since last Meeting were announced:—Miss O. Richardson, Mr J. A. McHardy, Mr Floyd B. Wilson, and Mr M. Mull.

The CHAIRMAN mentioned the election to the Committee of Mr W. Poel and Professor Napier.

The Chairman read a letter he had received from Mr Wentworth Huyshe, mentioning the existence in the church of Lingfield, Surrey, of a tomb, with effigies in alabaster, of Sir Reginald Cobham and his wife Ann *Bardolf*, and pointing out the curious coincidence that Shakspeare, who first gave Falstaff the name of Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham), should have given his follower the name of Sir Reginald Cobham's wife—Bardolf. Mr Huyshe suggested that Shakspeare, while first writing *Henry IV.*, might have been aware of the alliance of the houses of Cobham and Bardolph, and have adopted the latter name for one of Oldcastle's followers accordingly.

MR R. G. MOULTON read a paper on "Character-Development in Shakspeare, as illustrated by *Macbeth* and *Henry V.*" (printed in full, No. xxv., p. 563).

After the customary vote of thanks, a critical discussion followed, the Chairman expressing a wish to have a list of Shakspeare's characters in the two divisions made by Mr Moulton—those which were found fully developed at the opening of the play, and those which were developed in its progress. The powerlessness of *Macbeth* under suspense was, he thought, a new point, and well brought out.

MR W. POEL thought a comparison between *Macbeth* and *Lady Macbeth* useful. He held that *Lady Macbeth* had no imagination (see III. ii. 7—11). He thought that the potentiality of *Macbeth's* career was shown at the beginning of the play.

MR T. TYLER pointed out that the leading idea in *Macbeth* was the portrayal of average human nature displayed under strongest temptation.

MR S. L. LEE held that the bringing-on of a character fully developed was a sign of early work.

MR MOULTON, in replying to his critics, gave his idea of what constituted Development. The real question must be addressed to our sense. Did we feel a sense of *progress* as we went through the play? By completion he of course did not mean perfection. The introduction of a character fully developed, which Mr Lee took for a sign of early work, he held to be for an effect of surprise by violating a canon; the common expectation looking for development. Lady *Macbeth* did not lack such qualities as imagination; she subdued them, and therefore broke down in madness. As to what *Macbeth* owed to his wife, Shakspeare is quite clear on the point that *Macbeth* is in the first instance responsible for the crime.

“What beast was’t, then,

That made *you break* this enterprise to me?”

Lady *Macbeth* only kept him to it. That *Henry V.* was Shakspeare's ideal hero was the opinion of Gervinus, who expressed himself very strongly about it.

SCRAPS.

love-in-idleness, sb. pansy. *M. N. Dr.*, II. i. 168. “*Menues pensées*. **Pannies**, Harts-ease, loue or liue in idlenesse; also, idle, priuate, or prettie thoughts.” 1611. Cotgrave.

painting, sb. rouge, or the like. *Cymb.*, III. iv. 52. “*Mudas, painting* for women's faces. *Fucus*.” 1591. R. Percyvall. *Bibliotheca Hispanica*.—“*Belletto, painting* that women vse for their faces. Also a deceit.” 1598. Florio.—“*Striscio*, a kinde of **painting** that women vse for their faces, a smuggling or smoothing.” 1598. Florio.

counterfeit, sb. portrait. *Merchant*, III. ii. 115. “*Trasunto*, the **counterfet**, the portraiture, *Icon, effigies*.” 1591. R. Percyvall. *Bibl. Hisp.*

cloud-kissing. Lucrece, 1370. “*Paise-nue*. High, tall, **cloud-kissing**, reaching to the clouds.” 1611. Cotgrave.

rough-hew, v. t. *Hamlet*, V. ii. 11. “*Scappezzare*, to **rough hewe** a peece of timber or stone.” 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.

(*Hundred and Thirteenth Meeting, Friday, February 12, 1886.*)

DR F. J. FURNIVALL in the Chair.

THE REV. W. A. HARRISON read the first part of a paper on "William Herbert and Mary Fitton in connection with Shakspeare's Sonnets,"¹ the second part, which dealt especially with the "Fitton" question, being kept over till the next meeting.

A vote of thanks to Mr Harrison having been passed,

THE CHAIRMAN considered Mr Harrison's paper as most valuable independent work, corroborative of Mr Tyler's important paper on the same subject. The autobiographical theory was proving itself irresistible; and our acceptance of it helped us to perceive, through the glimpse we had of what Shakspeare had been through himself, how he could so unerringly portray the working of similar passions in others. And Mr Harrison's work was especially valuable in showing that we could interpret the Sonnets *within themselves*, without the necessity of searching for political and other allusions; if these could be found in addition, well and good; but let the Sonnets contain their own explanation. The evidence as regards Mistress Fitton was still far from conclusive; but there was no doubt that she was just the type of person wanted for the Sonnets, and the little we knew of her fitted in with the Sonnet evidence in a remarkable manner.

MR P. Z. ROUND read a short paper on *Pericles*, being an abstract of the Introduction to his edition of that play for the Quarto Facsimiles.

(*Hundred and Fourteenth Meeting, Friday, March 12, 1886.*)

DR F. J. FURNIVALL in the Chair.

THE REV. W. A. HARRISON read the second and concluding part of his paper on "William Herbert and Mary Fitton in connection with Shakspeare's Sonnets."¹

THE CHAIRMAN, in reviewing the whole paper, felt that the investigations of the Society on this subject had brought evidence to the point, that people of fair and independent minds must accept the personal theory.

¹ The revisal of these papers for press being unavoidably delayed, they will form part of the next vol. of *Transactions*.

MR T. TYLER, criticizing certain points in the paper, held strongly to the "mortal moon" of Sonnet 107 being a reference to Elizabeth, though it was not her death, but the rebellion of Essex that was referred to. He could not accept the personal interpretation for Sonnets 124 and 125.

MR W. M. ROSSETTI expressed his entire acceptance of the autobiographical theory. He further felt that if we admitted the Herbert theory we were almost compelled to admit the Fitton theory.

MR J. S. STUART GLENNIE read a paper upon "Shakspeare and the Welcombe Enclosures."

(Hundred and Fifteenth Meeting, Friday, April 9, 1886.)

A. H. BULLEN, Esq., in the Chair.

The following new members were announced:—The Sheffield Public Libraries, Mr J. Petherick, the University Library, Prague.

THE HON. SECRETARY read a letter he had received from Mr D. Bikelas, along with copies of a cheap and popular edition of his translations into Greek of *Othello* and *King Lear*, mentioning the fact that his translations of six of Shakspeare's plays had all been performed on the Greek stage, not only at Athens, but also in the provinces, as well as at Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria.

A paper by R. Boyle, Esq., on "Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger" (printed in full, p. 579), was read by Dr Furnivall.

THE CHAIRMAN commended Mr Boyle's patient devotion and learning. As to *Henry VIII.* he was not convinced; and on the subject of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* he thought it the eccentricity of criticism to suppose that the Invocation to Mars could have been written by any one but Shakspeare. It reminded one of Prospero's speech in the *Tempest*, V. i., "Ye elves of hills," &c., the metrical effect attained by the pause in the middle of the line being the same. He thought Mr Boyle somewhat too severe upon Massinger's heroines.

DR FURNIVALL could not agree with Mr Bullen that the "Invocation to Mars" was Shakspeare's, fine as it was.

MR ROUND, MR SHAW, MR TYLER, and other members spoke, chiefly on the question of the authorship of the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, and a vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

(Hundred and Sixteenth Meeting, Friday, May 14, 1886.)

THE Society's Fourth Annual Musical Entertainment took place in the Botany Theatre of University College; a Selection of Songs, Catches, and Ballads, mentioned by Shakspeare, with other Shakspeare Rounds, Glees, and Songs, being sung under the direction of Mr J. Greenhill.

(Hundred and Seventeenth Meeting, Friday, June 11, 1886.)

THE REV. W. A. HARRISON in the Chair.

A paper on "Hamlet's Age," by Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart. (printed in full, p. 629), was read by Dr Furnivall.

A vote of thanks to Sir E. Sullivan having been passed,

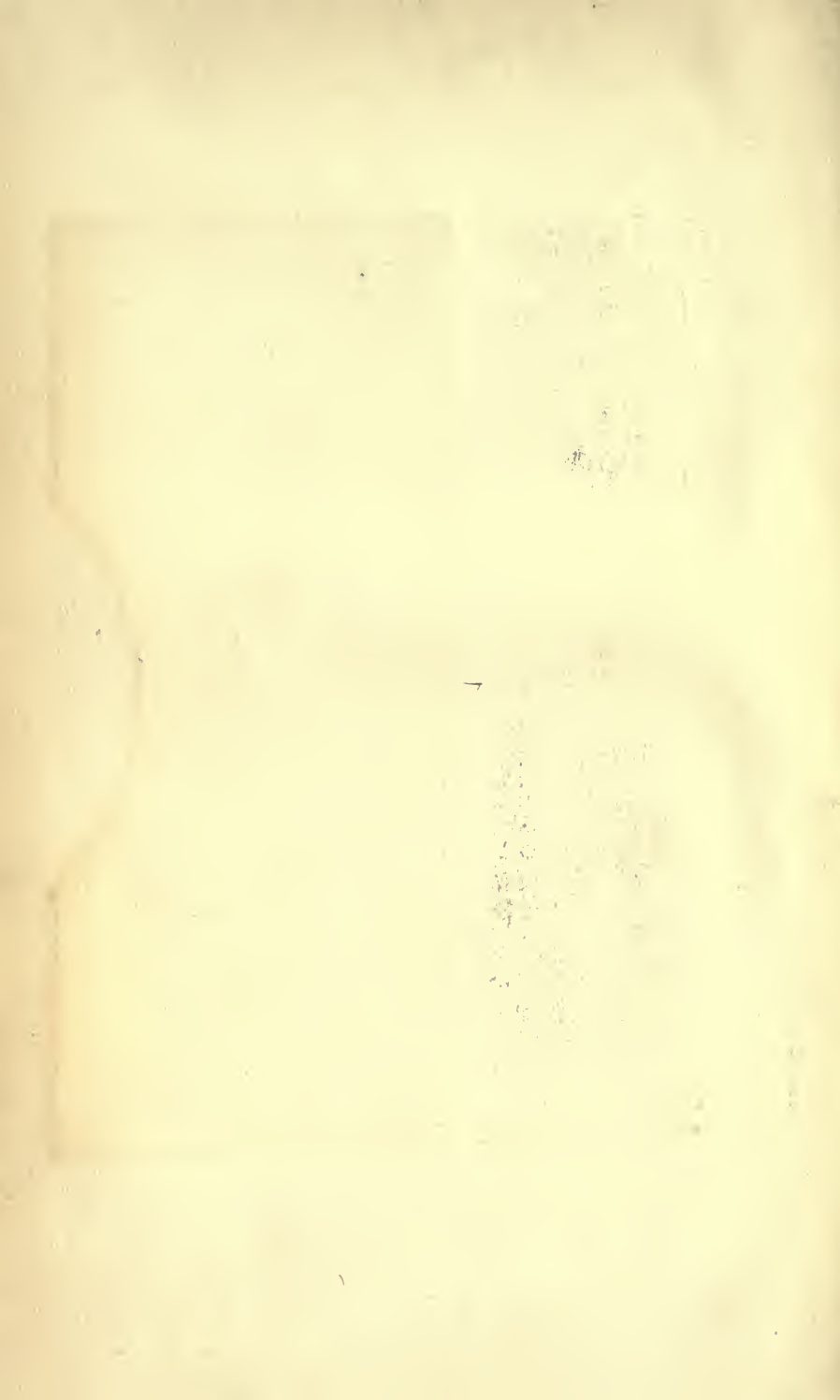
The CHAIRMAN thought that in spite of the ability of the paper, the matter remained where it had been, and the paper was a bit of clever special pleading. The inconsistency undeniably existed; it was not troublesome, but it could not be removed.

MR T. TYLER, on the subject of Hamlet's return to Wittenberg, quoted an extract given by Prof. J. W. Hales, from Nash's *Pierce Penniless*. "For fashion's sake some (Danes) will put their children to schoole, but they set them not to it till they are fourteene years old; so that you shall see a great boy with a beard learne his A.B.C., and sit weeping under the rod when he is thirty years old," which perhaps went to lessen the inconsistency in the play, though he did not mean to say that there was none.

DR FURNIVALL thought the paper most temperate and fair, but it did not get rid of the inconsistency. He preferred the theory that Shakspeare began with a young Hamlet, and, passing on to a deeper style of thought, did not trouble to go back and alter the young touches in the earlier part of the play. Inconsistencies never troubled Shakspeare; there was hardly a play but had them.

MRS PETO pointed out that Horatio must have been more than forty years old, because he remembered old Hamlet's armour, "when he the ambitious Norway combated."

A short paper by Mr F. A. Marshall on "Shakspeare and his Wife," was then read by Mr Round. Mr Marshall dealt with the endeavours of Mr Halliwell-Phillipps in his "Outlines" to prove that the relations between Shakspeare and his wife were of the most affectionate nature, and thought that the facts, such as they were, favoured the contrary opinion. With regard to the "second best bed" bequest, he considered that there was no evidence to show, as Mr Halliwell-Phillipps held, that the widow was otherwise provided for. His visits to Stratford, even granting that they were more frequent than those of which we have any record, could not have been very frequent or of long duration; and it was worth while to notice, without going so far as to draw from the fact any presumption against cohabitation, that after the birth of the twins, Ann did not bear her husband any more children.



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